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Buddha and Sujata



Abhisara



THE MONSOON GREEN
By Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury

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NOTES

The Cross-Roads

The Congress is at the cross-roads, that is the Congress in power. On one direction lies Truth, Renunciation, Toil and Tears. On the other, Power, Ease and Damnation. The second path, the way to the loaves and fishes, has been indicated in the elections. Now comes a lone call, from Vinobaji :

"If the leaders of different political parties have some political sense, they would dissolve their parties and form one party of all the *sevaks* of society. There can be not only more than one point of view but 35 crore points of view. But all that I want is the acceptance of a common programme for the betterment of the people. I admire churning of thoughts (*vichar manthan*), but not conflict in action (*achar gharshan*). The latter creates fire which destroys society. Nature has made India great and we have only to strive for unity to retain it.

"Had I placed this *Bhoadan-Yajna* before a conference of intellectuals and leaders a year ago, I am sure all would have ridiculed me by saying that it is impracticable and impossible, for such a thing had never happened before in the whole of human history. I say that God has created us,—you and me, to achieve something new and unprecedented. History of the past is just clay in our hands and it is for us to give any shape to it. So I started my work and now I appeal to all to take up this revolutionary programme of mine. The programme is like an ocean where all rivers meet. If you just help in creating an atmosphere, the rest will be done by that atmosphere itself. Even wingless dry leaves rise high like birds when a powerful storm comes. Thus this programme

will give life to the soulless and power to the powerless. People are but a manifestation of God, we will get this faith if we go to them."

Pandit Nehru has belatedly also realized that his party is in the morass of inertia :

The news-item given *infra* is from the *People* of June 28th :

"Unless we can produce that temper in our people which laughs at difficulties and get things done, sometimes in spite of facts, we cannot achieve anything really big," observed Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, in a foreword to the pamphlet entitled *Bharat Sevak Samaj* issued by the Planning Commission last week.

The Prime Minister says : "We have talked about planning for a long time and we have produced a draft Five-Year Plan. That Plan will presumably be finalised in the course of some weeks. Everyone recognises now the necessity for planning and tries to utilise our resources to the best advantage.

"We can, to some extent, measure our resources, or most of them. But it is very difficult to measure the biggest of these resources that we have, that is, man-power, and that psychology which makes people work for great ends. Unless we utilise this man-power and unless we can produce that temper in our people which laughs at difficulties and get things done, sometimes in spite of facts, we cannot achieve anything really big.

"Therefore we have to look to our people, go to them, talk and discuss with them and work with them. We must function as comrades in a common partnership in a joint undertaking. We

teach them something but we have much to learn from them also. So we should go to them not with the pride of knowledge but in humility of spirit and with the intense desire to bring about, with our common labour that joint effort which can shake and break up a mountain of inertia."

But what Pandit Nehru does not realise is that his words no longer carry the old magic.

If he can redeem his pledges and follow his own precepts, then and then only would his words carry far into the minds of the people who were once his own. Today he has no people, no friends and partners, he has only a "Party."

Indo-Kashmir Relationships

The following news-item appeared in the *People* of June 28:

"Sheikh Abdullah at Srinagar told a Muslim prayer gathering that Indo-Kashmir relationship had reached a 'critical phase.'

The statement shows that the Delhi negotiations have not reached a successful conclusion. He had top-level discussions with his colleagues soon after their return to Srinagar from Delhi. Political circles attach great importance to these consultations as, according to them, these discussions would prepare the ground for the next step that the State Government would take regarding the solution of outstanding issues between it and the Government of India including the future of monarchy in the State.

Meanwhile, Yuvraj Karan Singh, whose political future is still uncertain, is preparing for his proposed visit to Ladakh.

Kashmir negotiations with the Indian Government regarding implementation of the State Consensus's proposal to terminate monarchy and have an elected constitutional head, are to be resumed. In this connection the Kashmir Delegation headed by Mirza Afzal Beg, Revenue Minister, is again leaving for Delhi. Sheikh Abdullah may participate in talks at a later stage if need be."

We have had very curious reports about the utterances of Sheikh Abdullah and his satellites as published in the Kashmiri press. The attitude of this autocrat is curious and reprehensible. He seems to be following the same path as the Moslem Leaguers of the British days.

The New Food Scheme for Bengal

The Government of India has decided to take upon itself the responsibility of feeding the Calcutta industrial area. This was announced by Mr. Kidwai, the Central Food Minister, at a Press Conference in Calcutta during his recent visit in West Bengal.

During his current year, said Mr. Kidwai, the Government of India would release 100,000 tons of rice

which, he thought, would be sufficient for rationing purposes. An additional quantity of 100,000 tons of imported rice would be released for sale at economic prices through special shops to enable citizens to supplement their ration.

The scheme will come into effect as soon as necessary arrangements are completed. While supplies will be given by the Centre, distribution arrangements will be in the hands of the West Bengal Government. We learn, however, that the full operation of the scheme may be delayed till January, 1953.

Mr. Kidwai further announced that besides distributing 5,000 mds. of rice and 5,000 mds. of wheat as doles in distressed areas in the State, the West Bengal Government had decided to release 10,000 tons of rice and an equal amount of wheat for sale in these places.

The West Bengal Government felt that the high purchasing power of the people of Calcutta was responsible for smuggling into the city of over 6,000 mds. of rice every day and that unless this was stopped prices in rural areas would continue to rise. To check this it had been decided to open some shops in Calcutta where rice could be purchased at economic prices to supplement the ration.

This price, he thought, would be much cheaper than the present black-market prices which he understood, varied between Rs. 45 and Rs. 60 per md.

Mr. Kidwai was sure that as a result of these new measures Calcutta's requirements would be met and the prices in rural areas would go down.

From next year the Government would not procure from anyone who cultivated less than 15 acres of land. Instead it would impose a levy on cultivators possessing 15 acres or more. Under this levy system the Government expected to procure 450,000 tons of rice. The entire quantity would be kept in rural areas and utilised to allay distress wherever prices went up. When this levy system was introduced, the ban on the inter-district movement of food-grains would be removed. The only ban would be on movement across the borders of the State and into cordoned Calcutta.

A main factor in food administration in West Bengal has been the purchasing power of Calcutta and other industrial areas. These would under decontrol react like a magnet on rural food-grains and even under control would draw from the country-side by illicit means. It is now intended to divide the State into two zones. One will be the Calcutta industrial, to be supplied, through the State Government's ration shops and the new economic price shops, by the Government of India. In the rest of the State, it is hoped that with the flow to Calcutta lessened, the seven surplus districts will be able to meet the needs of the six deficit at reasonable prices.

The information about the food requirements of the rationed area disclosed by Mr. P. C. Sen in the conference of the non-Congress members of the Assembly was that there was a difference between the estimated consumption of the people in statutory rationed area, at 12 ounces per day and in the modified rationed areas at 8 ounces per day, and the actual drawings. The figures are as follows :

	(In lakh tons)			
	1948	1949	1950	1951
Estimated	8.45	8.6	9.8	10.3
Actuals	6.96	7.86	8.69	8.99

In the year 1952, the Government of India would have to contribute 5 lakh and 52 thousand tons normally. Taking the responsibility of feeding Calcutta industrial area, it would have to supply 8,99,000 tons in all, that is, 3,47,000 tons in excess over the normal commitment.

The statistical information furnished by Mr. P. C. Sen gives a different picture of the food problems of West Bengal than what is usually put forward.

The number of rationed people :

	(in lakhs)			
	1949	1950	1951	1952
(1) Statutory	58	61	63	71
(2) Modified	8	12	20	29
	66	73	83	100

Under statutory rationing we have 71 lakhs of people. By deducting this from the total population of 2 crores and 48 lakhs, we have 1 crore and 77 lakhs outside the rationed area. For this number, 30 lakhs and 67 thousand tons of food is required annually if we calculate on the basis of half a seer per capita consumption per day without discriminating between children and adult. On the other hand, the net total amount of food crops available in 1952 has been estimated to be 32 lakhs and 25 thousand tons.

The estimate of food production for the last three years, as has been presented by Mr. P. C. Sen before the conference of the non-Congress members of the Legislative Assembly is as follows :

	(in thousand tons)			
	1949	1950	1951	1952 (estimated)
Aman	2882.8	3269.5	3559.0	3103.3
Aus	376	335.9	359.7	359.7
Boro	16.3	16.1	15.5	15.5
Total Rice	3275.1	3621.5	3934.2	3478.5
Other crops	74.9	74.5	104.8	104.5
Total food-stuffs	3350	3396	4039	3583
10 per cent deduction on account of seed and wastage.				
Net food	3015	3326	3635	3225

Mr. P. C. Sen says, as he was told by the Indian Statistical Institution, that in pre-war days people used to consume 15.3 ounces per day, that is, 4.25

mds. yearly. Accordingly the quantity of rice required, Mr. Sen thinks, is as follows :

	('000 tons)			
	1949	1950	1951	1952
Rice required	3622	3841	3872	3903
Availability of rice	3015	3326	3635	3225
Deficit	607	515	237	678

The deficit is reached by calculating on the basis of 15.3 ounces for all the population irrespective of children and adults. But the international standard of measurement of requisite food supply is to multiply the total population by decimal 8 and to multiply the number thus obtained by the amount of food consumed by a full-grown adult. Neither the Government of India nor Mr. P. C. Sen would accept this standard of measurement and would thus prove deficiency and consequently scarcity.

Mr. Sen conceives that in 1951 the population strength was 2 crores and 48 lakhs and the net amount of food available for consumption amounted to 36 lakh and 35 thousand tons or 9 crores and .81 lakh mds. Instead of 2 crores and 48 lakhs let us take it as 2½ crores of people. Measuring this figure by the international standard as stated, we require food for 2 crores. Excluding wastage and the receipt of wheat from the Centre, we have 9 crores and 81 lakh mds. of rice net at hand. Therefore the per capita share appears to be 4 mds. and 32 seers annually.

U. S. Aid for India

The announcements about the programme of aid to India under the U.S.A. Point Four programme and its subsequent development have raised a storm of protest from the Communist groups and their fellow-travellers. This we can well understand, because under the ideology of the C.P.I. any aid from any member of the Western bloc, or for that from any nation excepting the Soviets, means slavery, war-mongering, cultural degradation, and so on, to the entire gamut. The Soviets have not offered any aid, either because they are unable to give any or because it is against their doctrines to offer aid to any outside those who are completely within the orbit of Soviet domination. Even China, which is within the *penumbra* of the Soviets is only receiving partial aid. And further, if India can manage to develop its resources and establish its economy on a firm and stable basis, then she becomes a major factor in the matter of War or Peace in Asia, which might become a calamity for any nation desirous of world-domination. And therefore India's economy must be kept in a state of unstable equilibrium, either through disruption or by a thorough-going programme of obstructionism.

But, curiously enough, opposition in another quarter, which cannot be the

of imagination be accused of ulterior motives or of extra-territorial loyalty. The view-point of these critics, whose sincerity or loyalty we do not question, has been fully exposed in the *Harijan* in its issues of May 3 and May 10 last. Therein Shri Suresh Ramabhai, writing under the caption of "Agreement or Slavery Bond," argues as follows. We are quoting *in extenso* as the matter is of vital importance :

"The well-known British journal, *New Statesman and Nation*, has described 1951 as the year which 'may well be remembered in history as the first year of the American Empire.' In the opening week of 1952 were laid the foundations of American penetration in India too. On 5th January, 1952, an 'Agreement' was signed at New Delhi by Prime Minister Nehru on behalf of the Government of India and by the U.S. Ambassador in India on behalf of the Government of the United States of America. In his recent address to the Parliament, the President of India has given high praise to this Agreement. Quite a large and influential section of the Indian press has hailed it as a landmark in the history of Indo-U.S. relationship. No apology is, therefore, needed for a critical study of this historical document.

At the outset, it must be stated that this new Pact is in pursuance of the 'Point Four Aid' agreement for technical co-operation signed on behalf of the Governments of India and U.S.A. on December 28, 1950, in which an Aid of 1.2 million dollars has been provided for technical training, etc. The present Pact goes far ahead both in its objectives and contents.

OBJECTIVES

1. Promoting and accelerating the economic development of India;
2. Promoting international understanding and goodwill, maintaining world peace and undertaking such action as the two Governments may mutually agree upon to eliminate causes for international tension.

Thus it can be said without any fear of contradiction that it is a politico-economic Pact and not a purely Technical Aid Agreement.

TERMS

How the said objectives are sought to be achieved can be gathered from the terms of the Pact. The Pact consists of 10 Articles which may be summarized as follows:

1. The obligations assumed in this Agreement will be performed on behalf of the Government of India by a duly designated Ministry and on that of the U.S. Government by a Technical Co-operation Administration. The latter will be represented in India by a Director. He and his staff shall be part of the diplomatic mission of the U.S.A. in India and shall share

fully in the privileges and immunities enjoyed by that mission and its personnel.

2. The Administration shall furnish a field party of specialists to collaborate in carrying out the Technical Co-operation Programme. The party shall be under the direction of the Director. All of them shall be selected and appointed by the U.S. Government. All facilities shall be provided to the Technical Co-operation Directorate or the Administration. It will share fully in all the privileges and immunities, including immunity from suit in the courts of India which are enjoyed by the Government of the U.S.A.

3. (a) As regards finance, the U.S. Government will provide, by depositing in U.S.A. until 30th June 1952, a sum of 50 million dollars (about Rs. 24 crores) to be credited to a Special Fund, called the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund (Fund A), while the Government of India will constitute a Special Development Fund (Fund B) exceeding Rs. 25 crores for making available supplementary finance. Besides, the U.S. Government will further bear a sum of about four million dollars in meeting in U.S.A. the expenses of its experts, the tuition and other charges of Indian nationals sent abroad for training in this connection, and the costs of technical assistance provided by the U.S. Government through private agencies.

- (b) The Fund B shall be strengthened by the sale proceeds of saleable goods imported under this Pact as also by repayment of the sums (belonging to the Fund A) disbursed as loans to private agencies or State Governments.

4. (a) The Fund A shall be jointly administered by an Indian Government officer and the American Director. It will be utilized only for the execution of agreed projects of technical co-operation.

- (b) Fund B and its proceeds are, like the Fund A, to be utilized only for the projects approved by both the Governments.

5. Allocations will be made whereby agreed amounts shall be transferred from the Fund A to the consolidated funds of the Government of India or shall otherwise be authorized to be expended. Such transfers and/or authorizations to expend shall be in the forms of grants-in-aid and loans. But nowhere in the Pact has it been indicated how the loan portion is to be repaid.

6. No funds or parts thereof, allocated to or derived from any programme of assistance undertaken by the Government shall be subject to any garnishment, attachment, seizure, or other legal process by any person, firm, agency, corporation, organization or government.

7. Agreed projects of technical co-operation shall be executed by a Central Committee (of not more than seven members) to be constituted by the

Government of India. But no recommendation of this committee involving the allocation of expenditure of funds made available by the U.S. Government can be given effect to without the concurrence of the Director.

FUNCTIONS

The Pact gives no idea how the American assistance is to be exactly utilized. Obviously its purpose is to attain the objectives mentioned above. Though reports in the Press point out that this is to be done by growing more food and establishing certain types of townships, yet as the text of the Agreement in question makes no mention of them, comments on the same would be beside the mark here.

Next, we shall examine the economic and political implications of the Pact as evident from the aforesaid terms."

Then follow Shri Suresh Ramabhai's criticisms of the Plan, under the sub-heading :

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

"1. Such a vast network of American experts and knowhow's is going to be established in India as has never been known in her long and chequered history.

2. No official or non-official body or authority in India can interfere with the activities and the programmes the Americans choose to enact.

3. Not a cent out of the American 50 million dollar fund can be spent against the wishes and tastes of the U. S. Government. It is a strange kind of generosity or *dan* in which the *dani* (donor) exercises such control over the use of his *dan* (gift) as a mortgagee in possession of a shop or factory might exercise over the mortgagor-debtor's business.

4. For the duration of the Agreement, India shall have no independent control over her own Fund B.

5. The U.S. Government is free to impose any condition or conditions it may like in connection with the repayment of the loan portion of the Fund. What repercussions they may have one cannot say.

6. The U.S. Government hereafter acquires the undisputed right to start and develop such enterprise or concerns in India as may help it to secure for itself a permanent market for its finished goods or build up a *pucca bandobast* (a solid base) to obtain the requisite raw materials for home consumption. It thus obtains a free hand to build the American economy on firm foundations and for all time. In other words, under the Agreement the agriculture of India, our handicrafts and industries, our trade and commerce, our markets and homes may be recklessly thrown at the mercy of the U.S. Government and capitalist.

7. No more shall we be allowed to remain the architects of our own destiny. Not a blade of grass will move but by the will of the American Director

or his company. They will have full rights to veto down the opinion or suggestions of the Indian people or their representatives who would have to accept American dictation.

8. The American aid is in the nature of an investment on behalf of the U. S. Government to secure a firm foothold in the Indian sub-continent. It is an initial investment by which U.S.A. can make India bleed white for the American's pleasure and his way of life. It is in fact an essential advertisement in order to earn multifold profits in the not very distant future when American goods will stalk the country."

"History affords several instances of investments of this type. A conspicuous one is that of free distribution of opium by the British in China. It is virtually a common practice of every intelligent businessman."

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

"Next, we turn to the political implications of the Pact.

1. The second objective given above makes it clear beyond doubt that the Government of India has agreed and begun to view the world political scene through the U.S. glasses. What is peace to America is peace to India and so also tension. Ostensibly neither America nor India may adopt a line of action which the other does not approve. But since India will have been placed under an obligation which may not be lightly disowned or discontinued after operations have advanced to a certain extent, it is obvious that in an extreme situation, India will have to approve what America directs her to approve.

2. The U. S. Government hopes to kill two birds with a single stone. Who does not know that on account of the continued researches in science, new models of machinery are springing up day after day rendering the old models useless and cumbersome? But where should the hoary stock of old models go to? Machine is like that monster which demands incessant work otherwise it would eat up the very master. America has developed the art of solving this riddle by doling out aids or loans (as Marshal Aid, Point-Four Aid, etc.) to one country after another. She is, therefore, able to dispose of her unusable stuff with a clean conscience and put the aided country in eternal obligation! Besides, it gives her a unique opportunity to seize the same by the neck."

"Hardly anybody is unaware of America's intentions in Asia or Europe. That she has a passion for meeting the so-called 'menace' of communism is common knowledge. It is why she is doing her best to help General Franco in Spain, the British in the Middle East, Emperor Bao-Dai and General Chiang in Indo-China, and General Chiang

Far East. There is no reason why she should not contribute her mite for the same in India.

In the light of the above conclusions one cannot but feel suspicious about the motives of the U.S. Government in offering this Aid. May not the so-called 'Agreement' become a slavery bond to India? Will it not enable America to overwhelm India completely?

These misgivings are confirmed on going through the reports of the speeches delivered to the American Congress at Washington on March 13 last by some of the leading officials of the U.S.A. The Secretary of State for America, Mr. Acheson is reported to have said that the '1953 Mutual Security Programme' called for the expenditure of \$227,000,000 in technical assistance to Asia, Africa and Latin America, the figure for India being not yet made public. He stressed the need for Aid to India in very strong terms. But why? To quote his own words:

'The advice of all our observers on the ground is that unless the newly independent Government under Prime Minister Nehru can show substantial progress in economic development over the next five years there is the likelihood that in the next elections democratic forces will be endangered either by extremists or by communists.'

Further, Mr. Acheson went on to compliment us on the 'tremendous effort' India was putting up in 'its fight against communism.' Really, are we putting up this fight?

Again, Mr. W. Averell Harriman, supporting the Mutual Security Programme, warned the American Congress that any resolve to cut this programme would mean a reduction in the 'strength being built in the free world for our common defence against the threat of the Kremlin.' By this programme Mr. Harriman wants to secure 'well-equipped allies' in India and elsewhere for the youngmen of United States 'fighting for freedom.'

Any doubts in this regard are thoroughly cleared by the speech of the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Robert Lovett. Without mincing words he is reported to have said that the 'first criterion' in granting United State military assistance will be 'performance of the nations in raising effective forces.' He assured the American Congress that 'performance would be the test.'

It can, therefore, be safely concluded that the American Aid (and the Aids to follow) is but a means to achieve the end of drawing India into the 'cold war,' a war that has already enveloped Europe and America in its painful grip. How far will our Government succeed in its remaining 'neutral' despite the Aid only the future can say. But it is high time that the authorities in New Delhi and the Parliament should consider where they are leading the

We have been obliged to quote in full as otherwise we might be accused of distorting the context of arguments. We shall say here and now that we are not enamoured of any aid from any outside source, U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. Aid does always mean moral obligation, which, in the long-term pessimistic view, as taken by Shri Ramabhai and others of that ilk, might mean serious and untoward complications. But what are we to do then, wait for the millennium? Or wait until another Bapu comes to infuse new spirit, new ability, and a new vision into his unworthy followers who have not been able to carry forward his schemes by one-thousandth of an inch?

We should apologise here, for an exception should have been made for Vinobaji who is bearing a lone flaming torch, without verbose denunciations, illogical accusations or fanatical outbursts. All honor to him.

Have the Point Four programme objectives and terms been examined in the Gandhian Spirit? We have heard Gandhiji say more than once that he was willing to believe anyone for the first time, we have heard him say repeatedly that he was willing to credit anyone with altruistic motives until otherwise proved. Is that the spirit in which the U.S.A. has been accused of ulterior motives?

Turning to Shri Ramabhai's criticisms we would say that logic is not his strong point, else how could he have jumped to conclusions like in items (2), (5), (6), (7) and (8). The last three are real examples of fanatical extremism. If they have not been written in a spirit of frustrated *himsa*, then the word *himsa* does not exist. We repeat that we are not enamoured of outside aid, but placed as we are, thanks to five years of maladministration, muddle and corruption under the hands of a band of inefficient mediocrities whose sole sock-in-trade was Gandhiji's name, can we afford to look a gift horse in the mouth, specially when we have already been going the round of all nations begging for food, medicine, and implements?

Let us examine the offer then with an open mind. If there be any *lacunae*, let us suggest adequate measures to fill them, and to safeguard our freedom. The offer by U.S.A. is primarily to make us strong and to establish our economy on a sound basis. *The secondary objectives, if there be any, cannot come before that. And a strong and economically well-established nation cannot be made to follow any path willy-nilly, or else all history is false.* Where would the U.S.S.R. itself be today but for the tremendous aid it received, in every form, from the U.S.A.?

Let us also realize that the alternative, if the present economic chaos continues, is foreign domination, from another quarter, whose fifth column is active and organised.

The Other Side

Let us now turn to the other aspect, that is, the view of the enthusiasts. We need not go further into the matter of Point Four programme, but the following extract from the *People* of May 3, is important, since it was published in the official organ of the Congress Government:

"Consultations between India and U.S. Government authorities for the implementation of the biggest aid programme hitherto extended by the United States to any country in Asia barring China, are making satisfactory headway, according to reliable information available in New Delhi. The programme, which is independent of other commitments already entered into by the United States, proposes a grant of 1,000 million dollars to India in the next four years.

The present programme which is based on a recommendation made by the U.S. Ambassador in Delhi Mr. Chester Bowles, *springs from the fact that India has been able to put to the best use the 55 million dollar aid received in January this year.* It would appear that U.S. diplomats and experts who have been anxiously watching the manner in which India developed its plans for the utilisation of the 55 million dollars, have now reported to Washington that any help provided by the U. S. Government to India would not be 'lost in the ocean.' U.S. observers appear to accept the move from Washington for aid to India as a part of its global strategy of preparing an effective front against communism in Asia. One U.S. observer declares that 'unless the mass of voters is appreciably better off under the Nehru Government before the next elections roll around 1957 than they are now, there is every likelihood that the Congress Party will be turned out and the Reds will come in.'

But, as has been repeatedly emphasised by Indian spokesmen, the Government of India have not approached the development programmes as a 'Party Plan.' Foreign aid received for such development are accepted, therefore, without commitments or 'strings.' It has been emphasised that India subscribes to the objective behind the aid programme only to the extent that it enables the enhancement of the standard of living of the Indian citizen and the general improvement of his economic well-being. India is not fighting the Communist Party and has no anti-Communist programme 'as such.'

In so far as there is agreement, however, on the practical objective of the aid programme, namely, the economic rehabilitation of the Indian people, it has become an accepted fact on both sides.

Shrewd political observers in the capital believe that the 1,000-million dollar aid need not be regarded as 'the limit.' If the aid programmes continue to

produce the desired effect as hitherto, U.S. aid to India will be measured by India's needs rather than India's willingness to accept U.S. 'dictation.' On the contrary, India cannot make a 'deal' with the United States for extended aid, if she is not able to put the aid received to good use in building up the nation to overcome poverty and squalor which breed communism. The 1,000-million dollar aid now proposed is to be extended to India in annual instalments of 250 million dollars. The first instalment is expected to be received in the next few months when plans, now being worked out, are finalised for its utilisation.

American experts calculate the new programme, which is being considered, will aim at the 'permanent improvement of the condition of 120 million peasants' and increase the country's agricultural production by 50 per cent."

Here is the other side of the medal with a vengeance. Programme announced in January and by May 3rd, "India has been able to put to the best use the 55 million dollar aid received in January this year." And that without the public even knowing the names of the Indians engaged in the task!

Much of the corruption and muddle in the Indian Union's administration is due to the secrecy with which appointments and awards are made. Nepotism and favouritism being rife nothing else could be expected. If our information is correct then some of the appointments in the Point Four programme are questionable to the extreme limit. And we have no reason to doubt our sources of information. We refer, of course, to the Indian personnel.

"Point, Counter-point"

The true picture of the Soviet Republics is difficult of visualisation by those who are on the wrong side of the curtain. Here, for example, is the picture as given in the *News and Views From the Soviet Union* of June 26:

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consists of 16 Union Soviet Republics. Each one of them is a sovereign state with its own Constitution, supreme organs of state power, organs of administration and its own budget.

"The sovereign rights of the Union Republics are embodied in special articles of the Constitution and in the entire state system of the USSR. Articles 13 of the Constitution of the USSR lays down that the USSR is a federal state, formed on the basis of a voluntary Union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics. The voluntary nature of the Union is expressed in article 17 of the Constitution of the USSR which reserves for every Union Republic the right freely to secede from the Union. The sovereignty of the Union Republics is also confirmed by other articles of the USSR Constitution granting the Union Republics the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states

to conclude with them agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives: the right to have their own Republican military formations. According to the USSR Constitution, the territories of the Union Republics cannot be altered without their consent.

"The great principle of the equal and voluntary Union of the sovereign peoples was proclaimed by Lenin and Stalin, the founders of genius of the Soviet multi-national state, the authors of its Constitution. The sovereignty of the Soviet Union and the sovereignty of the Union Republics are harmoniously combined on the basis of the ideology of equality and friendship of the peoples. The sovereignty of the USSR and the sovereignty of the Union Republics are complementary and mutually reinforce one another. On entering the Soviet Union, the national Union Republics voluntarily renounced certain of their rights in favour of the Union. This, however, by no means detracted their state sovereignty. On the contrary, this resulted in the strengthening of their national independence and sovereignty, because the USSR assumed the protection and defence of the sovereign rights of the Union Republics. The Union of the Soviet Republics into one federal state, the principle of mutual assistance and fraternal co-operation among the peoples of the Soviet State have ensured the rapid political, economic and cultural development of the formerly downtrodden and backward peoples."

"A striking example of what inexhaustible strength the Union Republics acquire as a result of their Union into one federal state is afforded by the magnificent construction works of Communism which have been launched in the USSR. The building of the Main Turkmen Canal opens up colossal opportunities for the development of agriculture in Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and other Central Asian Republics. Building of the gigantic Kuibyshev and Stalingrad Hydro-Electric Stations, the Main Turkmen Canal, the Kakhovka hydro-power project, the South-Ukrainian, North-Crimean and the Volga-Don canals entails construction on a scale unprecedented in the world. The completion of these projects will make it possible to irrigate and bring water to 25.5 million hectares. The great construction works of Communism became possible only because the Soviet system exists in the country and all the peoples of the Soviet Union take part in their building."

The following extract is from the *New York Times* of June 12. It shows the reverse of the medal:

"It is a tribute to the effectiveness of Soviet propaganda that so well-informed and learned a man as Prime Minister Nehru of India has apparently swallowed the Kremlin-inspired stereo-types about Soviet minority policy. In a recent speech he praised the Soviet Union as the 'only country' that had adopted a 'wise and successful

policy in winning over the people living in outlying areas.' With respect to language policy among India's aboriginal hill people, he urged Indian experts to study and emulate Soviet policy."

The essence of the Soviet-inspired stereotype is the notion that in the Soviet Union minority peoples have been allowed to develop their cultures freely, are not discriminated against, and have equal rights with the single largest group, the Great Russians. Any study of recent trends in Soviet minority policy shows this stereotype to be quite false. What has actually been going on in the Soviet Union in recent years has been a policy of forced Russification, with the Russian language made an obligatory study in all schools and with Russian culture constantly exalted as the most 'advanced,' the one which all minorities must revere and seek to imitate. Since 1935 many minority peoples have been compelled to revamp their written languages so as to drop the Latin or Arabic scripts formerly employed and to substitute the Cyrillic alphabet of the Russian language, as well as to employ Russian words for many political, technical, scientific and economic concepts.

During the past year this Russification policy has been at its peak. Communist party leaders and leading intellectuals in the Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Baltic States and Central Asia have frequently been purged for 'bourgeois nationalism.' The history of many minority peoples is being rewritten so as to make it seem that Russian conquest of those peoples was a blessing and so as to make villains out of those historic leaders of the minority peoples who fought Russian conquest. The facts on recent Soviet cultural and political Russification of its minorities have been available for years. Surely Prime Minister Nehru would have been well advised to study those facts before bestowing his blessings upon a policy which is the antithesis of the democratic tolerance which Nehru himself has championed so effectively in so many fields."

And here is another picture, taken from the *New Leader* of May 19, which shows another aspect of the Soviets' policy regarding the conquered peoples.

"On the eve of his recent visit to America, Chancellor Leopold Figl declared that the U.S.S.R. could prove the sincerity of its concern for a German and European peace settlement by concluding the long-delayed Austrian peace treaty. Thus far, however, thanks to Moscow's sabotage, the 258 meetings of the 'Big Four' deputies have resulted in complete futility. What is the explanation of the tenacity of Russia's delaying tactics?"

"Prominent among the reasons why Austria remains under occupation is the existence of USIA. These four letters are the initials of the Russian words meaning 'Administration of Soviet Property in Austria.' Ask an Austrian what USIA is, and you will get a variety of uncomplimentary descriptions. It will be called a cancer destroying the economic life of the country; a conspiratorial state;

within a state—operating by means of bribery, sabotage and terror. All this is true. But the quality which makes it the greatest of all obstacles to the conclusion of a treaty is that USIA has proved to be an inexhaustible gold mine to the Soviet Union.

"Imagine a foreign consortium in control, let us say, of an area of the Port of London, within which Britain is deprived of the power to levy duty on goods from abroad for sale in the home market. Imagine, further, that the laws of the land, including those of taxation, are unenforceable within this area. Assume that some 300 British concerns of note are administered by this consortium, and that wages, bills and other overhead expenses are met out of the enormous profits secured by disregarding all state charges and excise duties. Then envisage a situation where this consortium, without a shadow of legal justification, sets up a chain of retail stores, dealing in 'outlaw goods'—shops ignoring trading-license and closing-hour regulations, taxes, social insurance and other obligations. Then picture the arrest and kidnaping of any who oppose these developments, or appear to know too much. Even this effort of the imagination will not give a complete picture of the wealth that Stalin is drawing from the USIA gold mine, or of the consequent impoverishment of the Austrian economy. In addition, there are the staggering profits taken from Austria's rich oilfields, which are exploited on USIA lines by a separate Russian concern, the Soviet Mineral Oil Administration. There are the profitable operations of such Soviet auxiliaries as *Yuzhnefttrans*, which transports USIA's plunder, and the Danube Shipping Company, whose seizure by the Russians has, for the past seven years, closed down the use of one of the great international waterways.

"USIA was one of the bridal gifts so rashly bestowed on the glamour-shrouded Soviet Union by Western statesmen during the Potsdam honeymoon. During those rapturous days, nobody seems to have soberly worked out the extent to which the loosely-worded Potsdam Declaration could be distorted by an unscrupulous beneficiary. On the face of things, it then appeared to be only fair to allow the Russians to appropriate any German property in Austria as part compensation for the over-running of their country by Hitler's barbarians. Today, one can only wonder at the naivete of the Western failure to stipulate participation in the decision of what was genuinely German property, as well as in its administration and final disposal. As a result, any property on which the Nazis ever laid hands, however briefly, was classified by the Russians as 'German' property. Although they were forced to disgorge some of what they seized, most of this property remained in Russian hands. The Potsdam clauses were cynically used as a justification for plunder.

"Russian abuse of her economic acquisitions for political purpose has gone on ever since. The Red Army immediately set in motion all the forces at its disposal with the aim of establishing USIA concerns in the political as well as the economic field. The *Trattnerhof*, an imposing block of offices just off the Graben in the heart of Vienna, is the requisitioned headquarters of USIA. It is easily recognizable by the imposing parade outside of USIA-owned high-powered American cars with Russian registration numbers, bought in Switzerland with dollars acquired on the Vienna black market from the schilling yield of products smuggled in, by USIA without paying Austrian dues. Inside are housed the ten main departments of USIA—the controls of its heavy and light industry, electrical, metallurgical, coal-mining, food-producing and chemical industries, agriculture, forests and so forth. Although, in prewar days, one could walk through its corridors freely, today sentries wearing the Soviet star challenge everyone at the entrance to the building. Facts and figures, which comparable trusts elsewhere actually spend money on publicizing, are put on a security level enjoyed only by the latest atomic-warfare developments. To get an insight into these unnecessarily secret statistics puts quite a subsidiary burden on the Western taxpayer. Many of what USIA pretends are top secrets are concentrated in its so-called 'Commercial Bureau,' which is chiefly concerned with providing a flow of imported raw materials and disposing of USIA products abroad. Take, for instance, the notorious piratical 'scrap deal' of a couple of years ago. Methodically, USIA's *Trattnerhof* secret service registered, and the Red Army secured, the vast quantities of war scrap in Vienna and Eastern Austria. Operating through Austrians, some of whom, after making gigantic paper profits, suddenly vanished eastwards when the deal was concluded, the Russians sold 200,000 tons of plundered scrap alone to Czechoslovakia's war industries. Switzerland took 85,000 tons, paying with American cars, chocolate, cigarettes and other goods subsequently sold by USIA at enormous profits on the black market. A few thousand tons went to Britain, smelted down, as duraluminum bars."

Soviet Scientists Re-making Their Earth

Professor Victor Kovda, Vice-Chairman of the Committee of Assistance to the Construction Works of Hydro-Electric Stations, Canals and Irrigation Systems under the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, writes the following article that appeared in the *Soviet and Views*, dated May 7, 1952:

"Huge stretches of world deserts and arid steppes lie on the territories of the Soviet Union, China, India, Afghanistan, Persia and Iraq. The great mountain ranges Hindukush, the Himalaya, and the Caucasus give rise to the mighty rivers Amu-Darya, Sir-Darya, Indus, Ganges,

Brahmaputra, Kura and Kuban. The boundless Russian plains feed the Volga, Don, and Dnieper rivers. These rivers flow through the steppes and deserts, and men have been struggling for centuries to utilize their waters for irrigation. India, China and the Soviet Union possess huge areas of irrigated land and occupy the first place in the world as regards irrigated farming.

Exceptionally great work to transform the nature of the arid steppes and deserts has been undertaken in the Soviet Union. Shelter-belts are being planted and the waters of the Volga, Kura, Ural, Dnieper, Don, Kuban, Amu-Darya and Sir-Darya rivers as well as the subsoil waters are being used for this purpose. Within the next 5-7 years the total area of irrigated lands in the USSR will be increased from 6.5 million hectares to 13-14 million hectares; besides, 22 million hectares of pastures will be supplied with water to advance the development of animal breeding.

The Soviet Government and the people are rapidly building the hydro-technical systems in the South and the South-East of the European part of the USSR, in the Transcaucasus, and particularly in Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kirghizia.

The Academy of Sciences of the USSR together with the Academies of Sciences of the Tajik and Uzbek Union Republics have organized a big combined scientific expedition which is conducting its work on the area of the Main Turkmenian Canal.

Another combined expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR headed by Academician V. N. Sukachev is conducting extensive researches in the zone of the Volga-Don canal and the Stalingrad hydro-technical system, and in the districts of the State shelter-belt afforestation. This expedition is studying the geological conditions, the soil and the geobotany of the districts where the new irrigation systems are being created, but it is particularly concerned with the elaboration of scientific methods of growing forests in the steppes and combatting soil erosion.

The dense wind-breaks that are being created in the USSR around the fields, at the water-sheds, and on the ravine slopes will help retain the snow, in the winter, decrease the out-flow of water and the washing down of the soil in the spring, and protect the fields against dry winds and excessive evaporation in the summer.

The Committee of Assistance, headed by the President of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, A. N. Nesmeyanov, has been organized under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR to direct all the scientific research conducted to help the great construction works.

The age-old dreams of progressive science about gaining control over the elemental forces of nature to lighten man's labour and create an abundance of material goods are being realized in the great works undertaken in the USSR."

We would like to hear of similar co-operation between the Scientists of India and the men who are planning,

supervising and constructing the great river valley projects of our own country. Perhaps that will come when the present generation of bureauerats have passed from the scene.

An Open Letter to Joliot-Curie

The following open letter appeared in the *New Leader* of U.S.A. in its May 12 issue :

"Dear M. Joliot-Curie,—We are gravely concerned over a message which was recently released under your signature from Prague. In this message you appear to give credence to reports from Communist China accusing the UN forces in Korea of waging germ war-fare.

We, too, have seen such reports in the daily press. These reports, all of them from Communist sources, embody charges of the gravest and most disturbing character : grave, because such charges cannot and must not be made lightly; and disturbing, because, if untrue, they mark another attempt by the Communists to infuse fear and hatred into a world that so desperately needs brotherhood and peace.

Thus, we must ask ourselves—how true are these reports? As a scientist and Nobel Prize-winner yourself, you will agree that it is our duty—not only as scientists but as moral men—to ask this question. As scientists, we share the tradition of perpetual and uncompromising search for truth. We are trained to doubt what is unproven and to submit every claim—factual or theoretical—to the most rigorous of tests. Finally, as moral men—as human beings—it is our duty to confront the results of such tests—whatever they may be—with courage and honour, and to give the truths that result from such tests the widest possible currency.

But, as you well know, it has been most difficult so far, if indeed not impossible, to obtain information regarding the germ warfare charges which would permit a careful weighing of the evidence. Such evidence, we submit, is of crucial importance in reaching a conclusion on a matter that cannot but affect the deepest emotions of peoples throughout the world. And because of this, we are unable to understand why the Chinese Communist authorities, if they really believed in the truth of their charges, did not immediately respond to an offer of the International Red Cross to carry out a careful investigation on the scene of the reported epidemics.

Our misgivings were further increased by the fact that official Communist radio stations have alternated between reports of serious epidemics and denials that such epidemics exist. Equally suspicious was the allegation of the Soviet Union's spokesman at the United Nations, Mr. Joseph Malik, that the International Red Cross is not qualified to investigate the truth of the germ warfare charges. And, as if to compound our suspicions, Mr. Malik then asked us to believe that an

obscure and highly partisan body of jurists is capable of conducting scientific investigations, and of reporting objectively on matters of fact. This—either as scientists or as moral men—we are unable to accept.

In the light of this, we believe it imperative that the Peiping authorities permit the entry of International Red Cross inspection teams into China and adjacent Korea—and also that they permit the entry of epidemic-control teams offered by the World Health Organization—if such epidemics do in fact exist. This special agency of the United Nations has established a notable record of successful emergency operations in distress areas. By first refusing to permit entry to the International Red Cross, and then by rejecting the aid offered by the World Health Organization, the Communist authorities, in Peiping and Moscow, have only confirmed existing skepticism of the germ warfare charges. Many of us have inevitably asked: What are the real motives for this seemingly well-coordinated propaganda campaign?

You, Joliot-Curie, have now given the use of your name—or permitted it to be used—in support of these unverified charges. In so doing, you have incurred a grave responsibility, a responsibility to your fellow scientists throughout the world; and beyond that—to science itself and the truth which science must serve.

And so we ask you to accept your responsibilities. We ask you to withdraw your signature from the message recently issued at Prague. We ask you to raise your voice with ours in demanding that the germ warfare charges be put to the acid test by investigation teams of the International Red Cross or any other recognized impartial body.

In all good faith, we say: Associate yourself with us in this vitally important task, so that, together, we may establish the truth and make it known to all men.

Carl F. Cori, Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology, 1947; Gerty T. Cori, Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology, 1947; C. J. Davisson, Nobel Prize in Physics, 1937; Joseph Erlanger, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1944; Philip S. Hench, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1950; H. J. Muller, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1946; William P. Murphy, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1934; Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize in Chemistry, 1934; George H. Whipple, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1934; Edward C. Kendall, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1950."

The Chinese declaration that the U.S.A. was conducting germ-warfare behind the fighting lines in Korea and China has caused a world-wide sensation. American denial has been equally vehement. Here in India, most people are puzzled by this propaganda and counter-propaganda. A good few well-meaning gentlemen, without even a rudimentary knowledge of what the term "Germ-Warfare" implies have waxed eloquent—and sometimes exceedingly wroth—over this inhuman affair. The name of Joliot-Curie, the Nobel

Prizeman, has been used a lot by the Communist and fellow-travellers' press, here and abroad, the common idea being that Nobel laureates—like kings—can do no wrong, nor utter untruths. Here is the counter-challenge from Nobel laureates of another denomination.

Tibet or "Bod"

The New York *World Interpreter* had the following in its November 10 issue on Tibet:

"To you it's Tibet, but the natives call it Bod. Estimates of its population vary all the way from one to four million, though the smaller figure is more nearly correct. In size it is over three times as large as California, but precise statistics or boundary delimitations are wanting.

"*Whose Is It?* By origin, the people are not Chinese; They are closer to the Indians, the earliest known settlers having gone northward, apparently, from Nepal, the independent kingdom on India's northern frontier. Yet for generations, the Chinese have called it theirs, and gazetteers back them up. Except under duress, the Tibetans have never agreed to Chinese rule. In 1907, however, a treaty between Britain and Russia recognized Chinese control. In 1910, Chinese armed forces marched in and took over, while the Tibetan government fled to India. Next year came the Chinese Revolution and dissension among the Chinese troops, which made withdrawal necessary. Again in 1917, the Chinese attacked, but were beaten off by Tibetan soldiers supplied by the British.

"From the view-point of Chinese Communism, an invasion of Tibet is logical. Communist regimes cling to the privileges claimed by their royal and capitalist predecessors. No one can deny the need of reform and modernization for the Tibetans, who are kept in ignorance under a predatory system of rigid social classes: the priesthood, the nobles, the tradesmen, the peasants, the herders. On paper, the Chinese Communists have promised moderation. Last August, General Liu Po-cheng, head of the South-west Military and Administrative Committee, pledged regional self-government, freedom of worship, respect for monasteries and the people's traditions.

"*World Politics Involved:* Primary reason for the invasion just now is the need of face-saving; having failed to rescue the North Koreans, Mao Tse-tung's Communist Government must try to bolster up its renown. The Kremlin, likewise, requires something to advertise after its Korean debacle. It is standard procedure for Totalitarian regimes, when they are blocked in more important directions, to conquer weak neighbors in order to feed the legend of undiminished power.

"*Economic Factors:* Economic considerations played a part in the decision of the Chinese Communists. After Mao Tse-tung achieved power, Tibet tightened its frontiers. Trade, always mainly with India but to some extent carried on also with China, was cut down with the Red regime at Peiping. There is for China the lure of gold; not only has one mine in West Tibet been worked for 75 years; gold particles are found in the river beds, indicat-

ing rich deposits in the mountains. Western-educated young Chinese in Mao's government have been urging geologic exploration on a scale surpassing that by the British, who have done more than anyone so far although the land has never been fully searched."

Six months after, the position remains as obscure as ever.

Communists Kill and Plunder

The Madras Tamil daily *Bharat Devi* writes:

"It is funny that a Bombay contemporary, a critic of the Congress Party and Prime Minister Nehru in season and out of season should claim to know the mind of the Congress High Command."

"In the Madras Assembly recently, Rajaji told Communists that they should consider him their Enemy No. 1. The paper says that this attitude of Rajaji does not appeal to top-ranking leaders like Pandit Nehru!"

"None will look into Opposition papers to know the views of Congress leaders. Our Readers will note carefully the speech of the Hyderabad Congress leader, Swami Ramanand Tirth, in the House of the People, during the debate on the President's Address."

"The Communists had set fire to the house of a person who had offered him food, he said."

"In many of the villages, innocent villagers were massacred, not Zamindars. Thousands of cattle were made to roam from one place to another simply to dislocate the economic life of the people. More than 250 Congress workers and sympathisers have been 'liquidated' by the Communists in Telangana."

"If that is the picture when the Communists are not in office, what will be the fate of the people if they are in office? Members of the House of the People and the public well know that fate."

"As the Hyderabad leader has stressed, the armed struggle waged by the Communist Party in Telangana was not an agrarian struggle. The Communist aim was to terrorise the people and overthrow the Nehru Government by violent means. So, the villagers who had, even in the remotest degree, anything to do with his visit, were harassed by the Communists."

"The Swami has further revealed in his speech that even now the Communists in Telangana were armed. During the elections armed Communist squads wandered about the villages terrorising the people. Women were threatened that their 'kunkum' would be removed and their 'maṅgalyasatram,' says the Swami."

"These are the tactics of Communists all over India. Wherever the situation is favourable to them there they carry out their policy of destruction. The people very well know the atrocities of Communists in Andhra Desa. Imbued with the philosophy of Rakshasas they adopt the tactics of Rakshasas."

"In the House of the People, Swami Ramanand Tirth has also exposed the triple role the Communists wear. The first is the United Democratic Fronts in Legislatures

with non-Congress parties, the bait being the Communists' minimum programme."

"But this is their second role—they exploit the poor workers and attempt to spread confusion and disaffection in the country. Then it is the armed guerilla squads of Communists who enter helpless villages, loot and plunder and destroy rural societies—their third rôle."

"Communism and Democracy are poles asunder. The policy of Indian Communists is to destroy Indian democracy and instal in its place a dictatorship."

"Hence it is our first duty to preserve our hard-won freedom and save our people from the Communist tentacles."

"By their violent tactics the Indian Communists have become the enemies of the country. Knowing this only too well, Rajaji told them that he is their Enemy No. 1. For our part, we do not find anything wrong in Rajaji's attitude."

Since then, Shree Satyanarain Sinha has joined issue, in the Central Assembly, with the Communists.

Dr. Satyanarain Sinha (Congress—Bihar) repeating his allegations against the Communist Party said that the general line of Shrimati Renu Chakravarty's speech yesterday was from an article written by one Levin.

Shrimati Chakravarty challenged the member to produce the article and demanded a parliamentary commission to enquire into the matter.

The Speaker said Parliament's main business was not to enquire which member was right and which member wrong. "It has to deliberate very seriously on the problems before it ignoring all passion, parties and personalities."

He also told Dr. Sinha that it was not for him to say that a member repeated another person's argument. Then the issue before the House was entirely clouded. He asked him to take care that he did not make any personal allegation.

Dr. Sinha continuing said that Shrimati Chakravarty's argument that "our defence policy is a part of the Anglo-American imperialist policy is not the voice of the party sitting before us but the voice of somebody on the other side of the hills."

He said he himself was a cadet in an army school in Europe where Indians were taught how to weaken "our defence and criticise our Government."

Dr. Sinha, who was repeatedly challenged during his speech, accused the Communists of trying to distract the attention of the people "through a mock fire" on one side while they silently penetrated from the other into the Indian defence system.

He also alleged that at a meeting in Berlin in July-August 1950 certain Indian Communist leaders had promised that "the interests of the Communist fatherland will be the first and the interests of India will come next."

Shri Harin Chattopadhyaya—I challenge him to prove that, it is absolutely wrong.

Dr. Sinha quoted from a document a resolution, which he said, had been adopted in Berlin on August 5,

1950 at 11-30 at night. The resolution said: "The members of the Communist Party must convince the general public that in case of a general war the duty of the people is to help the Communist army in establishing peace."

Describing the Berlin meeting as "the origin of the Communist peace movement," Dr. Sinha asked the House not to be "carried away by Communist manoeuvres and deficit but face realities."

Dr. Sinha said the Cominform was sending the trained Indians back to India for the purpose of helping it "liberate" India from the Anglo-American imperialists. Accordingly, they had prepared a plan and in that plan he alleged Kashmir was shown as British territory.

Prof. Hirendra Mookerjee: Can the member repeatedly refer to certain documents of mysterious character which he has not got the guts to submit before the House?

The Deputy Speaker ruled that any member, if he referred to any document, must place it before the House.

After the passage-at-arms in the Parliament the whole matter has been referred to a Committee of Privileges.

There is nothing original in Communist activities. Every independent State has to maintain its secret service for uses against internal and external enemies. What is original, perhaps, was invented by Franco when he talked loudly of the "Fifth Column". Stalin has borrowed it and bettered in the borrowing.

We for ourselves have a queer feeling that perhaps the tactics now employed by that fifth column in India, are the same as was employed—time and environments considered—by Umichand and his fellow-travellers a hundred and fifty years ago, when John Company was disrupting the Moghul Empire for its own, absolutely own, benefit. The British came into India for the "liberation" of Indians and they kept up that mockery to the end. And we Indians got 150 years of abject slavery, destitution and degradation as a result. Now we have the Neo-Umichands advocating "liberation of the people" under a foreign banner!

South Africa's Apartheid

It has been reported that a Civil Disobedience campaign on a country-wide scale is on the move in South Africa. Meagre details have come out in the daily press as yet. At this juncture it is of great importance as to how the press abroad views it. We append below a comprehensive extract from the *New Leader* of U.S.A. It appeared in an article entitled "Behind the Crisis in South Africa" in its May issue:

"It is ironical that at the very time when white South Africa has proclaimed a political truce in order to unite in celebration of the 300th anniversary of its birth, a more profound disunity has rent it than any experienced since the Boer War ended fifty years ago. The first week in April saw the climax of the ter-

centenary celebration of the landing of Jan van Riebeeck on the shores of Table Bay—an event which marked the establishment of the first white man's settlement in the southern half of the great African continent. At the beginning of the year, Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan had issued an appeal for a truce on all differences during the period of the celebration, and it was generally agreed among all white political factions that this was a time to observe unity. The truce was, in fact, observed, but with the very thinnest veneer of sincerity.

On the actual day of the commemoration of Van Riebeeck's landing, the "Unity of the Nation," which was its theme, was so little apparent that the castle which Van Riebeeck had built a few hundred yards from the foreshore was filled with armored cars standing by to take action against expected disturbances. That is perhaps characteristic of South African life, for the disturbances were expected from the non-Europeans. What was much less characteristic was that, when the actor impersonating Van Riebeeck landed from the model ship, he presented a casket theoretically containing the law to the Chief Justice, who had to hand it to the Prime Minister for preservation. It was this same Chief Justice, Centlivres, who a fortnight previously had declared the unanimous verdict of his Supreme Court that one of Dr. Malan's most cherished Acts was unconstitutional, eliciting from Dr. Malan the retort that the courts were meddling in politics and that he would pass another act to prevent such verdicts in the future. If South Africans have the least sense of humor, they must surely have burst into ripe laughter on seeing the Prime Minister being entrusted with the law by the Chief Justice whom he had publicly abused.

The constitutional issue which has provoked the present crisis is certainly complex, and distinguished lawyers have expressed contrary opinions on it. The issue originated from the manner in which the South African Parliament itself was first constituted. After the Boer War, the British Liberal Government considered that it was implementing Liberal principles in its international policy, first, by returning responsible self-government to the two defeated Boer republics and then by offering self-government to the whole country. To draw up a constitution, representatives of the four South African provinces were called together in a National Convention where they discussed the form which the government should take. On two issues they were deeply divided. The first was the equality of the English and Afrikans languages, the second was the preservation of the liberal franchise laws of the Cape Province—which at that time did not discriminate in politics on grounds of color. It was finally decided that, to safeguard these two most significant rights, each would be "entrenched" in the South Africa Act in such a way that they could only be

altered by a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Parliament at a joint sitting. The South Africa Act passed by the British Houses of Parliament in 1909, and brought into effect in 1910, thus contained these two "entrenched" clauses.

The liberal elements in South Africa believed that they had thus safeguarded for all time the right of the non-European to vote in the Cape Province and hoped that the recognition of this right would subsequently spread to the other provinces. They were utterly wrong. The Afrikaners, who had lost the military Boer War, had won the war of ideology, and by the 1920s the agitation to remove all Africans from the common electoral register had secured widespread adherence. Even the grant of the vote to white women and then the abolition of all franchise qualifications for white people, which drastically curtailed the power of the non-European vote, failed to satisfy those who had become frightened that the European voters would eventually be swamped.

Meanwhile, the Statute of Westminster had been passed in 1931 and this established the complete sovereignty and independence of each of the Dominions and abolished all forms of control by Britain. It was argued that the passing of the Statute of Westminster would abrogate the entrenched clauses of the South Africa Act, which was an act of the British Parliament. To avoid this danger, the South African Parliament, which included many members of today's Nationalist Government, unanimously passed an amendment declaring that the entrenched clauses were in no way affected.

So when Parliament came in 1936 to remove the African voters from the common electoral roll and to offer them, as compensation, three white members elected separately, Parliament without protest used the method laid down in the entrenched clauses.

In 1948, however, the year Dr. Malan came to power, his Nationalist party had demanded in its election manifesto the removal from the common electoral roll of the last of the non-Europeans—the Cape Coloreds (South Africans of mixed descent). But the new government had only a bare majority—it had, in fact, been elected by a minority vote—and knew that, if only because the Cape Coloreds always voted against the Nationalists, it could never expect the support of the Opposition. The Nationalists therefore set out immediately to prove that the entrenched clauses were no longer valid. They quoted a comment of the Supreme Court in 1937 in support of their claims, and asserted that if Parliament was sovereign it had the right to enact what legislation it thought fit and could not be bound by an act of the parliament of another country. The Government therefore introduced, debated and passed in 1951, by a simple majority, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, which removed the 50,000 Colored voters from the

common roll and offered them four separately elected European members in compensation. The Act was fought by the Opposition and stimulated particularly the ex-servicemen, who had seen the Nationalists' Fascist sympathies during the war, to set up the Torch Commando and inaugurate mass demonstrations of protest. Four Colored voters took the case to the courts, and on March 20 of this year the Supreme Court unanimously declared that the Act was invalid as Parliament had contravened the South Africa Act.

The constitutional issue presents a number of interesting points. In a unitary constitution on the British model, parliament is almost, if not completely, unchecked in its power. A British government could, for instance, extend its term of office indefinitely; but the voluntary checks and balances of a mature and homogeneous political society prevent this danger from becoming real. South Africa, however, is not politically mature or homogeneous, so that the danger of absolutism and arbitrary action by one section is always present. Then again, it may be asked if the Government does not recognize the validity of the South Africa Act, from which the South African Parliament itself derives its authority. This is a very relevant question in a country in which the white community, one quarter of the total population, maintains a monopoly of political power.

But if there are complexities in the constitutional issue, the moral and political issues are straightforward. The same Nationalists who today are, for expediency's sake, claiming that the Constitution is invalid and that the Cape Colored voters endanger white civilization, were themselves during the 1930s publicly declaring that the entrenched clauses would never be touched and assuring the Colored voters that they need never fear any alteration of their franchise rights. Moreover, in their desire to whip up emotionalism in support of their attack upon the courts, members of the Government are now appealing to anti-British and anti-imperialist feelings which are quite irrelevant to the issue. They are claiming, for instance, that South Africa cannot consider itself to be a sovereign state if its Parliament is bound by the provisions of a British Act of Parliament. This is a completely irrelevant polemic. As Americans will immediately recognize, national sovereignty and parliamentary sovereignty are not necessarily synonymous. But, in any case, the South Africa Act was drafted by the South African National Convention and passed by the British Parliament without amendment, in accordance with the wishes of the South Africans themselves. Again, the courts have not challenged the sovereign authority of Parliament but have declared, rather, that no individual government is entitled to break the parliamentary rules.

This constitutional crisis is very seriously affecting the political situation in the Union. Among the

Nationalists, it is producing increased support for the Republican extremists led by J. G. Strydom. They would break the connection with the Commonwealth, set up an Afrikaner Republic on a basis of authoritarianism, puritanical rigidity and fanatical color consciousness and destroy all vestiges of Western democratic forms. On the Opposition side, there is a rapidly growing realization that theirs may well be a last-ditch stand to prevent the establishment of a totalitarian regime. This has led to an alliance of the United party, Labour party and Torch Commando.

The days are long since past when the rest of the world can simply sit back with indifference and watch such a struggle develop. Americans, in particular, have a personal interest in the affairs of South Africa. To start at the lowest level, they have a stake in the mining of minerals and the development of industry, and if the Point Four program means anything this will progressively develop. Strategically, too, the importance of the South African ports is increasingly significant as the Mediterranean becomes indefensible, while the ideological invitation to Communism in that unhappy country is obvious. Then again, the relations between whites and non-whites in South Africa have a tremendous emotional influence upon race relations throughout the world and cannot but have an important impact upon the American racial scene. Finally, in the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Charter and the Charter of Human Rights, fundamental rights have been guaranteed to all human beings, no matter what the color of their skins or racial origin. America has taken a leading role in the march toward the establishment of the essential unity of the human race, and it is this principle of life which is directly challenged by South African society."

"How Europe Curbs Inflation?"

Under the above caption the *News Week* of New York gives a review, in its June 9 issue, of an address by Per Jacobson, the economic advisor of the Bank for International Settlements at Basle:

"At the end of the first World War most countries were eager to return quickly to stable currencies and to the gold standard. But after the second World War, under the influence of Lord Keynes, they preferred cheap money and deficit spending. This, they supposed, was the secret of perpetual 'full employment'."

"Keynes' influence, however, was never as great on the continent of Europe as in England and America. As such they have been faced more immediately with the evils of inflation. They have learned to dislike controls. For the imposition of controls has been very closely connected with the Nazi, and Fascist regimes. Europe, therefore, has shown itself to be more liberal in this respect indicating adherence to a free economy."

It is interesting to note how different countries of the Continent curbed inflation in their country through the monetary and fiscal policies.

"Switzerland led the departure from cheap money and the free market quotation of the Swiss franc was for several years above the corresponding quotation of the dollar. Belgium followed sound policy and soon achieved monetary stability. It was criticised in England for permitting unemployment; but Belgian workers supported the policy as holding down prices and helping them to achieve higher real wages.

"In Italy, by 1949, prices has risen to 55 times the pre-war level. But the Central Bank of the country then raised interest rates, imposed severe credit restrictions, and cut off all food subsidies. These seemed harsh measures but they stopped the price rise

"Following a crisis in Germany in October, 1950, the discount rate of the Bank Deutscher Lander was increased from 4 per cent to 6 per cent. Ordinary bank accommodation could be obtained only at rates between 8 and 12 per cent. It was soon found that the programme adopted in Germany was working wonders. It has shown that a country as burdened with difficulties as Western Germany can, through a resolute credit policy, suddenly reverse its position.

"Similar changes were made in Holland and Austria. Policies in the same direction have been adopted in France and Britain. On March 11, for example, the Bank of England increased its discount rate from 2½ to 4 per cent."

We in India have adopted certain restrictive measures in credit and trade transactions following the announcement in England. But England herself was the last one to follow suit to other continental countries of Europe. Since 1949 most of the countries of the West, as we see, faced with the problem of inflation and high price level, and higher cost of living, adopted various restrictive measures to arrest the upward movement of the prices. After they had definitely proved successful then only did Great Britain adopted their policy. The Government of India copied what was considered by the Britisher as best.

But one thing in this connection is worth mentioning that for an Asiatic undeveloped country like India with unorganised banking system, how far the credit policy will be successful remains to be seen. For, here the bank rate can hardly influence the money market which is substantially controlled by the indigenous bankers.

Business or Blackmail?—Tea Industry

"A Common Man" wrote the following in the *Madras Weekly* of June 1 last. Our readers' attention is drawn to what he said about the Tea Industry, with its elaborate paraphernalia of a Tea Control Board with representatives generally of the Tea Garden; those of Labour and the Consumers are in a perpetual minority.

"If big business in India is to be believed, it is ever in the throes of crisis after crisis."

"Its leading spokesman, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, has now invited the government's attention, we are told, to the serious position of the tea industry."

"Before I consider the justice or otherwise of this demand, let me point out the vicious circle in which the Federation finds itself."

"It was reported recently that a deputation consisting of leading industrialists, who met the Planning Commission on behalf of the Federation, had impressed on the Government that while the need for increasing production and raising the standard of living was realised, difficulties had risen on account of fall in consumption by the community."

"To what cause should we attribute the fall in demand for consumer goods in India?"

"Plainly to the lack of purchasing power of the people, and not to the saturation of production. Even the industrialists admit that it is not a case of satisfied needs but of absence of purchasing power."

"Has it ever occurred to our industrialists that the non-consumption is due to the excessive cost of the goods."

"Again, has it ever occurred to them that the real solution of the problem lies in the reduction of production costs and not in lowering production?"

"After having reaped a rich harvest on account of wartime shortages, the industrialists now threaten to close down the factories at the first sign of accumulation of stocks, in other words, of reduced profits."

"This tendency is deplorable and government must curb it with a strong hand in the interests of the consumer."

"But the industrialists' ready reply is that production costs cannot be lowered as raw materials cost more and government's labour legislation makes a heavy commitment for the industry."

"As these are the reasons trotted out for the new demand for the abolition of the export duty on tea, we shall now consider its case."

"The tea industry has been demanding relief on the ground that the competitive capacity of the industry in the world market has been crippled by the high cost of production."

"A *prima facie* case for relief was sought to be made out early this month by Mr. B. C. Ghose, chairman of the Indian Tea Planters' Association at the annual meeting of the association. The total world production this year, according to him, was estimated to be 50 million lbs. in excess of world consumption, and countries like Indonesia, East Africa, Formosa, Indo-China, Iran and Malaya had sharply increased production."

"The prospect for 1952 seems to be gloomy and immediate steps should be taken to abolish the export and excise duties on tea if the industry is to be protected against loss, said Mr. Ghose."

"This thesis of Mr. Ghose is however contradicted in an article in the April issue of the *Lloyds Bank Review* by Sir P. J. Griffiths, a former Chairman of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board."

"He quoted the following figures:"

Year	World Tea Production
1937	1,000 million lbs.
1941	1,100 million lbs.
1951	1,200 million lbs.

"In spite of all the difficulties of labour, personnel, 'phoney' auctions and finance, the leaders of the industry are able to look forward with reasonable confidence, says Sir Percival."

"In the case of India, in particular, Sir Percival says that the scope for increased consumption is almost unlimited."

"Lest I should be told that foreigner's opinion is not valid, let me quote the *Indian Finance*:

"But even with the setbacks in demand in certain countries, it has to be noted that the international demand for Indian tea is slightly on the upward trend. The shrinkage of the overseas market is thus not a fact of the present but only an uncertain prospect for the future. If in the near future total world production were to exceed consumption demand as at the present levels, it is only then that the Indian producer will be called upon to examine the problem of a competitive price. . . . Nothing has yet happened in India or elsewhere to justify an alarmist view of the prospects for the tea industry."

"With its usual unerring instinct to put its finger on the real sore spot, the *Indian Finance* says:

"For a time the Government of India were sitting tight over the appeals for reduction in export duties. Their attitude was also justifiable, but circumstances have since then become more compelling and substantial and drastic reductions have been conceded for jute goods. More commodities have queued up for the same kind of consideration. Tea can put up a good case, though we are afraid, not a very pressing one."

It is this periodical queue up of one industry after another that I strongly condemn. The tendency has been, "If the jute industry gets the benefit of lower export duty, why not tea?"

"The case, then, for such revision of excise and export duties must be carefully investigated."

"For instance, everyone would have noticed the striking contrast between the poverty and misery of tea garden workers and the obvious prosperity of the planters on their isolated hill stations."

What is needed, therefore, is a thorough investigation of all the items that make up production costs and the possible effects on internal prices which may result from lower export duty, before any relief is to be thought of.

Preoccupied as the Nehru Government are in meeting the poor crisis, other aspects of our economy are apt to be lost sight of. The frequent alarms of industrialists force them into tight corners from which the only escape

would seem to be to placate the industries concerned. The time has, however, come to cry a halt to this kind of economic blackmail by Big Business in India and to direct it into truly business channels.

This Control Board has thus become a nest of Big Capital. Their concern for Labour Welfare was shown by the way they "suppressed" a film on conditions in Tea Gardens and suggestions for their improvement. We demand that the consumer, the ultimate sufferer be given a majority representation.

Freedom of Expression

This subject has become the staple of discussion in our papers. University students in their training for Journalism are told the story how in the West they secured this valued right and how their people had fought and wrought for it. But there is a tendency even amongst full-blooded upholders of freedom, editors of papers, to deny that luxury to the writers who in their own name write something that jars on the sensitive conception of a religion's excellence. These have become part of everyday experience, and writers develop in themselves a spirit of cynicism that smiles on the bumptious talk of honesty and freedom.

In the United States they do things in a grand way. They held a "Defence of Cultural Freedom" Conference on March 29 last. About 600 "intellectuals" attended it, and had "a gruelling day of intense discussion." Daniel Jones writing in the *New Leader* of April 7 last says that this Conference continued the work of the "World Congress for Cultural Freedom," held in June, 1950. The question was asked, "Who threatens Cultural Freedom in America?"

The schools or "states of mind" are said to have emerged. One, the 19th century libertarian; the third was the other extreme—"the ultra sophisticated school of anti-Communism"; in between are a middle party who fully understand "the Soviet threat and the need to combat it." . . . "They see the mass of ordinary people . . . as so much plasticine to be molded into a harder form through constant indoctrination. These so-called 'experts' have carried with them into the democratic camp the emergency-mentality of totalitarianism, like a germ in its dormant phase that has incubated in the fetid atmosphere of the world crisis."

As opposed to this there was the position of Sidney Hook, Chairman of the Conference and of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, who believes that a distinction can be made between Communism as an ideological heresy and Communism as a politico-military conspiracy. As Hook writes in his new pamphlet, *Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No*:

"A heresy does not shrink from publicity. It welcomes it. Not so a conspiracy. The signs of a conspiracy are secrecy, anonymity, the use of false names and labels, the calculated lie. It does not offer its wares openly but by systematic infiltration into all organizations of cultural life. . . ."

"Communist *ideas* are heresies and liberals need have no fear of them where they are freely and openly expressed. . . . No one should be punished because he holds them. The Communist *movement*, however, is something quite different from a mere heresy. . . . " (*Italics in original.*)

Can you prosecute Communists without banning their ideas?

This is the dilemma that faces India's Prime Minister. He feels unable to say as the Madras Premier has said that he is Communism's "Enemy No. 1."

Potato Muddle

The grievance voiced by the Opposition members of the Bombay Legislative Assembly over the inordinate delay the Minister for Agriculture took to inform the House of the loss incurred in the Potato scheme is to a great extent justifiable. The loss of nearly Rs. 5 lakhs was incurred because the potato seeds from the Simla Hills were held up due to a transport bottle-neck caused by the Punjab disturbances and hence could not be distributed to the cultivators in time. Though this took place as late as August, 1947, the fact was not brought to the notice of the Assembly till the other day; actually the intimation of the loss formed part of the demands in the Supplementary Statement of expenditure. The query raised by members regarding this time-lag was pertinent. Unfortunately, Mr. M. P. Patil's reply that the Government took five years to decide the procedure for accounting the loss was not very happy. There was nothing to prevent the Ministry from informing the members of the events and later deciding about such a routine matter as accounting. The episode has another aspect. The cultivators for whom the seeds are meant are bound by an agreement they have signed with the Government pledging themselves to bear any loss that is incurred by the Government in arranging the distribution of seeds. It is good that the Government shared the loss in this particular case, but the provision to force the cultivators to share losses for incurring which they were not responsible is much too rigid.

This experience of Bombay has been repeated in West Bengal. And in spite of Shree Gopalaswamy Iyengar's tenure of office for about four years, the bottle-necks are as plenty as ever.

Regrettable Negligence

The following extract from the *Harijan* of June 7 shows how slack and unconscionably irresponsible our officialdom has become. The Indian Constitution makers in their infantile simplicity forgot that the clauses that they were inserting in the Charter of Liberties were weapons in the hands of the Reckless, the Lawless and the Slacker:

"About eight or nine months ago a public-spirited merchant of the West Khandesh District (Bombay) brought to my notice that so far back as November 1950 orders had been passed to establish a Civil Court at Taloda (West Khandesh), a building had been

occupied and excepting the Judge all the clerical and other staff had been appointed and maintained at a cost of about Rs. 1,000/- per month. I was told that since then all the litigation falling within the jurisdiction of the new Court was being nominally transferred to that Court and all new litigation had to be filed in that Court. But, curiously, although more than half a year had then already elapsed no Judge had taken charge of that Court, and all cases triable by that Court remained suspended. He desired me to take public notice of this delay, waste of public money and inconvenience to the public.

"I regret that for a long time I did not believe his story and neglected him. I thought that this was hardly possible, and that he was either exaggerating or misinformed. As he would not rest or allow me to do so, I demanded more substantial evidence. He thereupon sent me copies of a resolution of the Bhil Seva Mandal, West Khandesh, pertaining to that subject, and of some correspondence between that body and the Government of Bombay, and asked me to publish his complaint on his personal responsibility. From the correspondence I found that the Government of Bombay had referred the Bhil Seva Mandal to the High Court of Bombay, as that Department was responsible for the appointment of Judges. But the Mandal did not seem to have pursued the matter with the High Court, and the matter had stopped there. I decided that before taking notice in *Harijan*, I should personally enquire into the matter."

"The net result is that there was a wasteful expenditure of Rs. 1,000 per month for 15 or 16 months, and even now there is not sufficient work for the Judge, and necessarily, therefore, for the staff. For the same period, the public was left without any judicial authority to attend to their even urgent grievances. The absence of State-established judiciary is not in itself an undesirable thing, but it would have been welcome if it had been brought about by the people. In this case it has been due to gross negligence on the part of the Judicial and/or Executive authorities of the State.

"The High Court and the Government shift the blame on each other. In what manner shall I apportion the blame?

"The Government have been frank enough to write to me expressing regret 'for the waste of public money involved in this,' and 'for the state of things in which such a thing happened.' They also add, 'We are trying our utmost to minimize such incidents.'

"I did not pursue the matter further with the High Court as there was no more occasion left for it. But I believe that if I had, the Chief Justice and the Judges would also have expressed their regret for what had happened and promised to try to improve the administration from their side.

"If a case of such negligence of trust funds had come to the notice of the High Court in the course of a legal proceeding before it, I can imagine what strictures the High Court would have passed against the Trustees. Perhaps they would have been held unworthy of holding positions of responsibility.

"But who am I to pass strictures on either the Government or the High Court when I feel myself guilty of contributory negligence on my part also? If I had believed my correspondent, and written to the High Court, when the matter was first brought to my notice eight or nine months ago, perhaps the matters would have been set right much earlier than they have been. But it did not strike me.

"The tragedy of the situation is that there is none either in the Judiciary or in the Executive who attends to these matters. The Bar Room of the District concerned should have pursued this matter. It too did not. And there is no public institution—not even the Congress Committee—keenly watchful of public interest. It was left to a poor village shopkeeper who is also a public worker to pursue it. When he failed to interest the officers, legislators, and public bodies of the district, he turned to me. Unfortunately, I too turned a deaf ear to him for long. But for his perseverance, the waste might have still gone on."

Earth, The Mother of Everyone

The following is a fairly close English rendering of a poem by one of the best known Hindi poets, Shri Maithili Saran Gupta, inspired by Vinoba's pilgrimage:

Fickle is Lakshmi, unstable for ever, wayward as lightning flickering gone.

Constant is Earth the Mother, whom never may any man take for himself alone.

How many sons of Man, your brethren, are cheated of bliss.

They have no part in the land, who then shall answer for this?

Now is the God-given moment, now will the gift avail.

Give for their sakes, of your riches, let justice and mercy prevail.

Glory is yours for the gathering now, like ripe fruit fallen before you strown.

Constant is Earth the Mother, whom never may any man take for himself alone.

A prophet, a leader is with us, the pathway of right to make straight.

Could there be greater good fortune than this which is now our fate?

Behold the merit you sought for hath come of itself—Oh heed!

For the call of Life, unheeded, of death may be the seed.

Yes, where the sap of Truth springs not, there is the blight of poison thrown.

Constant is Earth the Mother, whom never may any man take for himself alone.

We quote the above from the *Harijan* of March 8, 1952.

Ram Mohun Roy Library

This cultural institution in North-east Calcutta has a record of work of more than 25 years. Its report for 1951 continues the previous history, and its financial position is as good as can be expected under present conditions. Its Library is one of the best in Calcutta, containing books that are rare. The Government has not been doing its duty by it. Its gift of books worth Rs. 1,300 is not enough; neither is the Corporation's Rs. 500 considering the requirements of the public of North-east Calcutta, the grants from these should be continuous and considerable, so that the Library may have a distinct plan to carry out with assurance.

An aspect of the Library's work is the study circle that sits every Thursday at 7 p.m., where literature, science, history, sociology, politics, economics, philosophy, religion and kindred subjects are discussed by men who can speak with authority.

"Nations Now in Distress"

Under this title *The Brethren Missionary Herald* published on May 3 last a letter which needs no comments from us:

"The Lord Jesus was often asked for signs. Upon one occasion He said to His disciples: 'There shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars, and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth.'—(Luke 21: 25-26).

"These words will help one understand why the editor of the *Fort Wayne (Ind.) News-Sentinel* (April 18, 1952) wrote these words:

'How's this for sheer governmental nonsense? We co-operate with Soviet Russia in dismantling Berlin industries, most of the equipment going to Russia, where it is destined to bolster the Red threat against our freedom and that of the rest of the world.

'Then we spend 400 million dollars since 1949, to rebuild these Berlin industries to what they were before we gave the Russians the 'go' sign to tear them down and cart them behind the Iron Curtain.'

'Besides that we gave the Russians a lot of Marshall Plan money to help set them up in business as they are today.

'It certainly is ironical that money raised by our free American economy should first be spent to build up Russia and tear down Germany, and then be spent to build up Germany with the idea that she may help to tear down Russia. Can't we make up our minds?'

"Indeed, the nations of this old world are in a state of distress and perplexity and in need of the

Prince of Peace who alone can bring about order and peace."

This contradiction of policies on the part of the victorious powers has been one of the causes of the present tension between the Soviet Bloc and the Anglo-American Powers. The two world wars have demonstrated that reparations do ultimately fall on the victors. Because, the defeated peoples have to be kept alive, have to be given work, the capital is being supplied by the victors. This ought to make wars an economically impossible proposition. But human history says otherwise. We are unteachable.

Post-Graduate Studies at German Universities and Technical Institutions

The following has been sent us by the Director of Publicity, West Bengal:

"Under the Indo-German Industrial Co-operation Scheme, the Government of India have accepted 50 scholarships for Post-graduate studies at German Universities and Technical Institutions for Arts, Science and Medical subjects and 100 places for training in Industries. The minimum qualification is a good degree. For training in Industries candidates are required to possess not less than two years' practical experience. The age limit is between 20 and 35 years, but for Medical subjects up to 40 years. Out of 100 places for training in Industries, 10 are reserved for teachers employed in Technical Institutions and 30 for the Scientific Man-Power Committee Stipendiaries. Candidates or their sponsors will have to meet half the cost of training. For full particulars of subjects, qualifications and other matters please write to the Ministry of Education, Scholarships Division, Government of India, New Delhi. The last date for receipt of applications in the Ministry of Education is 5th July, 1952. All applications should be made on the prescribed forms to be obtained from the Ministry of Education Scholarships Division, on requisition.

"The candidates in Government Service or employed anywhere else must submit their application through proper channel. Applications received direct from such candidates will not be considered. In case of any expected delay in sending applications through proper channel, an advance copy may be sent but it will be considered only if the application through proper channel is received in due course.

"Candidates are required to attach to their applications two copies of their passport size photograph, copies of University Degree/Diplomas attested by a Gazetted Officer or a Professor in a University/Degree College in support of statements made regarding educational qualifications and a medical certificate from a registered medical practitioner to the effect that they are physically fit to undergo training in West Germany. The candidates should have a working knowledge of German."

Poet of the People

Max Eastman in the *Readers' Digest* of 1946, wrote an article on Robert Burns, the poet of Scotland under the above title. As we, most of us, claim to speak on behalf of the people, Eastman's estimate is of inestimable value. First, he refers to the "travail" of spirit, of the intellect. "Euclid's Elements of Geometry," he somehow managed to "unravel" by his father's fire-side, during "the winter evenings of the first season he held the plough."

In youth he founded a debating society whose bylaws decreed that "every man proper for a member . . . must be a professed lover of one or more of the female sex." And to that bylaw he adhered throughout life, maintaining "from both bachelor and wedlock experience" that love is "the first of human joys."

The Kirk an' State may join, and tell
To do sic things I maunna;
The Kirk an' State may gae to Hell,
And I'll gae to my Anna.

However, Burns strictly obeyed the Kirk and state till 23, and aside from a calf-love song or two, his real career as a poet began in a spirit of humorous play. He would make up funny and affectionate rhymes about the farm animals, or derisive rhymes about the squabblings of neighboring preachers over the dogmas of John Calvin.

While rhyming for fun, Burns exercised a moral and political influence equalled by few men of his century. Calvin's rigid theology of damnation was dry, dark and cruel in the Scotland of those days but it was lightened by the stream of hilarious laughter and unanswerable logic that poured from the poems of Robert Burns. Burns is as much the teacher of Scotland as Homer was of Greece.

How many of India's modern poets have attained this popularity? Except Rabindranath's songs, we cannot recall any.

John Dewey

By the death of John Dewey on June 1, 1952, the civilized world loses one of the foremost educators and philosophers of all time. John Dewey influenced educational practices in the United States and many other countries for more than two generations. He achieved world-wide fame for his influence on contemporary thought and as a champion of progressive causes.

After the death of William James, Dewey was regarded in the United States as the leader of the pragmatic movement in philosophy. Often referred to as the philosopher of the plain man, it was said of him: "There is hardly a phase of American thought to which he has not made some contribution, hardly an aspect of American life which he has left uninterpreted. His influence has extended to the schools, the courts, the labour movement and the politics of the nation."

According to Max Eastman, noted author, "John Dewey . . . is the man who saved our children from dying of boredom as we almost did in school." It was largely due to his teaching, said the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, that "the centre of gravity shifted from the subject-

matter of instruction to the child to be taught. As a consequence, the school began to change from a place where children prepare for life to a place where children live."

John Dewey was born on October 20, 1859, in Burlington, Vermont, where his father kept a general store. He finished high school and entered the University of Vermont at 15. He graduated at 19 with the highest marks on record in philosophy.

For a while he was a school-teacher, but after his first article was published by the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, he decided to be a philosopher. So he borrowed \$500 from an aunt and entered the graduate school of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. The next year he won a scholarship and also got a job teaching the history of philosophy to the undergraduates. Later, he got a job as instructor of philosophy at the University of Michigan, where he fell in love with Alice Chipman, one of his pupils, whom he married in 1886. Except for one year at the University of Minnesota, Dewey spent 10 years at the University of Michigan, becoming head of the department of philosophy in 1888.

In 1894, he was invited to head the combined departments of philosophy, psychology and education of Chicago University. There he founded the famous Dewey Laboratory School, where he put into practice his theory of "learning by doing."

In 1904, he became professor of philosophy at New York's Columbia University. Following his retirement in the early 1930's Dewey continued to receive his \$12,000 salary as professor emeritus in residence until 1938. In 1932, he was appointed honorary president of Henry George School of Social Science in New York.

Dewey also was for some time president of the American Psychological Association and the American Association of University Professors as well as honorary president of the American Philosophical Association, the National Education Association and the Progressive Education Association.

In June, 1948, Dewey was awarded one of the first honorary degrees conferred by the New School for Social Research in New York—Doctor of Humane Letters. In conferring the degree, the school described him as the "greatest of living American philosophers." Dewey has been similarly honoured by several other institutions both in America and abroad.

He was the typical professor in that he was absent-minded and careless about his appearance. He never bothered much about exercise for he thought brain work was just as good, if there was enough of it.

The Deweys had six children and one of his biographers has said it was the children, clambering over him while he worked "who kept the problems of philosophy thoroughly mixed up in his mind with the problems of education."

Froebel, Montessori and others in the West had pioneered the movement which Dewey made a success in the U.S.A. In India, Rabindranath and Gandhiji are outstanding figures whose language we repeat and whose accents we imitate, but whose precepts we ignore.

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AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN WEST BENGAL

By J. N. CHAKRAVARTY, B.A., Dip-in-Agri, M.S.A. (Cornell, U.S.A.), I.A.S. (Retired),

Retired Director of Agriculture, Assam

THE first session of the Indian agricultural educational committee held recently at Hyderabad, has focussed public attention at least of the section who take an interest in agricultural problems—on a subject hitherto neglected. It is difficult to believe but none the less true that the intellectual but agricultural province of Bengal never possessed a first class agricultural college, including the days when Bihar, Orissa had not yet been separated. The higher agricultural class, which ordinarily admitted only graduates was started as an adjunct of Sibpur Engineering College towards the end of the last century. It possessed only one professor of agriculture.

The successful students were mainly employed as Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors. There was no room for their absorption in the then agriculture department. The Sabour College established in 1908 started with a three-year diploma course (after Matriculation) which was soon reduced to a two-year certificate course. The Dacca Agricultural Institute, established in 1941, did not develop into a first class institution before it was cut off from India.

The record of the oldest and largest University of India, the Calcutta University, was still better. It had no connection with agricultural education till 1949 when the Jhargram Science and Agricultural College was affiliated to it to the intermediate standard. It came into existence through the encouragement of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. P. N. Banerjee and the generosity of Raja Narasinha Malladeb of Jhargram who donated Rs. 1 lakh and made a grant of about three hundred acres of land. The certificate course instituted at Barrackpore in 1939, was almost still-born, the military having requisitioned the farm land in 1942-43. The staff and equipment were transferred to the Jhargram Agricultural College in 1949. Long before this, each of the major Indian provinces, Bombay, Madras, C.P., U.P. and the Punjab had each established an agricultural college, affiliated to their own universities up to the Degree course. It is understood that the Government of West Bengal have decided to come into line by establishing a full agricultural college and the Jhargram College will soon be affiliated to the degree standard.

The past history of agricultural education in Bengal is not very happy and a short resume may help the authorities as well as the public to avoid past mistakes. As early as 1876-84, about a dozen eminent students of the Calcutta University, many of them holding the master's degree were sent to England

to study agriculture at the Cirencester College. On return most of them were appointed as Deputy Magistrates, one or two fortunates as statutory civilians and only two were employed in real agricultural work. The celebrated lawyer and politician Byomkesh Chakravarty and the educationist and founder of the Bangabasi College, G. C. Bose, refused any appointment and attained eminence in their chosen spheres. The celebrated poet D. L. Roy was one of these and spent his official life in the Excise Department. Apparently no previous thought had been given to their employment after studying agriculture. During 1905-7, eight more students from the higher agricultural class at Sibpur were sent in three batches to the Cornell University, U.S.A., for the same purpose. They were more fortunate than their predecessors in being employed in different capacities in the reorganised department of agriculture. It is clear from the above, that the government had no other objective than training up some recruits for different grades of the agricultural department, nor had the students any other view. They mostly came from families who had always adopted government service or one of the learned professions as their vocation. The facilities required to enable such young men to earn an income comparable to that in government service or learned profession did not exist.

Land and capital, the two essential pre-requisites for farming were lacking, a short course in college did not adequately equip the young urbanite immediately for practical farming. He could not without further experience compete with the cultivator who had agriculture bred in his bones. Conditions in the rural areas in most parts of Bengal were such as could hold few attractions for educated young men to go and settle there. Insanitary, decadent villages without medical and educational facilities could not attract them.

The stock argument that agricultural education is a failure because past students did not take to private farming is misconceived.

In the last half century almost the whole attention of the government, the capitalist, and the public was concentrated on industrialisation. This provided a more secure and comfortable means of gainful occupation than could be secured from cultivation. The middle classes, particularly the energetic and enterprising among them, migrated almost wholesale to towns. The country-side was almost denuded of the more skilled manual workers who obtained more

remunerative employment in the industrial centres. The result was a further stagnation and deterioration of agriculture culminating in the present food crisis, and the almost complete break-down of India's economic balance. The accumulated result of the neglect of half a century cannot be remedied in a day or even a year; but an organised and all-out effort must be made to restore this balance if India is to survive. Conditions must be created to bring at least a section of the middle class back to the countryside. Many of the numerous plans launched recently by the government are aimed towards this end. The first need, however, is to train a large band of skilled workers who will understand rural needs and conditions. There must be also a constant flow to replace casualties. It stands to reason that the best way of doing this is by training skilled workers in the agricultural colleges. There is hardly a department of government now, which is not concerned with agricultural improvement in some shape or other. A knowledge of agriculture will be much more useful to an officer than of pure sciences. There will thus be scope for employment not only in the agriculture department but in all spheres of rural activities.

The agricultural educational committee has made two valuable recommendations, *viz.*, the agricultural colleges should be located as far as possible in rural areas and that the students should be required to work at least one month every year in the villages. The period of training for the degree course should be extended or, if necessary, even some of the lectures should be cut down, to provide for this. It is only by working in the villages among the cultivators that the students can gain a first-hand knowledge of the defects of our ordinary farm practice, the difficulties of the cultivators and the conditions under which they work. It is only by gaining such direct experience that they can later win the confidence of the cultivators and help and advise them. This is not possible in the college farm where conditions are bound to be somewhat artificial and different from actual conditions of the village.

Work does not however mean *watch*.

During his training at Sibpur, the writer had to spend one month every year studying and learning rural farm practice and conditions, which was a part of the course. During his stay in U.S.A., he used to spend one month every year during his vacation working as an ordinary farm hand. This was possible in the U.S.A. where many students paid a part of their way by such work. He has to admit that the experience gained during these few months had helped him very substantially in his work among Indian cultivators. Some of the lessons, even after the lapse of nearly half a century are still vivid in his memory while many of the class-lessons have been forgotten.

A few general suggestions on the curriculum will

not be irrelevant. The period of training for the degree course may be divided into two stages. During the first stage the student should learn the fundamentals of science, and if necessary, a little mathematics and languages. The second stage should be devoted largely to the study of agriculture proper. Agriculture includes a vast array of subjects, and a wide range of electives should be offered, as the student progresses higher and higher, the final year being devoted mainly to the subjects in which the student wishes to specialise before he enters into active life. Throughout this period, he should be kept close to the earth and made to do some practical farm-work. He should never lose touch with rural life. It cannot be over-stressed that agriculture is not only a science but also an art, which must be practised. Success in professional life will depend more on the skill acquired in the practice than on a knowledge of science. This knowledge can very substantially be increased but cannot replace efficiency or practical skill. It is true that a technician cannot be a master of his profession by the skill he acquires during the training period, but he must be equipped with a sound foundation on which he can build on further experience. This foundation must be built on the rock of actual practice and not on the sand of mere book-learning.

It is understood that the departmental college will only admit I.Sc. students and give them a three-year training culminating in a degree or its equivalent. The Calcutta University, on the other hand, is providing a four-year course after Matriculation, divided into two stages, the Intermediate and the Degree. It is rather doubtful whether the training envisaged above can be compressed into four years' course unless a considerable portion of the vacation is utilised for practical and rural training. It is hoped that the experts of the university and of the department of agriculture will devise a satisfactory course. While the time has come when every sphere of education should be permeated with an agricultural bias and officers of all departments of administration connected with rural life should have an agricultural knowledge, every care should be taken that an agricultural degree stamps the recipient with the hall-mark of efficiency. He must be able to hold his own with his counterparts in the sister departments of medicine and engineering. He must be able to command the respect of the cultivators when he goes out to teach them, and must not give the impression of being a college-trained amateur. It is unfortunate but none the less true that in the past our agricultural graduates have not been always able to inspire this confidence. Nothing should be done to aggravate this.

A further suggestion may be ventured. The Calcutta University has already waited too long before taking up the question of agricultural education. If it is

seriously desired that agricultural education should come to its proper place in the scheme of our national education, a faculty of agriculture should be constituted immediately. This single step will raise it to its proper dignity in the public eye. Till then a strong committee which should include some agricultural scientists and trained agriculturists should actively function. It should advise on the formulation and execution of its agricultural policy. The responsibility is too great for any single person, however qualified, to bear. Similarly the department of agriculture should

constitute a committee which should include some non-officials acquainted with rural life to advise it on its educational policy and programme. It is only by a close co-operation between the Calcutta University and the department of agriculture, Education department and the public, that agricultural education can be efficiently organised and made to occupy its proper place in the national life of West Bengal, or for the matter of that, the Indian Union. Let us hope that agricultural education will soon be recognised as a major national issue.

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THE GARDEN OF AMERICA

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I

WHEN one attempts to generalize from the American experience, he is confronted by bewildering contradictions, apparent paradoxes, and a vast array of facts which defy analysis. He is fairly certain that the American society is predominantly a competitive business society which places high value on money as the symbol of success. He is much less certain that the generic, composite American is wholly immersed in material ends. In fact, if he were guided by what Americans, past and present, have thought of themselves, he would be impressed by their basic idealism, however misplaced.

For more than three centuries Americans have been re-enacting, literally and symbolically, consciously or unconsciously, the Christian myth of the Garden of Eden, in which they have conceived themselves in the role of God's chosen people with a special mission or destiny to fulfill. It is the central myth of America, one which best explains the distinctive quality of the American experience and which provides the key to the American character. It is the American's high sense of a mission, his fervent belief in his own uniqueness, which, in the words of George Santayana,

"stamps the immigrant, almost before he can speak English, with an unmistakable muscular tension, cheery self-confidence and habitual challenge in the voice and eyes . . ."—*Character and Opinion in the United States*.

His patriotism, supra-national in its Messianic appeal, has given repeated offense to the peoples of other countries who have taken their own patriotism more for granted. De Tocqueville, a French visitor to America in 1831, noted that Americans spoke almost as if they belonged to a distinct race of mankind. American writers, early and late, have been obsessed with the fact of having been born in America. It has frequently been pointed out that the English do not

self-consciously write novels called *The Englishman* or the French entitle their novels *Le Francais*, whereas Americans have produced many variations upon *The American*. American expatriates—notably Henry James, Gertrude Stein and T. S. Eliot—have seldom been able to stop writing about America and Americans, perhaps because their compatriots would not let them forget. "An Englishman or other European who settled in America," complained one American expatriate,

"incurs no kind of moral blame either in the land he has deserted or in his new-adopted home. But to desert America is somehow regarded as a kind of treachery, as if America were more than a country, were a sort of cause, and its Stars and Stripes the banner of a crusading army which it is dishonorable to desert."—Logan Pearsall Smith: *Unforgotten Years*.

The assumption of moral superiority by Americans was not something bred of the Revolutionary struggle in 1776 or born with the new Republic of 1789; rather, it was something already in existence from the early days of settlement, swelling and intensifying the tide of nationalism. During colonial days it masqueraded as an inferiority complex, as the colonists attempted to ape the ways of their mother country. But in their secret hearts they never doubted their moral superiority over the English; they felt inferior only in respect to their dress, their manners, their culture. The contrast between simple, virtuous American democrats, uncouth in their manners and dress, and suave but unprincipled European aristocrats, which dominated much of the 19th century American writing, thus had its roots in the colonial experience. The contrast—in which Americans always come off the moral victors—not only answered contemporary criticism of American manners by foreign travellers, but also made amends for a long "race" memory of

colonial bondage. In the slaying of the European father America had at last dared to speak its authentic tongue.

The myth framework on which that tongue would hang its tale was established almost at the foundation of the world, when men first hungered for a Golden Age in a land of milk and honey. The "pagan dream" of a Golden Age became fused with and was superseded in Western Europe by the Christian myth of the Garden of Eden. Medieval legend, according to Hoxie Fairchild, located the promised land on some lost Atlantis far in the unknown western seas. Thus, when Columbus discovered a new continent in the western seas in 1492, man's long-starved imagination at once identified it as the fabulous promised land of the Christian myth. "I am convinced," wrote the discoverer of America, "that there is the terrestrial paradise." From that moment the direction of the future millennium became fixed in men's minds as westward, and that conviction was to spur the new Americans to the shores of the Pacific in one of the most rapid westward exoduses in history. Bishop Berkeley's famous line written in 1726, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," merely told the American colonists what they already believed and were acting upon.

The discovery of America not only pledged a race of men yet unborn to the "orgiastic future," but it also began the long process of what Carl Becker has called dismantling the celestial heaven in favor of an earthly one. For a hundred and ten years before the first permanent settlement imaginations feverishly peopled the new heaven on earth with a new Adam and Eve. In a large measure the release of energy known as the Renaissance was stimulated by the discovery of America. A net effect of the Protestant Reformation was to adjust collective dreams to the realm of the practical in religion and to produce a group of people sufficiently dedicated to endure the first hardships of colonization. Such an opportunity to live a better, more abundant life under more ideal conditions had not presented itself to mankind in centuries. It is understandable, therefore, why the attention of the Western world was focused on America and why the early settlers assumed so exalted a role for themselves. The wonder is that "the land of plenty," as it has been known ever since, did not develop a more materialistic culture than it has.

Though the Southern settlers of America, recruited largely from adventurers, fortune hunters, and cavaliers, were quite frankly interested in material gain, they were not altogether oblivious to the spiritual drama. The English poet, Michael Drayton, spelled their voyage with the reminder that Virginia was "God's only Paradise,"

Where Nature hath in store
To crown the Virgin, and Fish,

while George Alsop told his fellow inhabitants of Maryland that "they need not look for any other terrestrial paradise." John Smith, the intrepid leader at Jamestown who discovered Eve in the tribe of Powhatan, admitted that "heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation . . . we chanced in a land, even as God made it." The ship which succoured the starving inhabitants of Jamestown with a year's provisions was likened to the "arme of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people pass the Red Sea and Wilderness, and then to possess the land of Canaan." A third-generation Virginian, William Byrd, boasted that old people in Virginia felt "as if they were wholly born anew," and he half-humorously subtitled his *Natural History of Virginia* "The Newly Discovered Eden," after Governor Eden.

Southerners, as a whole, never took their religion as seriously as their brethren of New England. The dominant moral tone for three centuries was given to Americans by the New England Puritans, the most zealous sect of the Protestant faith. The Puritans were also the most literal-minded in applying their Bible reading to the conduct of their daily lives and the most insistent upon a literal interpretation of the myth of the Garden of Eden. They spoke of their flight from Europe as a "Voluntary Banishment," and unlike the Southern settlers they brought their royal charters with them, symbolizing their complete break with the past.

To the Puritans England and Europe represented man's estate after his expulsion from the Garden of Eden, a corrupt society in which individuals were oppressed by nobles, priests and kings. America, by contrast, was yet untainted by European civilization. There man could slough off his old skin and recapture his pristine state of innocence. The Puritans believed literally that God's "Second Coming" to his chosen people, prophesied in the New Testament, would occur in New England. In their theological dialectic Europe thus became a "type" of the Past, America the "antitype" of the Future. God encouraged their uniqueness and anticipated their moral purity, moreover, by throwing a "cordon sanitaire" of Atlantic and Pacific Oceans about their promised land. The American's sense of a mission originated, then, in the Puritan's thirst for moral perfection and was nurtured in conditions peculiar to the American environment. The recurrent American theme, the contrast between East and West, between American virtue and European decadence, received its fullest meaning, as well as its classic form of expression, in the Puritan version of the myth of the Garden of Eden. The contrast was to receive its most artistic treatment in the novels of Henry James.

Though the Puritans had accounted for the Past and Future to their satisfaction, they were still living

in a harrowing Present, confined by a "howling wilderness," beset by murdering savages, visited periodically by famine and disease. This was the waiting period, they assured themselves, like that experienced by the Israelites wandering in the desert before God permitted them to enter the land of Canaan. But the Puritans were betrayed by the eternal Present. Increasingly, as the millennium came to be postponed and God had controversy with New England, the time factor in their celestial accounts became merged with the spatial dimension of their new country. The stewards of the Lord began to calculate their future in terms of the western land. It was no historical accident that New Englanders led the orderly colonization westward, for they still sought the New Jerusalem which somehow had eluded them in New England. Undoubtedly, the slogan "Manifest Destiny," employed to justify westward expansion in the 1840's and 50's, covered many sins, but for the descendants of the Puritans it nevertheless continued to express their sincere sense of a divinely appointed mission.

An essential attraction of the new world was its "newness." To the God-seekers it still retained the fresh dew of the Creation, and they named their dwelling places *New York*, *New Haven*, *New Jersey*, *New Canaan*. Here corrupt man was to be born anew, morally regenerate.

All hail, thou western world! by heaven design'd

Th' example bright, to renovate mankind,
rhapsodized the New Englander, Timothy Dwight in 1794. "Races, reborn, refresh'd . . ." carolled America's uninhabited democratic bard, Walt Whitman, as he pictured the numerous off-spring of Adam and Eve moving westward around the globe. "A land that man has newly trod," observed Josquin Miller as late as 1881; a land where

Yet perfect blossoms bless the sod
And perfect birds illumine the trees.

"The world's best hope," said President Jefferson—which President Lincoln rephrased sixty-five years later as "the last best hope of earth." By the time the 18th century was well along, God's "Second Coming" had been forgotten, except by a fanatic fringe which led periodic revivals and founded new evangelical sects in the wilderness. Mere contact with the virgin soil was by them deemed sufficient for regeneration. The cult of the "Noble Savage" and the self-made man which flourished in the 19th century had its earliest setting in the Garden myth. The original expectation of spiritual rebirth translated itself into cultural primitivism.

But the new Americans could not be "reborn," because, as D. H. Lawrence pointed out, they were "race-old." They brought with them many of the institutions, manners, and prejudices of their motherland. As a result, the settlements on the eastern sea-

board of America began to repeat, with minor variations, the pattern of European society. An aristocracy of wealth based on commerce and land speculation began to blossom in the larger seaport towns, Boston thirsted after London as much as London aspired to be Paris. The corruption which the Garden myth attached to European society came to be duplicated in American towns. The dreamers therefore located their New Jerusalems farther west on the unsettled frontiers. Though Europe would continue to play the villain in the Garden myth ("The old and moth-eaten systems of Europe have had their day," bluntly asserted Whitman during the height of westward expansionist sentiment), a secondary villain arose. The decadent eastern parts of America often replaced Europe in the minds of the new-new Western men.

Each successive wave of pioneers and settlers cultivated the image of the woods or the farm as a refuge from the crass civilization they had left behind them. The contrast between innocence and corruption had merely shifted its locale, not its import for the American dream.

"The eloquence of the East is sober, passionless, condensed metaphysical," boasted a Kentuckian orator from his Eden fastness, "that of the West is free, lofty, agitating, grand, impassioned . . . the West defies and transcends criticism."

The Garden myth, coupled with the proximity of vast, unsettled regions, was responsible for the oversimplification which located good in the country and evil in the city, present in the bulk of American literature written since 1820. The Garden myth, as Henry Nash Smith has shown, created the mirage which effaced the western deserts and caused thousands of settlers to stake their claims in areas of insufficient rainfall.

The reality which the western pioneers uncovered never quite measured up to the heroic proportions of their dreams, but they disguised their disappointment by celebrating the size of their country. Their preoccupation with size and quantity concealed a longing for spiritual grandeur. As each successive generation failed in its appointed mission, it concentrated its hopes for futurity on the next generation. When the physical frontiers of America disappeared, they sought their lost innocence in their children, as had the aging James Fenimore Cooper years before, returning from Europe to create the youthful *Deerslayer*. The youths of America, accordingly, became at once the most-glorified and the most-lectured youth in the world. Three great American writers who saw their Garden turning into a Wasteland placed their hope for America's ultimate salvation in her youth. In *Huckleberry Finn*, Mark Twain relived his own boyhood on the Mississippi; Sherwood Anderson bequeathed the task of socializing the modern machine to the "unborn

Hugh McVey" of his novel *Poor White*; Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt* told his son to do what he himself had never dared to do. Though the major American writers of the 20th century have, almost without exception, severely criticized their society, the Garden of Eden myth survives in the moral indignation underlying their bitterness. They sought to raise a new Garden out of the ashes of a "Wasteland."

II

One effect of the westward movement on the Garden myth was to replace Europe with the eastern seaboard of America in the contrast of innocence and corruption. Yet the feudal hierarchy of nobles, priests, and kings from which the Puritans had revolted had not been transplanted in America. In the first place, the Garden myth insisted that any over-ripe state of society was rotted with artificiality and convention and that the only antidote was a return to the simplicity of a state of nature. Secondly, changes were taking place in Europe even as the colonists were building their towns. Under the banner of the new science and led by a rising entrepreneurial middle-class, of which the Puritans had been members, a commercial business society was rapidly undermining the old feudal structure. By the beginning of the 18th century the English vocabulary on both sides of the Atlantic was saturated with counting-house usages. The pivotal words of the 18th century were "undertaking," "interest," "accounts," "project," "design," "trade," etc. In 1701, Increase Mather, the leading New England Puritan of the second generation, saw the same absorption in material ends which was beginning to characterize European society: "It was purely on a Religious account," he lamented,

"that they (the first colonists) ventured themselves and little ones over the vast Ocean into this which was then a vast and howling wilderness. Although of later Times we have too much changed that which was our Glory, not *Seeking the Kingdom of God in the First Place*, not making Religion, but Trade and Land, and Earthly accommodations our *Interest* . . . In this we are degenerated from the Piety of our Ancestors."

The association of the Eastern seaboard society with the evils of Europe was not completed, however, until the effects of the Industrial Revolution began to be felt on this side of the Atlantic. The application of scientific method to business enterprise had introduced new horrors to French and English society. Thomas Jefferson, who visited Europe toward the end of the 18th century, viewed with alarm the social dislocations and misery caused by the new factory system. In revulsion he invoked his agrarian ideal, based primarily on the myth of the Garden of Eden.

"Those who labor in the earth," he wrote in his *Notes on Virginia* in 1782, "are the chosen people of God, if ever He had a chosen people, whose breasts He has made His peculiar deposit for sub-

stantial and genuine virtue . . . While we have land to labor then, let us never wish to see our citizens occupied at a workbench, or twirling a distaff . . . for the general operations of manufacture, let our workshops remain in Europe."

His first inaugural address of 1801, containing the seeds of modern isolationism, reveals that he counted on God's "cordon sanitaire" to keep morally antiseptic His chosen people, "kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe." But unknown to him, enterprising New England merchants had already imported the English technicians who were to launch the Industrial Revolution in America. Jefferson's own Embargo of 1808 actually encouraged the development and consumption of home manufactures. Jefferson finally had to bow to a *fait accompli*. His efforts to stave off the inevitable nevertheless resulted in the opening to settlement of vast new western territories where the myth of the Garden of Eden might yet be realized.

As Henry Nash Smith has shown in his excellent book, *Virgin Land* (Harvard University Press, 1950), the literature indigenous to the American South never applied the Garden myth to the internal conflict of East and West. The reason for this is that the Southern ethos was based largely on a plantation slave economy, relatively untouched by industrialism. There was no East-West conflict in the sense of an agrarian West as opposed to an urban, industrial East. Industrialism was, in the main, Northern. Consequently, the Garden myth in the South—and Southerners were almost narcissistic in identifying their plantation ideal with the Garden myth—became orientated, as the slave controversy hardened, about the North-South conflict. Southerners opposed the serpent of Negro slavery in their Garden to the serpent of wage slavery in the northern Garden. Though it would be a gross oversimplification to attribute the Civil War to a clash between an agricultural and industrial economy, it could be argued that the Garden myth contributed the dynamism to the Southern cause. The agrarian South has, to this day, remained the most provincial, the most vehement defender of its "way of life," of any region in America. The writing of its most gifted—and most tortured—novelist, William Faulkner, is replete with Garden symbolism. It must be added, however, that the Garden myth has also acted as a powerful catalyst for reform within the framework of an agrarian order. Southern traditionalists have bitterly fought the advances of industrialism in their midst even while urging improvement for the lot of the Negro. The Negro remains for them one of the last symbols of their "Golden Age."

The North in its advance westward has moulded the dominant temper of the American society. One of the earliest American writers to apply the contrast of corruption and innocence to the internal contrast

between East and West was James Fenimore Cooper. Disillusioned by the pushing, vulgar democracy of the Jacksonian era (1829-1837), he located his ideal American democrat, Natty Bumpo, the hero of *The Deerslayer*, in a forest Eden by a lovely lake which gave a "placid view of heaven." He created a moral being who could find "the impress of the Deity in all the works of nature, without any of the blots produced by the expedients, and passion, and mistakes of man." Though Cooper, living in a more secular day, had forgotten his source, the pattern of the Christian myth is unmistakable. The evil of the settlements is represented by three characters: Hurry Harry, the expirate Tom Hutter, and Tom's illegitimate daughter who likes to flirt with the British soldiers, the dark, exotic, sensuous Judith. The rewards for virtue go to the children of nature: the fair Hetty and the simple, plain-spoken Natty Bumpo. The interesting thing about Cooper's version of the myth is his basic understanding of the duality of good and evil in his characters and his reservations about the efficacy of Nature as a regenerating agent. Because he knew something of the hard, brutish life of the true frontier, he endowed his hero with "white man's gifts" to prevent his utter absorption by the forest. Unlike more "romantic" devotees to the cult of the noble savage, Cooper sought an ideal compromise between man living in a state of nature and man living in corrupt civilization.

The presence of the American Indians in their midst flattered the Garden-worshippers' sense of moral self-righteousness. They thought that the Indians were an inferior race, either to be destroyed or be ennobled by conversion to Anglo-Saxon, white Christianity. The mission of America to make over the rest of the world in its image was first conceived in missionary activities along the frontier. The influx of European immigrants also fostered the desire of the Chosen People to regenerate mankind. The successful assimilation of aliens, as the writings of Walt Whitman testify, gave birth to the illusion of America as a microcosm of the world. James Fenimore Cooper's sense of moral discrimination was too highly developed, however, to endorse fully the concept of "white man's gifts." He could not reconcile the killing of Indians, for instance, with the Christian Commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." Though his *Deerslayer* ended in wholesome slaughter of the Hurons, he sacrificed the innocent Hetty in symbolic atonement. Prophetically, the aging Leatherstocking of Cooper's tales made his last stand against an ever-encroaching civilization on the mid-west prairies, the final burying ground of the myth of the Garden of Eden in the 20th century.

A contemporary of Cooper's, Nathaniel Hawthorne, was no more successful in finding a middle ground, an Oasis in the "moral sand-waste of the world,"

between corrupt civilization and the savage frontier. By locating his Garden on a farm west of Boston he proposed in his *Blithedale Romance* to show "mankind the example of a life governed by other than the false and cruel principles on which human society has all along been based," to lead a life "true, strong, natural, and sweet . . . something that shall have the notes of wild birds twittering through it." He invested his Garden with the same Polarity of light and dark to represent innocence and evil that had characterized Cooper. He personified the evil of the settlements in the dark, voluptuous Zenobia and in the scientist Westerfelt—scientist because Hawthorne associated much of the evils of modern society with the scientific, technical advances which most of his fellow Americans confused with moral progress. Instead of a new heaven on earth to be realized in the future, Hawthorne's book re-enacted ironically the story of man's Fall.

Thus, the tragic Zenobia represented not the new Eve, but the original Eve. In the sexual appeal which betrayed her—the moral purity of Americans ruled out considerations of sex—she "brought" up a picture of that fine, perfectly developed figure, in Eve's earliest garment.

"We seldom meet with women nowadays, and in this country, who impress us as being women at all," wrote Hawthorne, "their sex fades away, and goes for nothing, in ordinary intercourse. Not so with Zenobia. One felt an influence breathing out of her such as we might suppose to come from Eve, when she was just made, and her Creator brought her to Adam, saying, 'Behold! here is a woman!'"

America's besetting sin, according to Hawthorne, lay in moral self-righteousness, in not recognizing the common bond of sin and suffering which unites all mankind. Though convention demanded that he condemn Zenobia, he pitied her and he loved her. The major reason which he assigned for the failure of his social experiment in brotherhood was the moral self-righteousness of its leader, Hollingsworth. The moral obliquity with which Hollingsworth treated human beings merely as means to an end had its roots, however, in the supreme faith of Americans in their role as a chosen people appointed to a divine mission.

Hawthorne's friend, Herman Melville, was also critical. His great epic *Moby Dick* concerned itself primarily with the sin of moral self-righteousness in a mad idealist who brought his ship, a microcosm of the world, to its destruction. The book may well have expressed Melville's understanding of American "Manifest Destiny," presented in quite another light by the popular orators and politicians of the day. Cried Justice George Robertson of Kentucky at one Fourth of July celebration:

"Christianity, rational philosophy, and constitutional liberty, like an ocean of light are rolling their resistless tide over the earth . . . Doubtless

there may be partial revulsions. But the great movement will . . . be progressive, till the millennial sun shall rise in all the effulgence of universal day."

One is reminded of Santayana's criticism of President Woodrow Wilson in 1920, that he sought, alone and unaided, to "legislate for the universe." But unlike Hawthorne, Melville had partly succumbed to the American myth of the Garden of Eden. He too thirsted after moral perfection. His book *Pierre* recorded the destruction of an innocent. Like *The Deerslayer* and the *Blithedale Romance*, it presented the polarity of light and dark, of virtue and vice, associated with the contrast of country and city. The first thirteen chapters find its hero established at the family seat, Saddle Meadows, a veritable paradise. The last thirteen chapters register the fall from innocence in the city, where the "most practically Calvinistic view of humanity" is realized. The anomaly in the book is that *Pierre* is both morally self-righteous and morally pure.

The greater stress in America on nature as a refuge from crass civilization during this period was due largely to the proximity in America of a vast wilderness. Ralph Waldo Emerson's romantic naturalism was as much influenced by the westward movement as Cooper's Leatherstocking tales. Moreover, Emerson's transcendentalism was a philosophical justification of American individualism in much the same sense that Natty Bumppo was a fictionalized embodiment of American individualism. Both Emerson and *Deerslayer* found nature the source of their self-reliance; both "saw God in the forest." Emerson's primary ethical concern was to gird his people morally for their rendezvous with Manifest Destiny in their march westward. His writings constituted a grand Te Deum announcing the New Jerusalem:

"The vast rapidity with which the deserts and forests of the interior of this country are peopled," he noted in an early journal, "have led patriots to fear lest the nation grow *too fast* for its virtue and its peace . . . Good men desire, and the great cause of human nature demands, that this abundant and overflowing richness wherewith God has blessed this country be not misapplied and made a curse of . . . How to effect the check proposed is an object of momentous importance."

Unfortunately, the Emersonian will to virtue was lost to the generation of rugged individualists after the Civil War. In fact, it was lost as soon as men of goodwill, such as Emerson and Whitman, made the mistake of identifying material with moral progress.

In an age of self-appointed Messiahs Henry David Thoreau's greatest virtue lay in the fact that "instead of engineering for all America," as Emerson put it, "he was the captain of a huckleberry party." Both Hawthorne and Thoreau agreed upon the delusion of material progress without spiritual regeneration.

Neither sought to impose his solution upon his fellow-men. Where Hawthorne conducted his social experiment among a community of likeminded refugees from the city, Thoreau conducted his private one in the splendid isolation of Walden Pond. Walden Pond, "earth's eye," like Cooper's Lake Glimmerglass, gave a placid view of heaven.

"Perhaps on that spring morning when Adam and Eve were driven out of Eden," wrote Thoreau in his masterpiece, "Walden pond was already in existence . . . Even then it had commenced to rise and fall, and had clarified its waters and colored them of the hue they now wear, and obtained a patent of Heaven to be the only Walden Pond in the world and distiller of celestial dews. Who knows . . . what nymphs presided over it in the Golden Age?"

Thoreau's spiritual voyage into the pure depths of Walden, symbol of his soul, recalled another voyage which first planted the myth of the Garden of Eden in America:

" . . . be a Columbus to whole new continents and worlds within you, opening new channels, not of trade, but of thought."

Columbus did more than open channels of trade; he inspired a dream that has nourished all of Western civilization.

The tension in Thoreau's *Walden* comes from the opposition set up in Thoreau's mind between solitude and society. The shrill whistle of the railroad in the distance constantly invades the privacy of his sanctuary. More hard-headed than his friend Emerson, Thoreau is nevertheless guilty of the same oversimplification which locates good in the country and evil in the city, a conception central to so much American writing and thinking then and now. This invidious contrast is partially responsible for the virtuous American's fear of soiling his soul in corrupt city politics. It underlies the return of Silas Lapham in Howell's novel (1885) to his Vermont farm after an unfortunate experience with the Boston aristocracy and his involvement in shady business practices. Henry James' generic American, Christopher Newman, who proves his moral superiority over the decadent European aristocrats, won his moral victory in the American West before he ever saw the Bellegardes. Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1900) is an innocent victim of civilization. Frank Norris' *McTeague* (1899) escapes from civilization to find his boyhood dream at the Big Dipper Mine. The denouement of Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925) reveals

"that this has been a story of the West, after all—Tom and Gatsby, Daisy and Jordan and I were all Westerners; and perhaps we possessed some deficiency in common which made us subtly unadaptable to Eastern life."

That deficiency was Innocence—and a belief, bred of the West, in an "orgiastic future" which had at last

closed in. The contrast of East and West, of vice and virtue, finds its classic utterance in the myth of the Garden of Eden, the central myth of America.

It is significant that many of the foremost critics of American society in recent American literature derived from the Middle-west. The most hallowed ground in America from its association with the myth of the Garden of Eden, the Mississippi Valley became, in their hands, a Wasteland. Rob Rodemaker of Hamlin Garland's story "Among the Corn-Rows" confessed that he had come West, "just like a thousand other fellers, to get a start where the cursed European aristocracy hadn't got a holt on the people." Instead, he found a hopeless battle with land speculators, money-lenders and the railroads. They were all heart-sick, these American writers, born to promises and nourished on lies.

Ed Howe, Edgar Lee Masters, Zane Grey, Sherwood Anderson, and Sinclair Lewis led the revolt against the mid-Western village. Sinclair Lewis, born in Sauk Center, Minnesota, located the Main Street of bourgeois America in the mid-West, later selected as the site of the Lynds' sociological study, *Middletown*. T. S. Eliot, whose *Wasteland* condemned the moral and spiritual sterility of modern society, was born in St. Louis, Missouri. Ezra Pound, who thought that American Christianity had become a kind of Prussianism, was raised in Idaho and taught school for a few months in Indiana, the birthplace of Theodore Dreiser. Chicago produced James T. Farrell and John Dos Passos, author of *U.S.A.* Ernest Hemingway was born in Illinois, Ring Lardner in Michigan. Scott Fitzgerald was first exposed to the shoddy values of cafe society in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Perhaps the most disillusioned of American writers, Hart Crane, came from Ohio. In his poem "The Bridge" he tried unsuccessfully to reconcile the teeming industrial reality of America with the promise of America:

O Sleepless on the river under thee,
Vaulting the sea, the Prairies dreaming sod,
Unto us lowliest sometimes sweep, descend
And of the curviship lend a myth to God.
* * *

This was the Promised Land, and still it is
To the persuasive suburban land agent
In bootleg roadhouses where the gin fizz
Bubbles in time to Hollywood's new lovenest
pageant.

Hart Crane committed suicide, as did another mid-Westerner who began his life as an idealist in "the region of hope," Vachel Lindsay. A native of Pittsburgh, educated in Europe, Robinson Jeffers followed his Western Star to the edge of the Pacific, where he developed a protecting layer of stoic indifference:

Now I, the latest, in this solitude
Invoke thee from the verge extreme, and shoal
Of sand that ends the west, O long-pursued.

Of the major American writers from the mid-West only Carl Sandburg has continued the tradition of Walt Whitman, and he has lately turned to celebrating a heroic past.

III

"What then is the American, this new man?" asked the Frenchman Hector St. Jean De Crevecoeur in 1782 after he had lived in America for fifteen years. He phrased his answer in terms of the, by then, familiar contrast, between America and Europe: "He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced . . ." That mode of life derived its virtue from the soil of Jefferson's agrarian paradise. According to Crevecoeur, the American became more uniquely American as he receded farther from the sea and the older settlements. Like Cooper, however, Crevecoeur was realistic enough to recognize that life on the "cutting-edge" of the frontier became brutish, and he sought an ideal compromise between sophistication and savagery. Gradually, American literature has evolved a picture based on the Garden myth of a composite, generic American which has remained remarkably consistent, in spite of changes in the American society and differences in the temperaments and value judgments of the writers, down to the present day. The American demi-god was created primarily in answer to the challenge of Europe, and it was early established that he came from the American West.

America's earliest national literature symbolically refought and rewon the Revolutionary War. The first comedy, Royal Tyler's *The Contrast*, (1787), contrasted the fop, Dimple, who had "read Chesterfield and received the polish of Europe," with Colonel Manley, "an unpolished, untravelled American." The morally superior Manley, grinding the same axe ground by Jefferson and Crevecoeur, warned Americans to "stick to the axe and saw and common virtues." Patriotically aroused, the audience sang *Yankee Doodle* during the play's intermission. In a more muted manner and with a wistful regard for the aesthetic sensitivity of Europeans the maturest novels of Henry James sang *Yankee Doodle* a hundred years later.

After the Civil War, America turned the practical energy which had subdued a wilderness to industrial pioneering. Consequently, Christopher Newman, the composite American who braved James' European lion-den, combined the materialism of Benjamin Franklin with the simple virtues of Natty Bumppo:

"If he did not, like Dr. Franklin in Philadelphia, march along the street munching a penny-loaf, it was only because he had not the penny-loaf necessary to the performance . . . It must be admitted, rather nakedly, that Christopher

Newman's sole aim in life had been to make money."

But contact with the virgin soil of the West imbued him with more spiritual aspirations. "Newman had sat with Western Humorists in knots" around the campfires; . . . "a more completely healthy mortal had never trod the elastic soil of the West." He was named "Christopher" after the discoverer of the new Western world, "Newman" after the new Adam who was to inhabit it, one of Walt Whitman's athletic race of reborn men and women.

"You are the great Western Barbarian," said his Parisian confidante Mrs. Tristram, "stepping forth in his innocence and might, gazing a while at this poor effete Old World, and then swooping down on it."

"Oh, come," said Newman, "I am not a barbarian, by a good deal. I am very much the reverse. I have seen barbarians; I know what they are."

He meant that he was really a product of old world culture and did not fit the European stereotype of the American Indian with head feathers and tomahawk. Nevertheless, as Henry James subconsciously knew, the Americans' own estimate of themselves in their Messianic role as God's chosen people was responsible for the European stereotype. Since the spiritual drama was enacted against a backdrop of forest symbolizing the Garden of Eden, there was psychological truth in the European stereotype. Speaking of Natty Bumppo, D. H. Lawrence once wrote that he was "neither spiritual nor sensual. He is a moralizer . . . , a hard, stoic-killer,"—a philistine, therefore a barbarian.

Only occasionally in his many Pageants of the invasion of Europe by morally superior American men and women endowed with limitless freedom of will did Henry James investigate the validity of their claim to moral superiority: Maggie Verver, in *The Golden Bowl* was one of the few Americans whose innocence did not blind her to the duplicity of Europeans, and she stooped to subterfuge to bring the culture of Europe to her native land. But the "villains" of the piece, Charlotte Stant and Prince Amerigo, became morally regenerate in their "banishment" to America, the earthly paradise. The end seemed to justify the means. *The Ambassadors* contained a veiled attack upon provincial self-righteousness, but the basic moral integrity of Lambert Strethers survived his betrayal of his mission to Paris. In *The Ivory Tower*, one of his last novels, James began to question the source of the wealth which had seemed to him so essential a condition to America's redemption of the world. Christopher Newman had made his money in copper, railroads, bathtubs, soap, etc. (Americans live by their saying that "cleanliness is next to Godliness"). The compulsive effect of the myth of the Garden of Eden was causing

other Americans than Henry James to confuse material with moral progress.

Both Whitman and Emerson had hymned the praises of the captains of industry; both had seen the railroad, the telegraph, the steamboat as the standard bearers of Christian democracy to the shores of the Pacific. "There is more true poetry in the rush of a single railroad train across the continent," wrote a 20th century disciple of Whitman, "than in all the gory story of burning Troy." Again, the myth of a Golden Age. The influence of science changed the basic outlines of the myth very little. The Garden, protected by two oceans, turned into "the great laboratory of the world" in which to perfect in peace and isolation "a grand, noble experiment." The harnessing of nature by machinery merely confirmed the majority of Americans in their sense of a mission. The multiplication of inventions gave rise to the feeling that the nation was entering upon a new era of progress. A treatise written in 1842 was called *The Paradise within the Reach of all Men . . . by Powers of Nature and Machinery*.

Among the first during the Gilded Age to detect the fallacy of material progress, without spiritual advance were mid-Westerners. Mark Twain, whose love of luxury and conspicuous consumption was as great as that of any industrial tycoon, took his composite American Yankee to King Arthur's Court, to bring modern progress to medieval England. Hank Morgan's lineage went back to Benjamin Franklin and Natty Bumppo. In his practical bent, in his concern for washtubs and soap, in his generosity, etc., he was much like Henry James' Christopher Newman. But the new American type was an industrial pioneer from the state which had coined the phrase "Yankee ingenuity," the state of Connecticut on the Eastern seaboard. In the contrast of America and Europe the West was overshadowed by the pattern of Eastern society which was beginning to stamp itself on all America. The days of the frontier were nearly over.

In a sense, Mark Twain could not have contrasted industrial America with modern industrial England, for he would have found too many resemblances which would have destroyed the myth of American moral superiority. Three-quarters through his book, *A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court*, Mark Twain belatedly discovered, as he later explained to his friend Dan Beard, that

" . . . this Yankee of mine has neither the refinement nor the weakness of a college education; he is a perfect ignoramus; he is boss of a machine shop; he can build a locomotive or a Colt's revolver, he can put up and run a telegraph line, but he's an ignoramus, nevertheless."

If Mark Twain's savage attack on the feudal institutions and barbaric customs of medieval England was intended as a veiled thrust at the aristocratic, slave-holding mentality of the post-Civil-War American South, he suddenly learned that a business

culture was not less morally reprehensible for its neglect of human values. The benevolent dictatorship of "Sir Boss" Hank Morgan, which ended in the mass slaughter of 30,000 of the flower of English knighthood and in Hank's subsequent defeat and death, anticipated a critique of American capitalism by W. H. Ghent called *Benevolent Feudalism*. Mark Twain experienced a traumatic shock which led eventually to profound despair. He had been nursed in the "Garden of the World" and brought up in the expectations of inheriting the Kingdom of Heaven.

Natty Bumpo saw God in the forest, but Silas Lapham, William Dean Howells' composite American, found the impress of the Deity in mineral paint. Silas Lapham, like his creator, was a "back-trailer to a more sophisticated society." Where Natty Bumpo had conquered the wilderness, Silas Lapham came from his Vermont farm to conquer new industrial empires in Boston. Mrs. Lapham perceived "that his paint was something more than a business to him; it was a sentiment, almost a passion." Lapham's entrance into Boston society at the unfortunate Corey dinner party paralleled Christopher Newman's reception at the Bellegardès in France. In both cases the innocence of the crude, untutored *nouveaux-riches* established their moral superiority. The real test of Lapham's moral purity, however, came in his business relationships; was it possible to compete successfully without adopting the law of the jungle? Howells, familiar with the unethical practices of the Jay Goulds, the Jim Fiskes, the Jay Cooks and other robber barons, apparently decided that it was not. Silas Lapham retired from business to his Garden of Eden in Vermont.

In 1890, five years after the publication of Howells' *Rise of Silas Lapham*, came the Government's announcement that the frontier was officially at an end. In the same year the editor of the Atlanta, Georgia *Constitution* told his readers that "After all, business is the biggest thing in this country." In the 1920's the President of the United States was to remind his constituency that "the business of America is business." In the interval the American myth of the Garden of Eden, based originally on the existence of vast, unsettled lands, was converted into an apologetic for big business. The self-reliant pioneer and farmer, driven ever westward in quest of the New Jerusalem, had lost his momentum, had become bogged down in the mid-West, weighted with mortgages and surrounded by skyscrapers. The myth of the Garden became a Narcissistic symbol, ransacked for its yield in emotional fealty to the image of the new pioneer, the Darwinian superman, the "rugged individualist" of industry. A principal, if unwitting, agent in the symbol transference was Frederick Jackson Turner, who read his famous paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," to the American Historical Association in 1893.

His main thesis was that "the frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization," an observation made by Crèvecoeur more than a hundred years before. Business men gathered that they need only to liken themselves to the pioneer to prove their Americanism and to avoid any obstruction from a democratic government. Some, like Herbert Hoover in his *American Individualism*, (1922) sincerely believed that business was but a continuation of spiritual pioneering:

"Individualism has been the primary force of American civilization for three centuries. It is our sort of individualism that has supplied the motivation of America's political, economic and spiritual institutions in all these years . . .

"The American pioneer is the epic expression of that individualism, and the pioneer spirit is the response to the challenge of opportunity, to the challenge of nature, to the challenge of life, to the call of the frontier."

The old contrast of America and Europe was still evident in his thinking. Pioneer individualism, unassisted by government, constituted the only answer to the new complex of forces resulting from an era of industrial development; anything else was un-American and *ipso facto* evil:

"Socialism of different varieties may have some thing to recommend it as an intellectual stop-look-and-listen sign, more especially for Old World societies. But it contains only destruction to the forces that make progress in our social system."

For the conservative the Garden of Eden had become static, a symbol of the past.

It took a major depression to convince the majority of Americans that the *laissez-faire* variety of individualism had become an anachronism in a complex, highly interdependent industrial society. Henry Wallace, President Roosevelt's Secretary of Agriculture and product of the mid-West corn belt, restated the myth of the Garden of Eden in his *New Frontiers*, (1934), to fit the New Deal philosophy. His appeal once again was futuristic, an emphasis badly needed to bolster the morale of millions of disillusioned and self-doubting Americans, who had seen their image in Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt*. Once again the American sense of a mission breathed vigor.

"To enter the kingdom of heaven brought to earth and expressed in terms of rich material life," wrote Henry Wallace, "it will be necessary to have a reformation even greater than that of Luther and Calvin . . . Today we again have a situation like that in Europe three or four hundred years ago. In some ways I believe it is far more significant. We have millions of people with good minds and bodies who can't get jobs. They are just as good people as those who left Europe for America three hundred years ago. They are looking for another new world."

"Physically there is none. No more free land worth having is to be had for the taking. But we

can work over what we have of the earth's surface, and what we have of human potentialities for achieving true civilization, stability, and peace. We can have our new world, if we have it in us, and if we are willing to pay the price."

The relative success of the New Deal established a new dynamism in the American character that had been lacking since the days of the Woodrow Wilson administration. It is no accident that the American people have turned again to the redemption of the world, for their original sense of a mission has revived. Those for whom the myth of the Garden of Eden lingers only as the symbol of a Golden Age now past have tended to remain isolationists. Both the isolationists and the internationalists, however, cling to their illusion of America's moral superiority. The isolationists would retreat to their hermetically-sealed paradise in the Mississippi valley, protected from foreign contamination by the "cordon sanitaire" of two oceans and eastern and western buffer states. As Frederick Jackson Turner had written, the frontier was

"free from the influence of European ideas and institutions. The men of the 'Western World' turned their backs upon the Atlantic Oceans, and with a grim energy and self-reliance began to build up a society free from the dominance of ancient forms."^{*}

Or as a writer to the *New York Times* put it (January 2, 1951):

"The international do-gooders have had a field day at our expense for many years. They have extended our frontiers to a point where we now are told that we must fight aggression wherever it occurs . . . Must America be crucified for ever on the cross of internationalism?"

"Many years ago Professor Sumner of Yale pointed out the marvellous opportunity our American ancestors had to develop on this continent a civilization which would avoid the mistakes made in Europe. Why have we had to depart from this wonderful idea?"

The internationalists are not less self-righteous, but they would make over the world in their own image—though they would prefer persuasion to force in doing it.

Impressed with the need for maintaining a united front against Communism and disturbed by the mounting criticism of America by non-Communist Western Europeans, Americans have increasingly sought to correct what they call "the distorted European stereotype of America." But when one compares what influential Americans think of themselves with what Europeans think of them, he is struck by the astonishing coincidence in their views. The main, and crucial, difference is that Americans regard as true moral superiority what Europeans regard as arrogant

and unwarranted moral self-righteousness—or worse, downright moral hypocrisy. European socialists, for instance, resent being put in the same category with Communists by pharisaical American capitalists. Potential friends of America, proud peoples everywhere, resent being told, "All over the world there is an immediate demand for enormous quantities of pure Americanism," as Clarence Manyion recently wrote.^{*} Europeans tend to distrust Marshall Plan aid, not so much because of Communists' attacks upon it, but because they resent feeling that Americans may be buying their friendship just as Henry James' characters "bought" European nobility. Resentment of the American superiority complex underlies much resistance to America's so oft-insisted-upon moral leadership in the United Nations.

American travellers returning from Europe frequently report, depending upon what circles of European society they visited, that Americans today are mistrusted. One goes so far as to say that he was told by many Europeans, "If there was to be another war, Americans would have to do the fighting. Europeans were through?" A recent distinguished French visitor to America, Raymond Aron, was more kind.

"The first thing I want to say is this," he told an interviewer from the *New York Times*, "I think Americans are too sensitive to their critics. They must get used to criticism. It is impossible for a leading world power not to be criticized. People are unable to accept the fact that the richest and strongest country in the world is also the most virtuous. Everybody would get an inferiority complex; criticism of the U.S. is part of a psychological compensation."

If Raymond Aron detected an uneasy conscience, the uncanny British political cartoonist David Low, put his finger on the source of the American assumption of moral superiority. He depicted England as having to choose between an American in Indian head-dress haranguing a microphone with a tomahawk, and Stalin coyly enticing the Britisher into his bag. The American is proud of his enormous wealth and industrial efficiency, but he is still prouder of his pioneer heritage with its promise of a new heaven on earth for God's Chosen People.

His uneasy conscience may very well harbor a suspicion that Coronado's *Seven Golden Cities*, Hendrick Hudson's *Northwest Passage* and Ponce de Leon's *Fountain of Youth* are not located quite where he thought. As he loses his aim, to use Santayana's words, he redoubles his efforts. Morality, with the American, has too often been a substitute for thought. His revived interests in the works of Hawthorne, Melville, and Thoreau may indicate that he is beginning to think.

^{*} Quoted in Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land*, p. 260.

LONDON LETTER

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

SEVERAL times recently, as I have walked through St. James's Park on the way to my office, I have noticed an aged tattered beggar sitting on one of the public benches. The Park is at its best in early summer. Every day new groups of flowers, lakes of lovely colour, assert their pre-eminence in the scene. One enters the place with a feeling of expectancy and it is like nothing so much as attending a ballet. Motor lorries are not allowed in nor may newspaper sellers cry their wares (or woes). All is gay and transitory and for a short time one is free from the cares of the modern world. But the presence of the beggar was disturbing and I decided, if he were there again, I would investigate. Next day sure enough he was there and this time stretched the length of the bench. I hurried up, wondering if he were ill—only to find him contentedly and comfortably engaged in doing a *Times* cross-word puzzle.

This set me wondering about the ups and downs of fortune and the ideal, or the idiocy, of the quest for equality. There is a great clamour for equality in England to-day. The wealth of the country had come prosaically to be regarded as a cake to be cut up in as nearly equal portions as possible. No one must have too big a slice lest someone should go without. The fallacy here of course is that there need be a limit to the size of the cake. (Also, and far more important, the cake-makers lose interest.)

For the present we seem to be tied to this outlook. Thus it is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot do away with the Excess Profits Levy. Were he to attempt it, the watch-dogs of the 'workers' would soon be at his throat. Indeed, I suppose on the principle of throwing a sop, the levy was included in the election programme of the Conservative Party. But what a relief it would be if the watch-dogs would take their noses off the ground for a bit and sniff a more spacious air! To be obsessed with the relationship between wages and profits—to think of life in terms of money and benefits—is an impoverishing thing. It may lead one to cut off one's nose to spite one's face.

The nose I am thinking of at the moment is part of our heritage. Nearly four years ago Sir Stafford Cripps appointed a Commission to enquire into what might be done to save our beautiful and historic country houses. No owners now can afford to keep them up. Some houses have passed into the care of the National Trust. Others—and even Hatfield, home of the long-headed Cecils—make a virtue of necessity and receive charr-a-banc of tourists who come to visit them and (at Hatfield) take tea in the Great Hall where the earlier-Queen Elizabeth held her first council. But revenue from tourists does not bring in enough. For one thing, it is inevitably a summer trade. For another such things as old stone-work, paintings and tapestries, require constant and highly-skilled and therefore costly attention. One of the recommendations of the Commission was that taxpayers

owning such houses 'should be granted certain reliefs from income tax (including surtax) and death duties.' These houses, they pointed out, mirror some six centuries of our social history and domestic life; are the greatest contribution made by England to the visual arts; and represent an association of beauty, of art and of nature... seldom, if ever, equalled in the history of civilisation.' Yet the Chancellor has decided that he cannot grant their owners this remission of tax. To do so would be to legislate for a 'class'. And so, since the National Trust is not possessed of the widow's cruise, we can expect many a lovely house, such as Blatherwycke Hall, to be sold to a contractor and demolished for the sake of its materials; or taken over perhaps as a Training College and, like Wentworth Woodhouse, spoiled in the conversion. Worst of all, it may meet the fate of Coleshill and be left empty for the damp and the rats to take over. (Blatherwycke Hall, I can only add, seems to be a good name for a Parliament that will not exert itself in such a cause.)

A lot of nonsense has been talked about the new Elizabethan Age on which we are entering. Indeed the only valid comparison that I can see is that we may embark upon space travel just as the former Elizabethans embarked on their voyages of exploration round the world. I think the great Eliza, if she were alive to-day, would feel more at home in America than down amongst the tourists at Hatfield. One of the greatest living authorities on her age, Mr. A. L. Rowse, was addressing the English Association last week. He made an all-out attack on the 'monotonous sameness' to which life in England is being reduced. But all the prominent features of that earlier age which he instanced are still characteristic of the American scene. Careers he said were open to talents and there was freedom to move up—or down. (Query: *can* there be freedom on any other terms?). He scarcely touched on the political background to the two ages. But I think that just as in the sixteenth century England took on the Spanish colossus, so to-day are the Americans taking on the colossus of Communism. And there is a family likeness surely between the proud boastfulness of Shakespeare's John of Gaunt and Henry V—not forgetting several of the lesser fry scattered through the plays—and the contemporary American addiction to boosting themselves. May their boasts prove as well-founded as were the Elizabethans' boasts!

But of course it is for the arts of peace that we chiefly remember the former Elizabethan Age—for its beautiful houses and gardens and above all for its music and poetry. Can our present age recall those days? Will such arts bloom in the contemporary climate with its pursuit for social equality? Mr. Rowse does not think so. He dislikes the whole conception of social equality because he feels it must create an environment which is inimical to the arts. 'The arts', he said, 'need

for subject-matter and inspiration variety, colour, richness, social diversity, movement, ease, standards of culture.' Rather over-doing the gloom he continued: 'What sort of literature or art do we think we are going to get out of a more or less one-class society, levelled down to the standards of the trivial, insignificant average?' I do not know what the average is and I am not competent to pursue this matter. But I don't believe the insignificant, average man has such to say, for instance, about modern architecture. I think he is at the mercy of a dreary, utilitarian outlook called functionalism. It is building him blocks of flats with ugly stone balconies looking like solid baths stuck on to their sides. And at the new Lansbury village, in the East end of London, judging from a recent photograph, it has built a clock tower which looks as if it could be folded up like a steel jack-in-the-box.

Functionalism. What a word! There never was a time when so many things were *functioning*. Rationing, national insurance, currency control, import permits, exports, building licences, housing lists, and so on without end. Never in our history was society so hedged about by controls and never it should be noted, save in times of civil war, were there so many enemies of society at loose in our midst. There must be some underlying connection. We used to think of Chicago as the home of gangster criminals. Now I am afraid we do not need to look so far from home. The latest statistics, from the Chief Constables' Annual Reports for 1951, show that last year, in most of our towns and cities, all records for crime were broken. A great deal of the increase is due to crimes by juveniles. This may be due in part to the number of gangster films shown in the cinemas. But many of the older criminals have been trained in commando units in time of war and turn their experience to house-breaking in times of peace. The most spectacular crime to date is the looting of £300,000 in notes from a Post Office van. But would the prospect of a fortune, obtained by violence, prove so strong a temptation if there were any prospect of making a fortune by legitimate means? In our egalitarian, super-tax society no one can become rich. For some people this certainly appears to put a sparkle on loot—or foot-ball pools. I do not know which is the greater evil.

In former days idle people, whose time hung heavy on their hands, used to take refuge in invalidism. It was a well-worn joke that Baden or Vichy, or some other attractive spa, was frequented by people who 'enjoyed poor health.' To-day, is the Welfare State offering similar escape from the *taedium vitae*? And does a nation-wide health service tend to make us disease-minded? The thought is suggested by the tremendous sums of money, beyond all expert calculation, which are now being expended. Instead of keeping the people healthy it seems as if we were encouraging them to think that they may require the services of a doctor, dentist or occultist.

In 1942 it was officially estimated that the cost of a comprehensive health service would amount to about

£170,000,000 a year. In actual fact it is costing about £400,000,000 a year. The Government in a White Paper issued in 1944 estimated that it would be 'several years' before the expenditure on the dental service reached £10,000,000. But in the first year these services cost no less than £28,000,000—nearly treble the Government's expert estimate. It is the same with the ophthalmic services. Expenditure was not expected to reach £1,000,000 a year for several years, but actually in the first year of their working the cost was £20,000,000. No wonder the present Government is making a complete overhaul to see where waste can be eliminated and, by making a small charge for prescriptions and so on, to cut down this tremendous expenditure.

The present Government has announced its intention of staying out its full term. It claims that the measures which it is taking to put the country on its feet require time to show results. And it is neither perturbed nor intimidated by the fact that, judging on the results of the recent municipal elections, it now has a minority of supporters in the country. Time, it says, will tell. But whatever may be the outcome of the next General Election, many people are deeply disturbed at what seems to them to be a dilemma which threatens our democratic government. The dilemma in which we find ourselves is that parties here are so evenly balanced that we seem doomed to a stretch of ding-dong government. Tories one time; Labour the next; but touch and go as to which and no ascertainable future for any given piece of legislation. Thus it is that the Tories are returning to private ownership the road transport which Labour nationalised and Labour is already promising to repeal the Tories' repeal! This is no way in which to conduct the affairs of the nation. As a writer to the *Times* justly comments, such frequent changes in the law would 'be bound to create contempt for our legal system among the general public since certainty is, after all, the essence of any legal system.'

This same writer puts forward a most ingenious solution. It is the declared intention of the present Government, as he points out, to undertake in the lifetime of the present Parliament a reform of the House of Lords. And 'the main value of a second chamber has always been found in the continuity which it gives to the political life of a country.' So a reformed House of Lords is to come to our rescue. Reformed in such an intelligent way! He suggests that the House of Lords should be a body elected on the principle of proportional representation—the House of Commons to continue as before on the basis of single-member constituencies. 'This would mean that the Commons... could, 'as at present, provide us with a stable single-party Government, while the re-constituted Lords would prevent, or at least delay, the introduction of any measure which is based more on party political doctrine than on the will of the majority of the electorate.' What a breath of fresh air would blow across Westminster if such a reform were adopted. There would I think be a come-back for Liberal ideas. (Not for the Liberal Party. That would depend upon the

Liberals in the Commons; and Liberal M.P.s. cannot make up a united mind about anything). I have always disliked the idea of proportional representation as the method of electing a government. It leads to a proliferation of parties (and much consequent trimming of sails on the part of politicians). But these evils would not arise in a second chamber. Indeed I would like all sorts and conditions of men to seek election there. And I think, amongst other things—since we are sure to be in for a spate of scientists—the spiritual content could be weighted by a Rabbi and a Roman Catholic Archbishop and the leaders of any other religious community which could find a sufficient number of people to vote for them.

The Labour Party may be breathing out fire and slaughter against present Tory measures which it intends to repeal. But when the time comes for the next General Election, will there be one Labour Party or will there be two? The rift between Mr. Bevan and Mr. Attlee has reached a stage at which neither any longer wishes for concealment. Mr. Attlee parades his sentiments in the House of Commons, Mr. Bevan in the countryside. 'When Mr. Bevan gets up', says the Parliamentary correspondent of this week's *Spectator*, 'or is about to do so, Mr. Attlee goes out.' He adds that this is 'one of the nicest Westminster comedies one has savoured.' And as for Mr. Bevan, he blows off steam in the constituencies and has been proclaiming in South Wales that the next six months will see the majority of the Labour Party behind him.

The Labour Party evidently is splitting into a Right and a Left movement. And just as Mr. Bevan thinks he will soon have most of the Labour Party behind him, so extremism seems to be triumphing in the Trade Unions. There is a very clamorous element in the Unions which is bent on pressing for higher wages. Declining markets, adverse trade balances, the writing on the wall of incipient unemployment—they never speak of these things. They remain in the airy spaces of the theoretical. The Electrical Trades Union, one of the most aggressive, was told by its president at its recent conference: 'the trade unions should fight with all their industrial might against any attempt by any political party to introduce a wage freeze, particularly during a period of rising prices.' (The answer to the first part of that piece of rhetoric is: even when foreign competition is putting you out of business? The second part of this rhetoric is a piece of pious irrelevancy. He knows or should know that many prices are falling.)

The Chairman of the Trades Union Congress is Mr. Arthur Deakin. He is a realist, if I dare use that word. Realists are anathema to extremists: nothing will persuade them that realism can be an honest state of mind. Mr. Deakin is also the leader of the Transport and General Workers Union. It is the biggest trade union in the country but even though Mr. Deakin may be able to influence his own members it looks as if he were already despairing of the T.U.C. 'Whatever the T.U.C. do,' he remarked the other day, 'the policy I shall advocate in

my own organization is that we act with the moderation that will enable this country to balance its payments and to continue the export trade that is so essential for its survival.'

Well this issue will be decided in September when the Trades Union Congress holds its annual conference at Margate. But in the political sphere no one can tell how long it will be before the Bevanites come up for judgment before the electorate. In the meantime they are playing the Communist game by blowing tepid in the matter of rearmament and thereby encouraging defeatism on the continent. They imperil the whole fabric of security which we are trying to build up. They also be-devil our relationships with America.

Three months ago Mr. Bevan made an anti-American speech at Jarrow. It was quoted with effect the other day in the American House of Representatives when the vote on the amount of defence aid to Europe came up for decision (and was cut by about £219,700,000). Mr. Bevan was quoted as saying that the world was making a very great mistake in letting moral leadership fall into the hands of the United States:

"I do not believe," he said, "that America has the experience, sagacity, or self-restraint necessary for world leadership at this time." And as a final pat to the theme he added: "I say to my American friends: Your economic and fiscal policies are doing more damage to Western Europe than Stalin could ever do."

(When that speech came over the tape, the smile on Stalin's face must have rivalled that of the Cheshire Cat.....)

At the moment of writing Mr. Eden has just returned from signing the Contractual Agreement with Germany at Bonn and the European Defence Community Treaty in Paris. Western Germany is no longer an enemy and her Ambassador will come to London. There is to be a European Army and in it there will be twelve German divisions. The signing of these two Treaties—hailed by some as the greatest step towards European unity since the days of Charlemagne—has been greeted by the Communists in France with rioting so serious as to look like a rehearsal for revolution. And in Eastern Germany the Communists are putting up barricades and creating a no man's land as if they expected war to begin at any moment.

The *Times* on 26th May published a long article on the 'Prospects of War or Peace.' Its military correspondent thinks that this year may be the most critical, and, if not, then the next year. It seems a great pity that there is so much talk and writing about a possible war. If only we could get statesmen everywhere to realise the power of thought they would know that what they ought to talk and write about is Peace and not war. Thoughts have a very potent effect on actions and the power of thought, if guided in the direction of the paths of peace, would be of inestimable help to a troubled world.

Westminster, London, June 4, 1952.

DR. TARAKNATH DAS IN FREE INDIA

By GOBIND BEHARI LAL

ONE of the leading champions of the closest possible friendship between the republics of India and of the United States of America—and one of the grand, old fighters for Indian independence, prestige and cultural reputation—will be in India this summer.

He is the 68-year-old, white-haired, but still sturdy, unbowed, fiery and eminently learned Hindu-American—Dr. Taraknath Das, member of the teaching faculties of Columbia University and New York University in New York City. His name, I assume, must be quite familiar to educated Indians in all the states of the Union, especially in Bengal. For nearly half a century he has been a legendary figure for his fellow Indians. During this long span of years he had to remain away from the land of his birth, Mother India, because of his revolutionary activities against British imperialism in India.

He has been awarded a travelling fellowship by the Watumull Foundation, of which I happen to be the current "chairman of the advisory committee", in order to make a circuit-around-the world for promotion of educational and cultural relationships demanded by new world conditions. He will visit some countries he has not seen before, but most countries he already knows well by previous sojourns, including Japan.

However, it is India that is the most important of all his destinations now. Dr. Das is an outstanding Indian, an invincible, cultural-spiritual Hindu and a devoted naturalized American citizen. If he sounds as though he were a man of multiple paradoxes, that is only because he is a man of the 20th century, a period of many unsolved contradictions in the affairs of mankind.

From the Indian viewpoint his great paradox is that he was barred from India by the passionate urge he had for Indian independence. Indian revolutionary fighters for the political freedom of their country—a small group to which I also have belonged for more than four decades—remained "outsiders" as long as the British flag flew over the government buildings, fortresses and ramparts of India. They rejoiced more than any other type of Indians when, at long last, the British rulers departed from their native land. One by one they revisit Free India now as the pilgrim goes to the shrine of shrines. It is a feeling almost profoundly religious that is at the heart of a returning old rebel like Taraknath Das.

Taraknath Das was born on June 15, 1884 in Calcutta; his parents were Bengali Kayasthas. From childhood he was brought up in the intellectual atmosphere of Kayasthas and Brahmins, who gave to India such men as Vivekananda, Tagore, Aurobindo Ghose, J. C. Bose, P. C. Ray, and Sarojini Naidu. He was 16, attending the first year of

college, when a romantic, militant nationalism began to smoulder among the students, professors, editors and reformers of Calcutta, then India's premier nerve-center.

In 1905 he was already an active revolutionist, a wandering "sanyasin", pledged to work for the overthrow of British rule in India. One night a police officer, with nationalist sympathy, whispered to him that a warrant for his arrest was being prepared. Das had better leave the country, the officer advised. Somehow he obtained the money for a ship fare, left India—and he has never been back since that day.

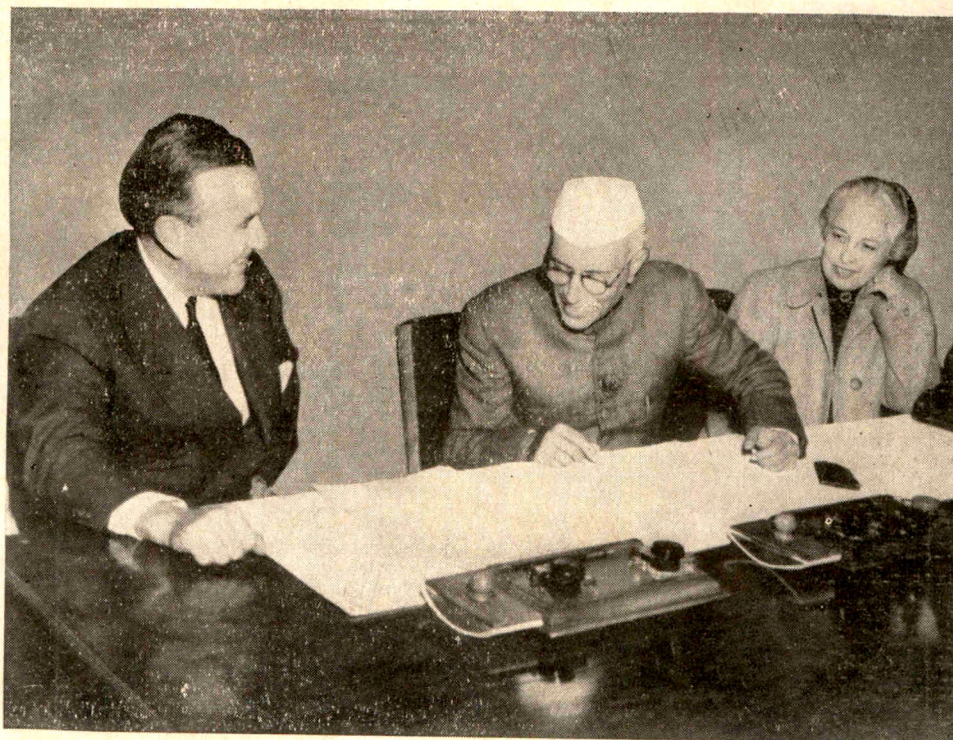
He was in several Far Eastern countries. Eventually he arrived in Japan and began studies at the University of Tokyo. But he was also preaching the cause of Indian freedom, converting his own countrymen in Japan, influencing the Japanese. The inevitable result was that the British ambassador asked the Japanese Government for his extradition. The Japanese themselves told him, "There is only one country where you will receive asylum—U.S.A."

It was in 1906 that 22-year-old Das landed at Seattle, an American port, on the Pacific Coast. He had come imbued with the pride of an upper-class Hindu intellectual. But American circumstances encountering him were unexpectedly rigorous. He was not backed by money, as were the young Indians whose rich families sent them to England to become barristers, stock-brokers, I.C.S. officials. He had to start life at the level of a workman—an unskilled workman.

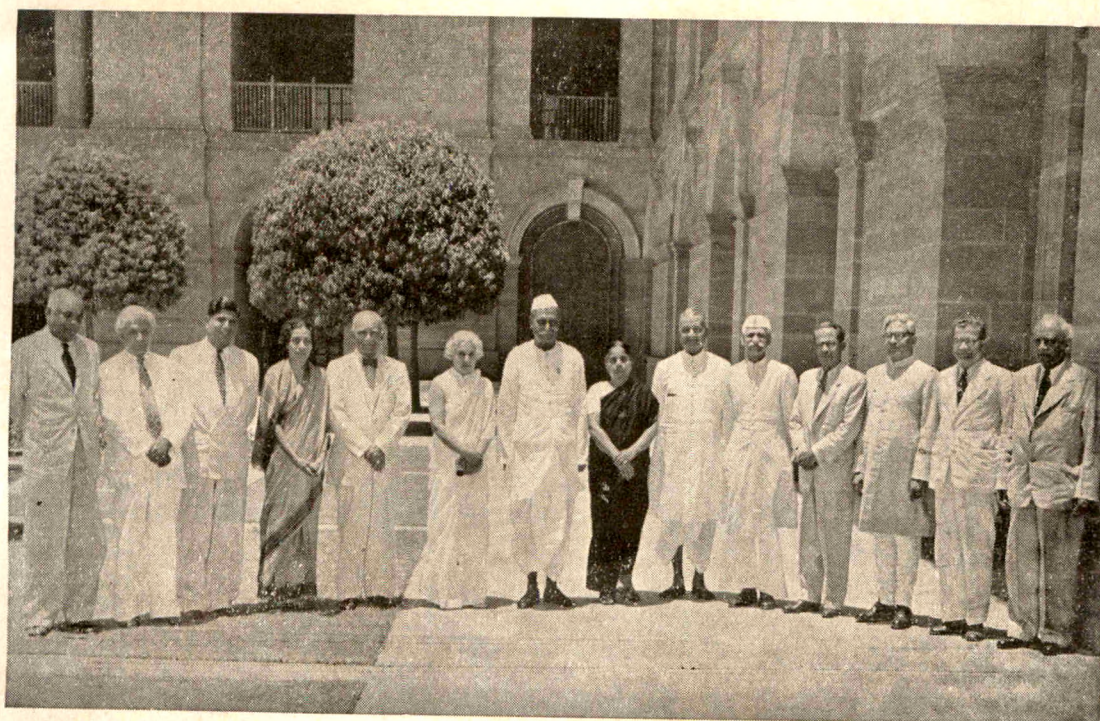
Thus started a life of living by the sweat of his brow; Das attended to linen in a San Francisco hospital, or plucked fruits in California orchards or planted celery in sun-drenched fields by the side of Sikh and Pathan farm-laborers. In his spare time he read books. Eventually his good, honest work, abstemious living and ceaseless reading attracted the attention of a professor of medicine at the college where he had employment.

"What are you up to Das?" the doctor asked. And Das told him that he was a political exile from India, and wanted to get some university education so that he may learn about the mysteries of history, politics, economics. The professor, himself an American of British parentage, liked the young Hindu and helped him to obtain a job in the chemical laboratories of the University of California, Berkeley. So Das earned enough to live on and to pay tuition, while attending the university.

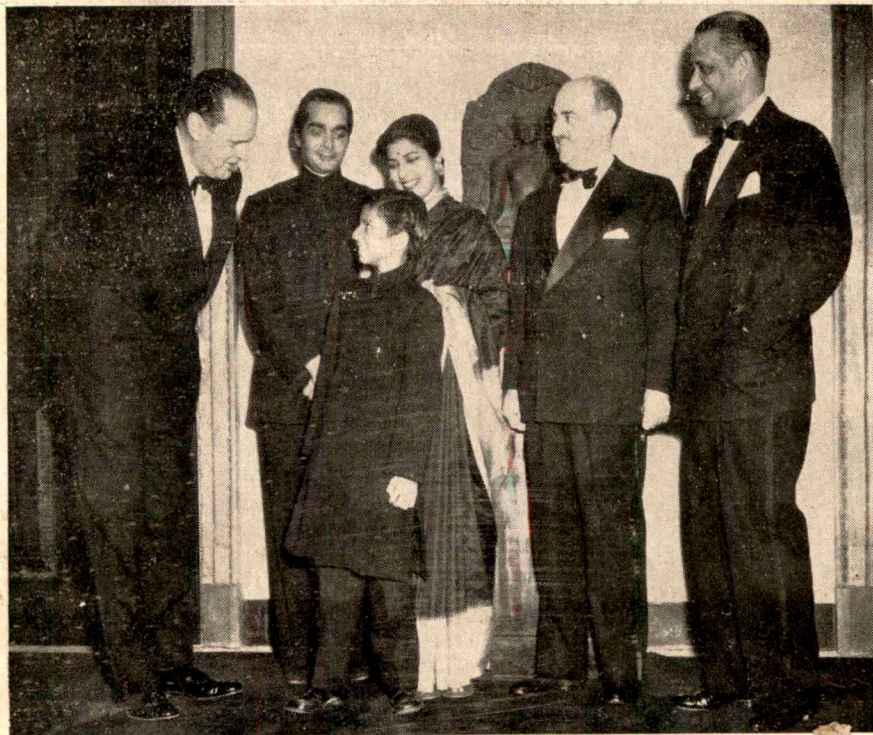
There was a competitive examination going on for a U.S. Government job, the position of a "translator" or "interpreter" for the U.S. Immigration Service which had to deal with Indians, Chinese and other immigrants who were flocking to the Pacific Coast States. Das sat for the



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru signs the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement (January 5, 1952)



Members of the Indian Cultural Delegation to China called on the President, at Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi, on June 7. Headed by Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit the Delegation remained in China for five weeks and visited a number of places of historical and cultural interest



Members of Uday Shankar's ballet troupe in Washington were greeted by guests at a supper given in honour of the visiting dancers by B. R. Sen, the then Indian Ambassador to the U. S. A.



Members of the Turkish Press Delegation visited the Jamia Milia Islamia in Delhi on February 6, 1952. Dr. Zakir Hussain, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University, explained the work of the Institution to the members

examination and stood first. He was given the job—an interpreter at the Vancouver U.S. Immigration Station. He earned enough money to start regular studies at the University of Washington at Seattle, where he received his B.A. in 1910 and M.A. in 1911, in political science and economics.

Then he succeeded in getting a fellowship at the University of California, where he began studies for a Ph.D. degree in political science and related subjects. And in 1914 he became a naturalized American citizen. But it was not until ten years later—1924—that he received a Ph.D. degree, in the field of “international relations”, from the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University at Washington, D.C.

These ten years or more were the period of stormy political and educational activity which had a single concentrated objective—achievement of Indian independence. Taraknath Das became one of the leading Indian revolutionists who tried to take advantage of the period of the First World War to weaken, if not completely overthrow, the British Indian Raj.

The history of Indian revolutionary enterprises, during 1912 to 1919, from radiating centres in America and Europe, is long and exciting. But it can not be told here even briefly. All that need be said is that a number of us Indian revolutionists and patriots abroad, especially in the United States and in Central Europe, carried on various projects designed to dissolve British rule in India and to establish a National Indian State, preferably a federal republic—The United States of India. Among us Taraknath Das was always prominent.

Ever since his arrival in the United States, Das launched his one-man campaign against British imperialism of the time. He managed to publish each month a magazine of sorts which he called *Free Hindustan*. He had it printed in and distributed from New York, with the warm collaboration of a leading Irish-American publisher who worked for the independence of Ireland and sympathized with Indian independence. For nearly three years Das's publication flourished. Such world figures as Count Leo Tolstoy and Hyndman the British socialist, took interest in its writings. When Das appeared to condone the militant action of an Indian youth in London, involving loss of life, the British had an opportunity to get *Free Hindustan* stopped by the American authorities.

By becoming an American citizen (1914), however, Das had gotten out of the reach of the British. Now began a new life of a free man for him. He could well have forgotten all about the problems of India, especially of Indian nationalism. A brilliant opportunity was open before him. Particularly tempting was a life of peaceful activity in a lush country as America was then, at a time when Indian nationalism in India had fallen to the lowest depths.

But men like Taraknath Das and Har Dayal—the founder of the Gadar (Revolution) Movement in San Francisco, in 1912—were made of unusual psychological stuff. They answered the challenge of 1914 by action—action for Indian freedom.

Har Dayal's organ, the Gadar newspaper, published an article by him, just when the war broke out in August, 1914, in which this statement was made: “Indians....the enemy of our enemy (Britain) is our friend.” Leaving San Francisco, Har Dayal went to Switzerland and then to Berlin. Shortly afterwards Taraknath Das left the University of California and betook himself to Germany, where he entered the University of Berlin. Meanwhile Har Dayal's successors at the Gadar headquarters in San Francisco kept the revolutionary projects going. The British charged that all Indian revolutionary nationalists were being supported by Germany. All I know is that the Gadar publishing work was being sustained by voluntary contributions by Indians themselves, especially of Sikhs, Hindus and Moslems in the States of California, Oregon and Washington. At the Gadar, let it be said, Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs worked together in the best unity conceivable. Such complete national solidarity was made possible by Har Dayal's teaching and personality. Toward such unity Taraknath Das had always contributed, although he never joined the Gadar Movement formally.

While the Indians in India and in England did not know or pretended not to know anything about the efforts of their patriots in America and in Europe and in the Far East, the British became intensely alarmed. The British Consulate General in San Francisco and the Gadar headquarters there were like two opposite camps.

But the American people were growing more and more sympathetic toward the Indian aspirations for independence. Countless Americans of Irish and Teutonic and other non-British European lineage listened to Indian demands. Indian independence was fast becoming an American-British policy issue. When, at last, the United States entered the war against the Kaiser, the British demanded the American Government take punitive measures against the Indian rebels of the British Raj who were political refugees in America.

Many years later an eminent American professor of English literature, Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, of the University of Chicago, wrote in his Autobiography published in 1948:

“On the day after our (American) declaration of war (1917) a number of these Indian refugees had been arrested and held for trial in San Francisco on the charge of conspiring to ship arms for India (to fight the British) . . . Among them was Taraknath Das, an American citizen. . . . The trial in 1917 had abounded in dramatic incidents. . . . The trial had ended with the conviction of Dr. Das and others. . . .”

The British won only a battle. They had actually lost the whole war. That trial in San Francisco, lasting some eight months, stirred up the whole of America. Americans became aware of the existence of an Indian revolt against British rule in India which was important enough to have thoroughly alarmed the British, so that they went to all the trouble involved in getting the biggest State trial of modern history staged in San Francisco. Everybody knew now that British officials were actually handling the trial, and the Indian defendants

were only asking for Indian independence—similar to the independence the Americans wanted in 1776.

Not content with getting Dr. Das and the rest of us put behind prison bars, the British wanted all of us to be turned over to them—no doubt to face firing squads. By this time, however, the war had stopped. There was such strong revulsion of American feeling against such British methods that a moral victory for Indian independence was practically won.

Prof. Lovett, recalling all this in later years wrote :

"I have been more deeply irritated by the treatment of the Indians in the United States by British agents than by any other instance of foreign interference in our affairs....."

Many were the effects, all favoring the cause of Indian independence, that followed that 1912-1920 Indian revolutionary enterprise, in which Dr. Das and I were involved. One effect was obviously this—that a large, pretty well-informed and sympathetic American public existed when the Indian Revolution returned home—that is, when a great genius, who had developed his technique abroad, in South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi, took charge of it in India.

Lajpat Rai, who had come to the United States in 1915 or so, and was too cautious to play a fully revolutionary game, but talked of "dominion status" (home rule) for India, and my friend Syud Hossain, were benefited by all that had been done by more vehement workers.

It was Hossain, I am sure, who first brought the message of Gandhi to America, in 1922 or so, in an authentic Indian manner. He was generously supported by Indian residents of California, Michigan, New York, Chicago, all imbued with the national spirit generated by the earlier struggle I have depicted. Young patriots, Dr. Anup Singh and Dr. K. L. Shridharani, educated at American Universities, made their contribution in the 30's.

By the time the Second World War started Indian merchants of enlightenment and patriotism, G. J. Watumull, J. J. Singh and others, had become effectively active. The work of the First World War had not been in vain. President Wilson had advised the British to give political concessions to Indians, while he had incarcerated Indian rebels in U.S.A. But in 1940 the Indians were not giving the British any excuse to get Americans antagonized against them; and sympathy for India had become a big factor in America. President Roosevelt was behind the Cripps Mission of 1942.

At San Francisco, the old battle-ground, India's

forces against imperialism gathered at the first meeting of the United Nations there. Indians in California and Canada, particularly, raised funds and asked Mrs. V. L. Pandit, then visiting the United States, to fight for the Indian cause on the occasion. She did a magnificent job. She hurled unanswerable challenges at the Deputy Prime Minister, Attlee, and the Foreign Minister, Eden, of Britain.

So history was again made in San Francisco. When, only a year afterwards, it became known that the British Labor Party had really decided to give independence to India, the older revolutionists, men like Dr. Das and myself, G. R. Channon, G. J. Watumull and a few others, rejoiced most of all.

Now Dr. Das—like myself and many others—advocated unhesitatingly that an independent India should establish a close bond with the American-British (democratic) pattern, rather than stand alone or show any leaning toward a totalitarian pattern of any sort.

Dr. Das, who was so roughly treated by the British, even in America, bears no old grudge toward them today. He believes that his studies, travels and personal experiences lead him to this position: it is best for India, on the Asian side, and Britain and America, on the Western side, to pull together, to co-operate wholeheartedly.

In all his published writings—including several books, one entitled *Foreign Policy in the Far East*—Dr. Das has dealt with problems of statecraft and diplomacy with special reference to the issues of freedom and justice for the peoples of Asia, including India. His brain is filled with a vast learning acquired in many lands. For him, it seems, statecraft is a high art, and he follows it with the love of an artist. Indian Nationalism, his original stimulant, turned his mind and activity in the direction of the politics of East and West relationships.

Har Dayal took up a secular philosophy, an attempt to unify the whole world by a new faith. Shri Aurobindo went in for Yoga in a new world. My own interests turned towards the study of modern sciences, and their popularization. Many have been the larger patterns of the great transition of India, and of the world, and we are all still groping towards a better way: Errors man makes. But if he is earnest, he rights himself.

In the light of the record I have submitted—can any one doubt the earnestness of Shri Taraknath Das? I predict that our Indian compatriots will find something contagious in his enthusiasms, which are derived from a rich emotionality, vitality, a hardy life of adventure and an enormous academic learning.



GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN

By PROF. BELA BOSE, M.A.
Hooghly Women's College, Chinsurah

II

OPERATION OF THE GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN IN WEST BENGAL

FROM the foregoing reports we find that great stress has been laid on the following four methods for increasing food production—(a) manure, (b) improved seeds, (c) irrigation, and (d) reclamation of waste lands.

Now let us examine how the Grow More Food Campaign in West Bengal has been conducted and how far it has conformed to the valuable suggestions made by the First and Second Foodgrains Committees and the Woodhead Commission.

We find that the whole approach to the problem in this province during the past five years has been of a haphazard and improvised nature, unnecessarily diversified and the problem has not been tackled with a clear-cut programme of development supported by necessary provision and executed by an adequate organisation. Grants have been small and even the small grants were not fully and properly utilised. Unnecessary experience was gained at public cost.

AGRICULTURE MINISTER'S STATEMENT IN 1949

During the Budget discussions in March, 1949, the Agricultural Minister, Mr. J. N. Panja mentioned three ways of increasing agricultural production, viz., (1) conservation of land, (2) reclamation of waste land, and (3) improving the productivity of land.

He admitted that much land had gone out of cultivation due to soil erosion and was now waste land. He mentioned about an experiment on soil erosion in Santiniketan. He also stated that he was awaiting reports on soil erosion from the Director of Soil Research Institute, Sholapur (Bombay) and some soil experts of the Government of India who had visited West Bengal. An amount of Rs. 1 lakh was sanctioned in the Budget for 1949-50 for the purpose. His successor in office, Mr. P. C. Sen, did not mention anything about these Reports, neither did he give any progress report on soil conservation that might have been attempted. The matter does not appear to have progressed beyond the exploratory stage.

Mr. Panja claimed progress about reclamation but it extended only up to 1375 acres of waste land in Phatapukri in the Jalpaiguri district of which 1080 acres were cultivated with the help of tractors. 200 refugees were settled there. His target for the next year was only 9000 acres of waste land.

As regards irrigation schemes for the improvement of land, Mr. Panja could only claim that arrangements could be made to irrigate only 3000 acres of land through small schemes. He had all praise for pumps,

Persian wheels and Egyptian Screws about which the very next year, his successor had made a very unfavourable statement.

AGRICULTURE MINISTER'S STATEMENT IN 1950

Mr. P. C. Sen made a statement on Grow More Food Campaign in the West Bengal Assembly on March 16, 1950. He emphasised small canal irrigation, pump irrigation and tank irrigation in connection with his reclamation scheme.

The budgeted expenditure and actuals for these purposes and waste land reclamation, may be compared with the results achieved. The figures are:

(A) Pump Irrigation (hiring)

	Budget Rs.	Actuals Rs.
1948-49	56,000	Nil
1949-50	19,000	Nil
1950-51	19,000	...
1951-52	...	...

(B) Pump Irrigation (Sale of plants)

	Budget Rs.	Actuals Rs.
1948-49	1,21,000	1,09,074
1949-50	3,60,000	3,21,699
1950-51	9,18,000	...
1951-52	13,00,000	...
1952-53	5,70,000	...

(C) Tank Irrigation

	Budget Rs.	Actuals Rs.
1949-50	15,30,000	Nil
1950-51	15,30,000	...
1951-52	20,00,000	...
1952-53	25,00,000	...

Cost of Implementation of Waste Land

Reclamation

	Budget Rs.	Actuals Rs.
1948-49	94,000	13,788
1949-50	4,06,000	...
1950-51	5,71,000	...
1951-52	5,50,000	...
1952-53	7,00,000	...

For the first two years, a total sum of Rs. 5,00,000 was sanctioned out of which only Rs. 13,788 was actually spent in 1948-49.

The Food Minister claimed that 20 acres of land were cultivated under this waste land reclamation scheme which produced a Kharif crop of 10 tons. The net social product added works out at Rs. 2,121/- at Rs. 7-8-9 per maund of official price of paddy. This net product was obtained by spending Rs. 13,788/-. This was the achievement for 1948-49. The actuals for 1949-50 has not been given even in the Budget for

1951-52. The net product for that year, therefore, cannot be calculated.

The Food Minister gave out revealing facts for 1949-50 about the use and cost of tractors. He said that in 1949-50, the Government had only 10 tractors of which 4 were sent to Jalpaiguri, 2 to Malda, 2 to Nadia and 2 to Burdwan. Out of these 10 tractors, 5 were utilised for waste land reclamation. Till February 1950, only 2240 acres of waste land were reclaimed while the capacity of the tractors was 25,000 acres. The actuals for the purchase of tractors for 1949-50—evidently the 10 tractors above referred to—show a net expenditure of Rs. 8,78,044/- or about Rs. 88,000/- per tractor while its market price would be somewhere near Rs. 18,000/-. 21 more tractors were later acquired.

About the area of land reclaimed conflicting figures are given by the Chief Minister and the Food Minister. On March 27, 1951 the Food Minister stated in the West Bengal Assembly that 53 tractors were then in use and 8000 acres of land had already been reclaimed.

On February 27, 1952, Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief, declared that in 1950, 1,734 acres and in 1951, about 11,500 acres of waste land were reclaimed with the help of departmental tractors. Besides, small irrigation and drainage projects of the agricultural department were responsible for the reclamation of 9,753 acres in 1950 and 28,559 acres in 1951. Thus out of a total of 20 lakhs and 29 thousand acres of cultivable waste land in the province only 61,806 acres had been reclaimed with 53 tractors during five years of its operations even when we add up all the figures claimed and disregard any overlapping. If we accept 25,000 acres as the capacity of 10 tractors, that of 53 tractors exceeded 1,25,000 acres in one year alone. From experience we learn that tractors in Bengal have been useful for the first break-up of the soil, and have not been profitable for subsequent ploughings. For the latter, tractors have been more costly and therefore not popular.

SMALL IRRIGATION SCHEMES

On March 28, 1951, P. C. Sen had stated that out of 1200 small irrigation schemes 224 had been completed in 1950-51 and 660 were nearing completion. But in the Budget of 1951-52 we find that only 324 out of probably these 660 have been completed although the target has been shown as 1000 projects. The Food Minister claimed that through the operations of small schemes 1 lakh 60 thousand tons of food-grains had been raised. But Budget Provision for 1,000 projects was 42 lakhs. Therefore, on an average each project cost Rs. 4200. Now if according to the Food Minister 224 small projects yielded 1 lakh 60 thousand tons of additional food-grains the expenditure comes to $224 \times \text{Rs. } 4200 = \text{Rs. } 9,40,800$. According to Mr. Sen, our food deficit amounts to 6

lakh tons, i.e., about 4 times the additional production of 1 lakh 60 thousand tons which we obtain through small irrigation schemes. There can hardly be any doubt of the scope for multiplication of such schemes not to speak of extending it fourfold. If that is done the cost would be $\text{Rs. } 9,40,800 \times 4 = 37,63,200$. We are sure that revenues of Bengal can bear this burden of which Rs. 42 lakhs, i.e., more than that had already been sanctioned.

PERSIAN WHEEL

About Persian Wheels, the Food Minister said that this scheme had been abandoned because there was very little demand for the wheels. This experience was gained at the following cost:

Persian Wheels			
1948-49	(Actuals)	..	83,574
1949-50	"	..	24,286
1950-51	(Budget)	..	50,000
1951-52	"	..	8,000
1952-53	"	..	Nil

On March 16, 1950, in reply to a cut motion, the Food Minister said that Persian Wheels were not very useful in this Province. The type of deep well in which it can operate is not in existence here. Besides, a Persian Wheel alone can irrigate only 6 acres of land. It costs Rs. 411 and a pump Rs. 2220. A wheel with a pump irrigates at the most 50 to 80 acres of land. The Food Minister categorically stated that on experiment, it was found that Persian Wheel was not useful for Bengal and it was discarded.

In the Budget for 1952-53, it has been stated in spite of the Food Minister's statement in 1950 that Persian Wheels were useless. 96 sets of Persian Wheels had been distributed upto January 1952 and a provision of Rs. 8,000 was made for the purpose.

LIFT IRRIGATION

The Food Minister, Mr. P. C. Sen, has stated that Lift Irrigation and the sale of Power Pumping Plants had not been successful. The reduction of the Budget grant for the purpose from 13 lakhs to 5 lakhs 70 thousand is also an indication of it. But in the Budget for 1952-53 it has been stated that 125 Pumping sets had been distributed up to January, 1952.

Against a target of 500 tanks only 400 tanks were re-excavated in ten months.

IMPROVED SEEDS

On the result of the application of good seeds, the Food Minister P. C. Sen said, "We could get an additional Kharif crop of 170 tons and Rabi crop of 820 tons in 7090 acres by the application of good seeds."

Let us see what good seeds were distributed and to what extent. The budgeted items are not clear. We give them below as they stand.

GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN

41

	Under Joint Scheme									
	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.
	1948-49		1949-50		1950-51		1951-52		1952-53	
Scheme for Stocking--										
(a) Aus	2,25,000	Nil	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
(b) Aman	5,00,000	42,881	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
(c) Rabi	10,70,000	Nil	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
(d) Fodder	1,65,000	2,496	2,20,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
(e) Famine crops	8,35,000	Nil	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Establishment of										
seed stores	5,30,000	Nil	2,97,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Wheat seeds	3,00,000 (R)	72,000	3,00,000	3,554	1,51,000	Nil	1,62,000	Nil	1,25,000	....
Pulse seeds	6,23,000 (R)	24,000	15,71,000	59,004	1,00,000	Nil	....	....	....	....
Potato seeds	1,41,000 (R)	16,500	1,47,000	Nil	1,38,000	..	1,40,000	....	1,14,000	....
Sweet potato seeds	....	....	17,000 (R)	..	25,000	..	....	....	....	....

	Under Provincial Scheme									
	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.
	1948-49		1949-50		1950-51		1951-52		1952-53	
Boro paddy seeds	30,000	2,489	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
Indian summer vegetable seeds	15,000	1,599	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
Cold weather vegetables	50,000	1,964	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
Winter vegetables	25,000	13,382	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
Oil seeds	1,20,000	....	1,44,000	....	....	..	....	..	....	..
Vegetable seeds & seedlings	64,000	....	1,00,000	m. 1,91,000	....	..	....	..	....	..
Potato	....	9,437	2,11,000 (R)	1,79,049	6,60,000 (B)	..	....	..	....	..
Tapioca stems	....	....	9,000 (R)	1,495	3,000 (B)	..	....	..	....	..

R —indicates Revised Budget. Act.—stands for Actuals.

A total sum of Rs. 1,84,268 out of a total sanction of Rs. 46,93,000 for 1948-49 and Rs. 2,43,002 out of a total sanction of Rs. 30,16,000 for 1949-50 was spent on seeds.

The net social product works out at just an additional maund per bigha. This should be considered as a rather poor result for an experiment with improved seeds and stems of 16 varieties of crops. According to the Food Minister, improved seeds would be used only in 7,090 acres of land only.

As regards distribution of seeds, Mr. Panja, Mr. Sen's predecessor, seemed to be a better realist. He said (March 25, 1949):

There were 89 seed stores in West Bengal. These stores supply, in addition to seeds, steel plates for cart wheels, ploughs, etc., ammonium sulphate, bonemeal, and oil cakes to the cultivators. In 1948-49, the supply was as follows:

Aus paddy seeds	4½ tons
Aman	23 "
Wheat	55½ "
Pulses	102 "
Agricultural Implements	1600 "

Much difficulty was experienced by distant villagers to carry the commodities from the seed stores. A plan for distribution through co-operative stores was drawn up, but no further mention about these stores have been made.

Actual figures for 1948-49 Budget seem rather surprising when compared with the Food Minister's claim. It works out as follows:

Seed	Budget	Actuals	Quantity of seed supplied	Cost per maund
Aus	2,25,000	Nil	4½ tons	Rs. 7
Aman	5,00,000	42,881	23 "	Rs. 69
Wheat	3,00,000	72,000	55½ "	Rs. 48
Pulse	6,23,000	24,000	102 "	Rs. 8

Where demand for good seeds was high, only a scanty amount was sanctioned out of which only a fraction was actually spent. The cost of paddy and wheat seeds seems to be exorbitantly high.

In the Budget for 1952-53, P. C. Sen stated that seed stores were reduced to 42 while from an earlier statement we find that they were 89. Of these 42, he said that 41 were functioning at the Sub-divisional headquarters. The difficulty of the villagers as regards access to the stores was increased instead of being

reduced. The former Food Minister, Mr. Panja, had stated on 25th March, 1949, that a plan for distribution of seeds through Co-operative Stores had been drawn up. But in the Budget for 1952-53 it has been stated that the scheme for distribution of agricultural commodities through Co-operative Multi-purpose Societies has been held in abeyance since 1951-52.

The distribution of seeds along with other agricultural commodities has been entrusted to the trade.

The scheme for additional seed multiplication farms for which a provision of Rs. 6 lakh 40 thousand had been made, has been held in abeyance during 1951-52 which was one of the worst agricultural years for Bengal.

22,000 maunds of paddy seeds were purchased and distributed in 1951-52.

There is general complaint amongst the cultivators that the seed supplied by the Government does not germinate. The Annual Report of the Agricultural Department of the Government of India for 1950-51 dis-

closes the fact that one of the causes of low production of jute was that the seed distributed did not prove of adequate quality. The seed in some places was so bad that it did not germinate. Two officers responsible for the purchase were suspended. Such must have been the affair with other seeds as well with the difference that they did not come to light. Government seeds are not popular.

MANURES

The Food Minister made the following statement on manures:

(1) "Chemical manure was not distributed in large quantities because it was costly. The Agriculture Department tried to introduce cheap compost manure."

(2) "In 1948-49, 2,914,895 acres of land were manured and the additional products were Kharif 20,911 tons and Rabi 13,450 tons."

(3) "In the same year, 8300 tons of additional paddy were produced by using compost manure."

Let us examine the nature, quantity and cost of manure used.

	1948-49		1949-50		1950-51	1951-52	1952-53
	Budget	Actuals	Budget	Actuals	Budget	Budget	Budget
Oil cake	2400000	318000	2300000	489117	1638000	375000	486000
Bonemeal	1020000	749080	1534000	274627	560000	196000	244000
Chemical fertiliser	6095000	3489762	4200000	4071288	3385000	170000	199000
Green manure	90000	10036	75000	Nil	137000	..	..
Production of compost in village contingencies	250000	Nil	250000	Nil	65000	..	..
Composing town refuse into manures contingencies	85000	Nil	90000	Nil	127000	150000	150000
Calcutta sludge distribution	296000 (R)	Nil	297000	Nil	340000	290000	240000
					487000 (R)		
Cattle dung	2000 (R)	Nil	3000	Nil	..	..	..
Distribution of cow dung	..	..	3000 (R)	..	..	..	..
Calcutta sludge distribution	152000	..	..	..	..	..	..

Let us now examine the results. The total amount sanctioned for 1948-49 was Rs. 1,03,90,000 out of which Rs. 45,66,878 or less than half was actually spent. The net product added per acre of land, according to the Food Minister, was less than 1 maund in 3 acres or about 4 seers per bigha. According to the Flood Commission, manuring can improve production to 6.54 maunds of grain in addition to the average yield of 18.8 maunds by the application of 120 lbs. of sulphate ammonia to 1 acre of paddy land at the time of transplantation. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that something is radically wrong somewhere with the West Bengal Government's Manuring Scheme.

No definite idea about the claim of an increase of 8600 tons of paddy due to village compost manure distribution can be had from the data supplied.

In the Budget for 1952-53, the following distri-

bution of manure for 1951-52 up to January 1952 has been shown in the booklet "statement showing the progress of development schemes, etc." (Government of West Bengal):

(a) Oil cake	.. ..	4,193 tons
(b) Bonemeal	.. ..	1,784 "
(c) Ammonium sulphate	.. ..	5,899 "
(d) Ammonium phosphate	.. ..	101 "
(e) Super phosphate	.. ..	46 "
(f) Fertiliser mixture	.. ..	400 "

Excepting fertiliser mixture which were prepared and distributed departmentally on a "no loss no profit" basis the distribution of other manures was made through trade channel, Government having to meet only the cost of subsidy to growers, i.e., the difference between the cost incurred by the distributors and the price paid by the growers. The Budget provision was as follows:

	1951-52 Budget	1951-52 Revised B.	1952-53 Budget
Cost of oilcake	3,75,000	4,77,000	4,86,000
Cost of bonemeal	1,96,000	1,66,000	2,44,000
Cost of chemical fertiliser	1,70,000	1,70,000	1,99,000

As regards the scheme for composting town refuse into manures it was stated in the Budget that besides payment of subsidy at Rs. 1|8|- per ton to the Municipalities, loans were being advanced to them for purchase of lorries required for the Scheme. It was claimed that 10,550 tons of compost had been distributed up to January 1952.

Green manure seeds were distributed at 75 per cent subsidy and only 27 tons were distributed up to January 1952. These, to say the least, were hopelessly insufficient.

DIVERSION OF LAND FROM FOOD TO NON-FOOD CROPS

While diversion of land from non-food to food crops had been the recommendations of the Food Conference, the reverse has been the case since 1948-49 when land under food crops had been diverted to jute. In 1950-51, such diversion has been very substantial. On 17th February, 1952, Sardar Datar Singh, while presiding over the meeting of the Indian Central Jute Committee in Calcutta, said :

"In 1950, the acreage under jute was 1,454,000 while during 1951 the acreage was 1,952,000. In 1950, the production of jute was put at 3,301,000 bales, while in 1951 the production was estimated at 4,677,000 bales. Considering that after partition we were left with an area of 650,000 acres under jute and production of jute at 1,690,000 bales only, this 300 per cent increase in acreage and production is a good achievement."

The Food Minister, Mr. P. C. Sen in a statement to the Assembly during the Budget discussion on March 27, 1951, supported this diversion of paddy-land to jute. He claimed that increase in jute production had greatly benefited the cultivators and that jute had been cultivated on many lands newly cultivated. The instructions of the Famine Commission as well as the Food-grains Policy Committee were thus flouted, both by the Agricultural Department of the Government of India and also by the Food Minister of West Bengal. Jute claimed greater attention than food and has now lapped West Bengal in a difficult position in respect of food. The mirage of high jute prices have also faded away.

CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF THE PLAN

We may now summarize the causes of the failure of the Grow More Food Plan. First of all the most glaring defect appears to be a complete disregard of the valuable expert advice given by the important committees like the two Food-grains Policy Committees and the Woodhead Commission. Concentration of serious effort on the four primary directions, namely, small irrigations, manure, seed and reclamation have not been properly made. Too much was attempted

all at the same time and attention was diverted to unnecessary and costly experiments. Co-operation between the agricultural department and the cultivators has evidently been non-existent. We do not find any plan where the experienced agriculturist has been given a place of importance. Money has been spent from Calcutta on the advice of officers whose knowledge of agriculture in its practical aspects is doubtful. We remember in this connection the statement of Dr. Voelcker who had stated clearly that the Indian cultivator knew his job too well. There is no soil map for the province. Cultivators know the local soil and can utilise it according to the tradition and practice prevalent in the area. Outside advice based on books is bound to be wasteful. Prices of paddy have been fixed at a level which has brought resentment amongst the cultivators because there has been a wide divergence between the controlled price and the market price. The reluctance to deliver paddy at the control price has been widespread. Forced procurement was introduced which was severely resented. Reports we have been able to gather show that a fairly large proportion of land was diverted to jute not so much for the temptation of jute prices but because the paddy price was considered to be too low and for fear of seizure of the paddy produced. We have a suspicion that some land has been left fallow deliberately out of such sentiments. What is however quite clear is that the Government has miserably failed to secure the active co-operation of the cultivators and transfer the initiative for production to them.

OUR SUGGESTIONS

We believe that it is worth experimenting along the following lines :

(1) Local committees should be formed on which experienced cultivators should be represented. They should be asked to submit plans for improvement of local agriculture. These plans may be examined by the department and any alterations in them should be made in consultation with the local committee.

(2) Money sanctioned for the purpose should be placed in the hands of the committee on whom the initiative for expenditure should be entirely left. There must be a time limit for the execution of entire plan or specific portions of it. Money sanctioned should always be for a specific period or a specific part of the plan.

(3) The committee may be told that further finance will be supplied only on completion of a particular part of the plan within the time limit stated in it.

(4) Every plan should have a defaulting clause so that money wasted would be recovered from the committee. The defaulting clause should be made rigorous and deterrent so that undesirable elements would be discouraged and excluded.

RECENT TRENDS IN MODERN INDIAN ART

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

It is a somewhat embarrassing and thankless task to review the modern trends and tendencies in Modern Indian Art. During the last thirty years artists have been working *not* in groups—with any definite common ideals and aspirations but in extremely individualistic, even capricious, manners,—each following his own peculiar aspiration, in ideal and in technique, on widely divergent paths without any common basis or objective. An individual and original outlook is no doubt a very desirable virtue in all forms of artistic creations. But in all ages and countries schools of art have existed, with some common ideals and aspirations, interpreting some definite principles.

In order to take stock of the recent tendencies, it is necessary to take a look back to the artistic happenings in India for about a century.

The old schools of Indian painting having a respectable history of a continuous tradition covering nearly four thousand years came to an end in about the year 1832, when Molaram, the last representative of the *Pahadi* or Hill School, died, bringing to a close a brilliant chapter of the latest phases of the native indigenous schools of Indian painting then surviving in the Panjab Himalayas.

In the meantime the political domination of the British has laid the foundation, for sinister influences, of the second-rate and third-rate British and European art, on the art-practitioners in India, who were taught to believe that India had developed no national art of her own in the domain of the higher achievements in the Fine Arts, and, that Indian painting was essentially "decorative" and of an inferior kind not worthy of the designation of the "Fine Arts." This view was crystallized in the policies of the establishment of the Government Schools of Arts, in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, where English teachers began to teach Indians the methods and technique of European painting of the realistic or the naturalistic "schools."

The typical products of this age were Raja Ravi Varma, followed a little later by M. V. Dhurandar and others in Bombay, who began to paint traditional themes of Indian mythology and history in Western style, absolutely ignoring the fact that a vernacular language of Indian painting has existed in all periods of its history.

To this denationalized outlook of the artists of the Bombay Presidency, a protest was raised by the late Dr. Abanindranath Tagore who discovered the traditions of Indian painting and developed these traditions to build a new language of Indian painting suitable to modern conditions and modern outlook. He demonstrated by a variety of experiments that the characteristic language of Indian pictorial

art was capable of interpreting all the new aspirations of modern India.

But his principal achievement lay in interpreting Indian mythological, religious and even historical themes in the characteristic dialect of Indian pictorial art with a liberal assimilation of the best phases of European methods and technique. His disciples, chiefly Nandalal Bose, developed these new lessons by emphasizing on the strength and flow of continuous systems of draughtsmanship derived from the old masters of the Buddhist schools. Tagore himself exploited and developed the qualities and characteristics of the Moghul school, and in his colour schemes adopted many of the conventions of the Chinese and Japanese schools of painting. In his compositions he assimilated many of the principles of European painting in a true eclectic spirit without slavishly imitating Western technique and insisting on a strictly Indian point of view in vision and outlook. For nearly a quarter of a century his disciples, taking up work in many centres outside Bengal, in Lucknow, Lahore, Madras and Mysore, preached and practised the principles of the new school of Indian painting on the lines suggested by Tagore, the leader of the new movement. During the last few years, some of his disciples have dissented from the basic Indian principles and adopted and imitated Western techniques to win popularity and cheap patronage.

And the great master and leader of the New Movement, a few months before his death, had recorded a sorrowful protest against the works of his later disciples who had deviated from the path of truth and rectitude. He had said: "It is a pity that 'Indian Art' did not continue along the line it had taken at the start and deviated a great deal,—my heart aches when I think of this."

In the Bombay Presidency the chief centres of modern painting have been Bombay and Ahmedabad, the Guzerat group having been trained at the beginning at the J. J. School of Art, Bombay, where the imitation and adaptation of Western conventions have been a predominating feature of all forms of modern art until two years ago when the English teachers of art were replaced by Indian artists trying to develop Indian traditions. Of this new tendency, in the Bombay group, to develop Indian manners and technique, the leading representative is J. M. Ahiwasi, now a teacher in the J. J. School of Art, and some disciples of the Ahmedabad artist Ravi Sankar Rawal, who overcame the baneful influence of Gladstone Solomon who exhorted the students of his school to imitate the realistic conventions of the European studios. Of the Ahmedabad

group with ambitions to imitate the Bengali school in developing Indian traditions the most talented exponents are Kanu Desai, Rasiklal Parekh and Somlal Shah who worked for some time in Senti-Niketan. But, with the exception of the Ahmedabad group, the persistent tendency in the Bombay group has been to lean deliberately towards European methods ignoring the qualities and characteristic conventions of the indigenous national Indian schools. It must be conceded that in skilful handling of the medium of oil colours the Bombay artists have displayed wonderful skill and power, particularly in portraiture and landscapes. In the latter part of the 19th century, very distinguished works in oil have been achieved by Pestonji Bomonji and Lalkaka and their followers founding a respectable Indian tradition in oil painting, now ably represented and maintained by A. M. Tali, M. R. Achrekar and others. In Bengal the adoption of the European medium of oil as a mode of expression has been persistently followed by several exponents beginning from J. P. Ganguly and his many disciples such as Satis Sinha and others, as also by Atul Bose, and recently by Ramendra Nath Chakravarty. But generally, the medium of oil has been avoided by artists who believe in Indian traditions and conventions which are best expressed through the medium of water-colours and in miniature sizes. There has been a recent tendency in some of the Bengali artists to handle the oil for the purpose of demonstrating that an Indian artist is as much capable of handling the imported foreign medium as in handling his own old indigenous medium of water-colour, just as Indian poetic and literary talent has skilfully used the English medium for a genuine national expression demonstrated by Sarojini Naidu and Harindra Chattopadhyaya and, recently, by Ranjee Sahani and Mulk Raj Anand. This deliberate use of oil by Indian national artists is best represented by Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury and Ramendra Chakravarty and recently by Sailoz Mukherjee of the "Delhi group," who claim that it is possible to reveal Indian ideals and Indian ideas even through the foreign medium of oil. These new experiments by the disciples of Tagore to dabble in oil to express Indian nationalistic ideals have not, however, been very much of a happy success and have not received the sanction of the best critics.

In the works of the Bombay group, a new tendency has been to lean towards the vernacular language of Indian pictorial art without abandoning the medium of oil. The old slavish imitation of European manners and techniques replaced by a concession to Indian ideals has given rise to the idea that a modern Indian artist, while he should not adopt Western traditions, should not also repeat the old Indian traditions of the Buddhist, Moghul, or

the Rajput schools, but have no prejudice against the assimilation of the latest phases of the European paintings of the post-Impressionists and Cubists, which have abandoned the the cheap realism of the Victorian Age, and which have valuable lessons to impart, which may *enrich* but need not *dominate* the basic Indian national manner of expression. In other words, it is believed that the language of the vernacular art of India, now slavishly adhering to the old and worn-out conventions, can be vitalized and strengthened by a judicious assimilation of the best phases of modern non-representational art of the modernistic French schools. An eclectic and critical assimilation of the best lessons of the Modernists of Europe is not necessarily a disloyalty to Indian national art, and in our blind worship of Indian artistic traditions we should not shut out the best and illuminating "lights" from the West, for light may not always come from the East. On this principle a group of artists from Bombay—Deuskar, Adurkar, Chavda, Achrekar, Satavalekar and Y. K. Shukla—had gone to Europe to study the latest developments of European painting to assimilate useful lessons for strengthening the Indian language of pictorial art. This attempt to extract useful lessons from European modernistic art had not been very successful, except in the works of Chavda and Shukla. Shiavax Chavda has not entirely confined himself to Western modernistic techniques but has also drawn valuable lessons from the traditions of old Indian sculpture as demonstrated by his studies of the sculptures of Ambarnath. Shukla has widened his outlook by taking a two years' training in the great traditions of Chinese painting. Jaya Appaswamy, an artist from the South, has also sought to assimilate lessons from the finest phases of old schools of Chinese landscape painting. But the general effect of an eclectic and critical contact with the works of Gauguin, Van Gogh and the Cubists, in the works of the modern Bombay group, has been to trample on the delicate and subtle phases of Indian traditions and to display an uncontrolled, nervous and clumsy brush-work of the Modernists of Europe. This tendency to indulge in reckless *bravura* of brush-work "in deforming figures, torturing of forms, mutilation of limbs, in the name of rhythmic design and plastic unity, is in most cases, a delightful delusion where it is not a wilful self-deception."

The same importation of modernistic manners has marked the works of a group of artists in Bengal, who labelled themselves, into a group called Calcutta Group refusing to be dominated by the Indian ideals and indigenous methods of expression preached and practised by the disciples of Abanindranath Tagore. It must be admitted that there has been a very legitimate reaction against the weak, senti-

mental, and insincere copying of Ajantan mannerisms and Rajput and Moghul caricatures, revealed in the large series of weak imitators of the Tagore school, who were unwilling to undergo the severe discipline of Indian draughtsmanship and merely repeated and imitated the mannerisms and formulas of old Indian traditions. The tragedy has been due to the fact that after the distinguished works of the direct disciples of Tagore, no new generations of interpreters of Indian painting with the necessary training and discipline have come forth to work out the principles of the Tagore school in Bengal, except a few artists trained in Santiniketan, such as Indra Dugar and Kripal Singh Shikhawat, so that the brilliant contributions made by Nandalal Bose, Kshitim Mazumdar, Asit Kumar Haldar, Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury and others have not been followed by later travellers on the path, and the Tagore School has languished during the last few years for want of worthy interpreters.

Another depressing feature is the general want of trained connoisseurs and critics at all centres of art in India, such as there are in Europe and America. This dearth of intelligent and responsible criticism and accurate appraisal of our contemporary painting and sculpture has lowered the quality and accomplishments in our modern artists, instead

of raising the standards of their work on paths of new development. Related to this want of accurate assessment of present-day productions of art is the incessant exhibitions of modern works, both in India and abroad, and the *diplomatic* rather than artistic use of our products on the basis of a genuine thirst for art on the part of the general public. Various second-rate and third-rate paintings have been sent to the UNESCO Exhibitions and also to decorate the rooms of our Embassies abroad. In choosing these exhibits, to meet a hurried demand, it has not been possible to select the best artists, and not even the best works of the mediocre ones. In this way the success of less deserving works has demoralized the productions of the really talented ones and led to a general lowering of standards. "The bad coin, in many instances, is driving out the good."

The general tendencies of the modern artists, in nearly all the centres, are to imitate the technique, conventions and formulas of the Modernists of Europe, almost ignoring the manners and methods of the indigenous language of Indian pictorial art, so that the old query put nearly a century ago by a French critic is still crying for an answer: "Art in India, should it be *Indian* or should it not be so?"

By the courtesy of the All-India Radio, Patna.

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FIELD SONGS OF THE WESTERN RANCHI DISTRICT

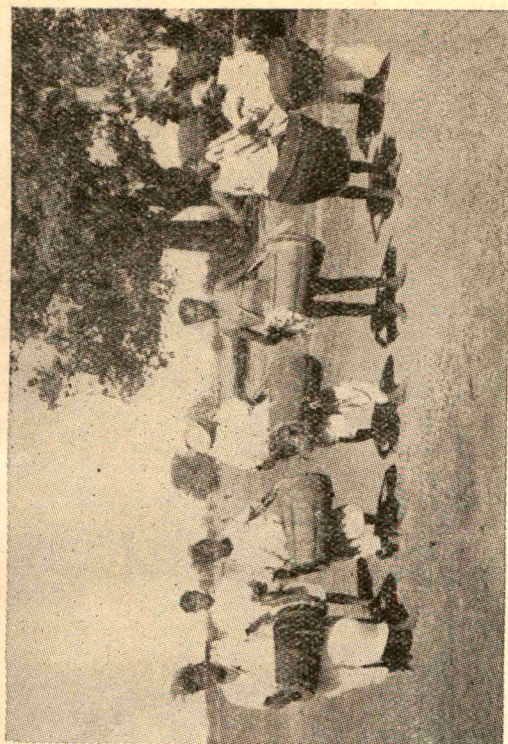
By PROF. GAUTAMSANKAR RAY, M.Sc.

THE Western portion of Ranchi district in the State of Bihar may be said to be the present-day homeland of the Oraons. They are one of the artistic tribes of India. The late S. C. Roy of Ranchi has dealt in details regarding these people in two excellent monographs: (1) *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur*, and (2) *The Oraon Religion and Customs*. The Oraons possess wonderful aesthetic sense. But unfortunately their artistic abilities, their aesthetic sense are rapidly decaying on account of poverty and the infiltration of cheap amenities of modern civilization. They are an agricultural people. But due to heavy pressure on land a large number of these people have migrated to different parts of India as labourers, especially in the tea-producing districts of Bengal and Assam. Still in the midst of many odds there are some remnants of their old tradition, their artistic sense, their great aptitude for songs and dances, their beautiful sense of decoration as they have not yet totally lost the charm of life. Even in the face of famine they do not show any sign of hopelessness, nor go out for begging like the non-tribal peasants of India, but collect different

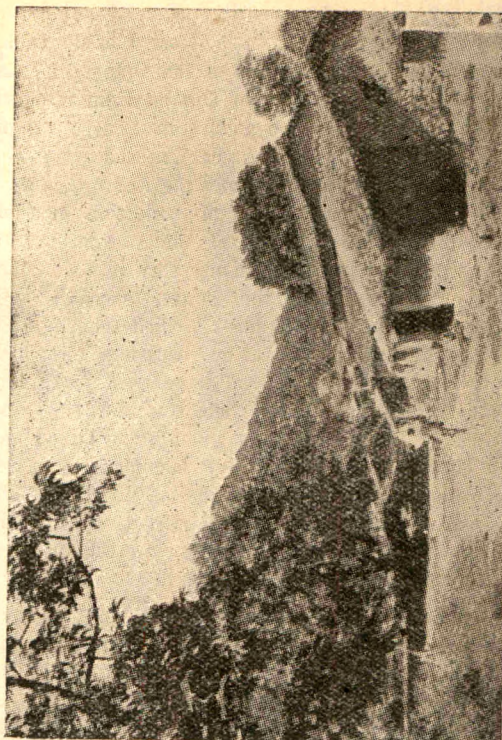
kinds of edible roots and tubers or collect some kind of leaves which they eat after boiling from the neighbouring trees or forests, to appease their hunger and gather at the *akhras* (dancing grounds) in the evening to go on with their usual songs and dances. Another similarly ill-fated Adibasi group is the Kharias, who have some concentration in the southern part of this area. They have also maintained their cultural traditions to a certain extent up till now. Regarding the Kharias there is a monograph by the late S. C. Roy and R. C. Roy of Ranchi.

A cold war is going on between these simple folks of the soil and a group of economically superior people of the towns which is gradually eating at the root of their aesthetic life. It is high time for our social planners to see that the best elements of their culture are not lost. If we can preserve them, we shall be able to add some beautiful items in the high cultural tradition of India.

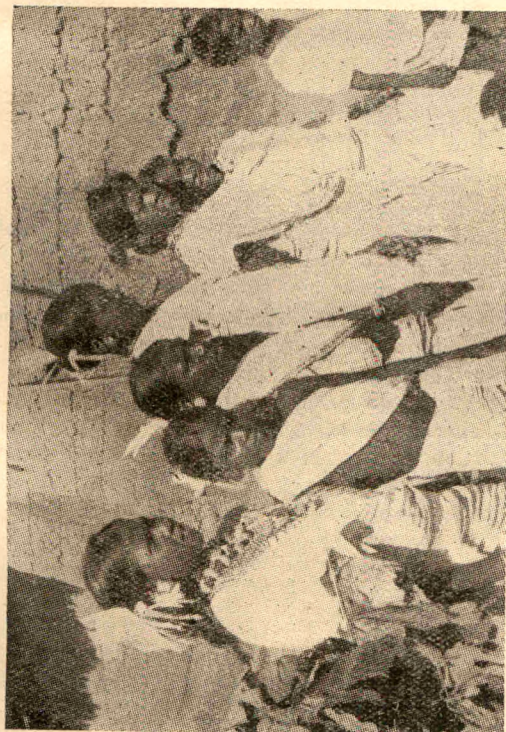
Songs and dances are the life centres of Tribal India. Among the Adibasis each and every ceremony or function is accompanied by songs and dances. But



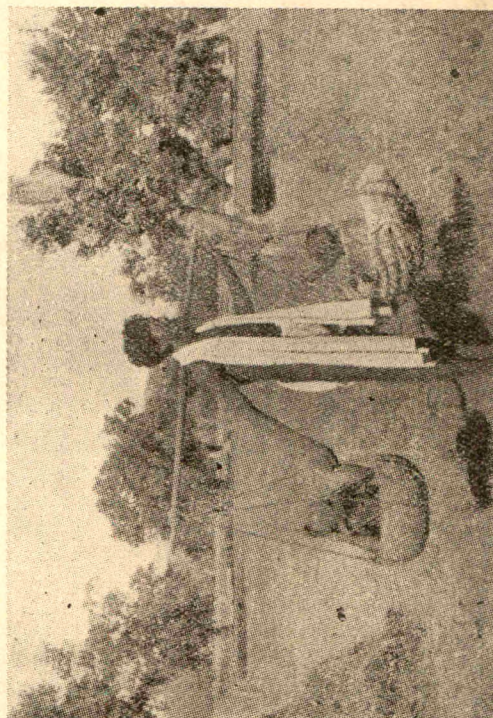
Oraon drummers



Palkot village



Oraon girls in dancing dress



An Oraon man going to the field

among the Oraons, songs and dances play such an important part that one can hardly realize it unless one lives for a few days among them. Here I have translated a few characteristic songs of the Oraons and the Kharias of the Western Ranchi District from my own collection. We have got two good collections of Oraon songs translated by W. G. Archer entitled: (1) *The Blue Grove* and (2) *The Dove and the Leopard*. But as long as the Oraons are there, no collection of their songs is quite exhaustive; so I have ventured to collect more songs in course of my stay in that country. Archer has analysed the songs, specially with reference to symbolism and has classified them according to the different festivals or occasions on which they are sung. In this article, I have tried to explain the songs in the context of their tradition, life and customs. And moreover I have given some Oraon and Kharia songs in their respective languages as specimens, along with their translation in English. The words 'Oraon' or 'Kharia' within brackets at the end of each song indicate whether it is an Oraon or a Kharia song.

Towns are always attractive to villagers, not to say of simple Adibasis, most of whom live far away from any town. Ranchi is the only big town in the Oraon country which has many features of a modern town, especially its electricity. So to an Oraon villager who has seen Ranchi town at night:

Ranchi re Ranchi sahar Ranchi sahar jingor jingor
Haere Ranchi sahar jingor jingor
Mal eren pandru mal eren kheso Ranchi sahar
jingor jingor
Haere Ranchi sahar jingor jingor.
 —(Oraon—original)

When translated:

Ranchi town, Ranchi town, Ranchi town is shining
 Haere Ranchi town is shining!
 Can't see a red nor a white, Ranchi town is shining

Haere Ranchi town is shining!

For the sake of interest another Oraon song depicting perhaps daytime Ranchi may be quoted here from Archer's collection:

Haere
Ranchi town
Ranchi town
Thronging with crowds.
Red you will see
White you will see
Golas you will see
Shops you will see
Motors and rickshaws
All you will see.

Golas=granaries for storing grain.

Just like a town a railway train seems attractive to the Adibasis, especially to the people from the southern part of the district, where there are no railways. Those who have seen a moving train describe it in the following words:

Hore gari cholta Hore gari cholta
Pahia pohia gari cholta
Tulungate loha tutahte timsongadah
Pohia pohia gari cholta.—(Kharia—original)

When rendered in English:

Hore! the train is running, Hore! the train is running
 The train is running over the rails.
 It is made of iron, water and fire within,
 The train is running over the rails!

In the south-western Ranchi district there is a beautiful place known as Palkot. It is a pretty small town surrounded by hills, jungles and big ponds with lotuses. It was once the seat of the Raja of Chota Nagpur. Everything beautiful, everything good is associated with this place and the Raja's family. There are numerous songs depicting the beauty of this place or describing the culture and tradition of the Raja's family:

It is in Palkot *champa* flowers bloom,
 Fragrance of which has filled Nagpur.
 The daughter of King Indra is a good gardener,
 Sweet smell is coming from her garden.
 —(Oraon)

Champa= a fragrant yellow flower.

In Palkot town
 Water is lapping upon the side of the boat,
 Water is flashing
 Water is lapping upon the side of the boat.
 —(Oraon)

The Princess of Palkot is spinning very fine thread,
 Removing the seeds and spinning very fine thread,
 As if stitching the sun and the moon to make a garland.—(Kharia)

And one from Archer's collection:

In Palkot town
 Is a bamboo fence,
 A fence to shield
 A grove of beans.

According to Archer 'beans' symbolises girls in many Oraon songs.

Orphans are indeed unhappy persons in any society. But in a tribal society, their fate is the most wretched of all. They cannot go on with their songs and dances or with their amorous life like other young fellows, as they are to spend much of their time in search of food and shelter. There are a large number of songs among many tribes which deal with the sorrows and miseries of an orphan, e.g.:

Kononjo ompai mahajo khiram
Har dea ing te ber langhay
Apainjo ombordoi ajongjo ombordoi
Har dea ing te ber langhay
Dadaingjo ombordoi ajingjo ombordoi
Har dea ing te ber langhay
Kulamjo ombordoi kulamdaijo ombordoi
Har dea ing te ber langhay.—(Kharia—original)

When translated:

Whether a small stream or a big one,
 Who will help me to cross it?

I have no father, I have no mother,
 Who will help me to cross it?
 There is no elder brother nor his wife,
 Who will help me to cross it?
 Not even a younger brother or a sister,
 Who will help me to cross it?
 My parents are dead, my house is empty,
 Oh my house is empty!
 My parents are dead, cattle are crying for
 thirst and hunger,

Oh cattle are crying for thirst and hunger!
 —(Oraon)

For comparison, one Oraon song from Archer's collection and one Ho song from my collection* may be given here which will indicate where lies the sorrows of an orphan. The Oraon song from Archer's collection is:

While the father lived
 While the mother lived
 I played with a fan of gold
 I played with a fan of silver.
 The mother died
 The father died
 The golden fan is lost
 The silver fan is lost.

Here a "fan" means a fan for winnowing.

And the Ho song is:

You have got a father,
 You have got a mother;
 You can spend your days
 Full of songs and dances.
 I have got no father,
 I have got no mother;
 How can I have songs and dances?
 And how can I think of love?

The Oraons are divided into a number of exogamous clans. The girls after marriage go to live with their husbands in their respective villages. It is very painful for the young men of a village to see beautiful girls of their own village going away:

Ningan koe pelo era era parādkan
Bela benjorka bina ambon
Das lago bis lago

Bela benjorka bina ambon.—(Oraon—original)

In English:

You have grown up before my eyes, girl,
 I won't let you go I shall marry you.
 Whether it costs me ten or twenty,
 I won't let you go I shall marry you.
 O damsel, don't go to a foreign land,
 Famine is also there.
 Search your bread in this village,
 For famine is also there.—(Oraon)

The term "foreign land" is also used by the Oraons to mean Assam.

Generally the Adibasis are very conscious about their tradition and integrity:

Wherefrom the Kharia people have come
 And hoisted their flag in this new land?
 It is from the east the Kharia people have come
 And have hoisted their flag in this new land.

—(Kharia)

Oh Raja of Barwe!
 How you have made friendship with the Europeans?

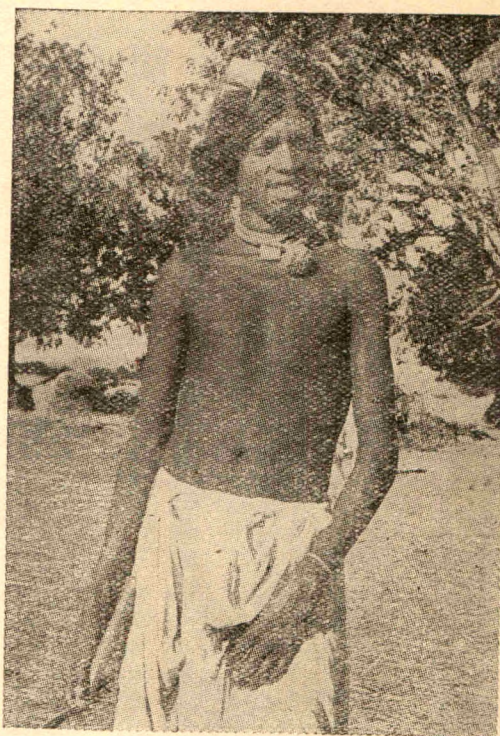
In the morning of *Sarhul*,
 How you have made friendship with the Europeans?—(Oraon)

"Sarhul"—name of a festival.

And one from Archer's collection is:

The flag of the tribe is flying,
 The war drum is sounding,
 They are coming in the morning,
Jhamar jhamar the bells sound.

The following songs will show the nature and



An Oraon man

variety of some of the topics that these people select as their subject-matter:

Oh such a big palace! where is the king?
 The queen is crying from room to room.
 Just as the dry leaves fall away,
 So also the king has gone away.—(Oraon)
 Ho hore! what a love in the foreign land,
 maina,

What a love in the foreign land?
 Ho hore! what a love in the foreign land,
 maina,

What a love in the foreign land?—(Oraon)
 According to Archer, "maina" or starling in Oraon songs is a symbol for a girl.

A sage has come on the river side,
 Let's go and hear some preachings.
 The river has swollen, the boat is far away,
 How to go there and hear his teachings?
 —(Kharia).

* See *Man in India*, Vol. 29, Nos. 3 & 4.

Is it not due to Hindu influence?

Whether this beautiful girl is married or not,
If I get her I shall take her to Assam.
When given water she will wash her feet,
When requested she will take her seat,
When offered food she will cook it,
When turned out she will go away,
If I get her I shall take her to Assam.

—(Oraon)

In many cases where a man cannot marry a girl of his choice due to lack of social sanction, he generally elopes with her and takes shelter in the tea gardens of Assam where both work as labourers and



Two Kharia men

live a conjugal life. After earning some money they come back and pay a fine imposed by the village council and are again admitted into their society and nobody bothers about the marriage.

*Ne khadro karanjo jabdar
Karanjo pupa khatera lagi
Bhala karanjo pupa khatera lagi
Babu tambas karanjo jabdas
Maiya tangio pesage kali
Bhala maiya tangio pesage kali.*

—(Oraon—original)

When translated :

Who is shaking the *karanj* tree?
See, the *karanj* flowers are falling below,
See, the *karanj* flowers are falling below,
The boy's father is shaking the tree
And the girl's mother is going to pick up,
See, the girl's mother is going to pick up.

"Karanj"—a kind of tree, from its fruits a variety of oil is extracted and used for various purposes. Is there any symbolism in this song representing the sex-relation between husband and wife?

Bapre! it is for my father's debt,
The sepoy is on the door.
Wait a bit! let me see the papers,
Then I shall repay his loans.—(Kharia)

Those who have come in contact with the Adibasis know how the moneylenders from towns cheat these simple folks.

The girl with yellow dress is under the *kadam* tree,
Golden ornaments are shining on her ears,
See, golden ornaments are shining on her ears.
Father-in-law has given gold, brother-in-law has given silver
See, golden ornaments are shining on her ears.
—(Oraon)

"Kadam"—a kind of tree.

*Khare khare nu nim chandra ful koe
Khare khare nu lal guranda
Mahato pelar hi nim chandra ful koe
Mahato jokhar hi lal guranda.*

—(Oraon—original)

In English :

On the river side there are beautiful *nim* flowers, O girl,
On the river side there are red *guranda* creepers.
The daughters of *Mahato* are the sweet *nim* flowers, O girl,
The sons of *Mahato* are the red *guranda* creepers.

"Nim"—a kind of tree; "Guranda"—a kind of parasitic creeper; "Mahato"—village headman.

O weaver! O weaver!
You have sown paddy in your kitchen garden!
No corn has come out nor has it ripened
And you are beating your wife.—(Kharia)

Compare with the common sayings among the Hindus regarding the foolishness of the weaver caste.

Ho hore! I can't make a leaf cup,
I try my best but it turns bad.
Coming from the field he has beaten me,
Kindly see! I can't make a leaf cup.—(Oraon).

Leaf cups serve important purposes in the material life of the Adibasis. These are used for various purposes but especially they are used for serving rice beer, their chief drink and food.

Their girls have gone to steal *dimbo*
Our girls are still in the bed.
Hoo! it's sweet to steal *dimbo*
Though a fine is to be paid.—(Oraon)

"Dimbo"—a kind of fruit.

Father has prepared the field,
Brother has bought the seeds,
O father! who will take it away,
Haere! who will take it away?
Let it cost thousands of rupees,
O father! who will take it away?
Haere! who will take it away?—(Oraon)

When the clouds will thunder, old lady,
Take *serega* take it after boiling.
When the storm will come and the rain will fall,
Take *serega* take it after boiling.—(Kharia)

"Serega"—fruit of *sal* tree.

Which flowers you have put on thy hair,
Swinging and coming, twinkling like a star,
Aiho, swinging and coming, twinkling like a star.

Tilay flowers you have put on the hair,
Swinging and coming, twinkling like a star.
—(Oraon).

"Tilay"—perhaps *sesamum* flowers.

This particular song has a wide range of circulation. It is sung at different parts of this country in different forms without a major change in the meaning.

—:O:—

ROBERT LEE FROST : America's Poet of the Common Man

By CHARLOTTE REIN

THE language of the poetry of Robert Frost, called affectionately the dean of American poets, is that of the common man. His poems are flavoured strongly with the salty idioms of the north-eastern corner of the United States known as New England, where he has spent the greater part of his seventy-seven years. But even a cursory reading of the poems would show that much of their force and beauty come from the universal truth that the poet develops out of situations and people that are apparently commonplace and prosaic.

Frost dislikes the description "dialect poet" that is sometimes applied to him. He said once:

"It was never my aim to keep to any speech, unliterary, vernacular or slang. What I have been after from the first is tones of voice. I have counted on doubling my meaning with them."

One can find this double meaning throughout his poetry and philosophy of life. Without appearing to have been put there by the poet, it is left to the reader to discover the same in some quiet observation or anecdote.

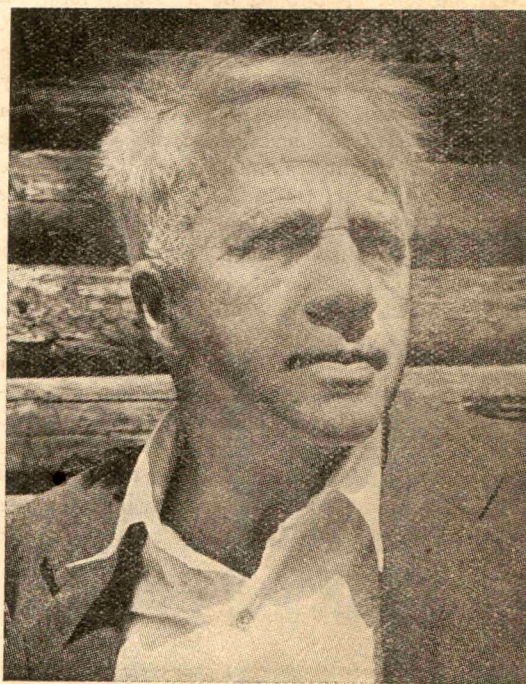
Incidentally, this double meaning is often revealed as a paradox, another of the poet's favourite themes. The ironical contradictions in men and in nature have a fascination for the poet and are laid bare in his longer poems. In his "Mending Wall," we find that the desire of a man to be on good terms with his neighbour clashes with his anxiety to have a wall or fence round his house; in "The Road Not Taken," it is the pursuit of one goal that calls for the abandonment of another; in "Stopping By The Woods On A Snowy Evening" a man's dreamy solitude is interrupted by the call of social duties.

One of Frost's critics remarks:

"His wonderful dramatic monologues and scenes come out of a knowledge of people that few poets ever had, and they are written in a

verse that uses with absolute mastery the rhythm of the actual speech."

Truly, Robert Frost has the ability to create profound and lyrical poetry out of the commonness of daily life in the unadorned language of the farmer



Robert Lee Frost

and the mechanic. He is also one of the few American poets who combines playfulness with deep thought, and humour with seriousness. Beneath the casual tone of Frost's poems, lie teasing humour and searching philosophy.

Born in San Francisco on March 12, 1875 of a

long line of New Englanders, Robert lost his father, a newspaper editor, ten years later. His mother, a teacher, took him to Lawrence, Massachusetts, to live with his paternal grandfather. While at high school there, Robert began to write poetry. After graduation, he entered Dartmouth College in 1892, but not liking the place he left it a few months later. He taught for a while in his mother's little school, went on a hiking tour of the southern states and did odd jobs which included working in a New Hampshire shoe-shop and a woollen mill. He was writing poems all the while; most of them were rejected by the leading magazine editors to whom he sent them. The first of them to appear in a periodical of national circulation, was "My Butterfly—An Elegy" published in the *Independent* on November 8, 1894.

At the age of twenty, the poet married Elinor Miriam White who remained his critic and inspiration till she died 43 years afterwards. After his marriage, Frost went on doing odd jobs. For a while, he edited a weekly paper and later, in 1897, entered Harvard University to study classics. After two years there, he left Harvard without a degree.

Next, he took up farming on a lonely farm in Derry, New Hampshire, and went on writing poetry. After six years of struggle, his poetry drew the attention of the authorities of the Pinkerton Academy in Derry. In 1906, he accepted their offer of a teachership in English and dramatics. For three years, the poet taught while farming but, finally, he gave his full time to teaching. After two years as teacher of psychology at the State Normal School, he left for England in 1912 on the advice of his wife. In the meantime, the Frost family had grown—of the five children born, three are now dead.

In England, while the family lived in a small cottage in Beaconsfield, Robert Frost met other poets—Rupert Brooke, Lascelles, Abercrombie, Wilfrid Gibson and Edward Thomas. Discussions on the forms, technique and purpose of poetry were frequent in the circle in which he found himself. In 1913, a collection of his poems was published under the title *A Boy's Will*. Containing poems in estab-

lished lyric forms with conventional line, stanza and rhyme arrangements, the collection was received enthusiastically on both sides of the Atlantic. A reviewer wrote:

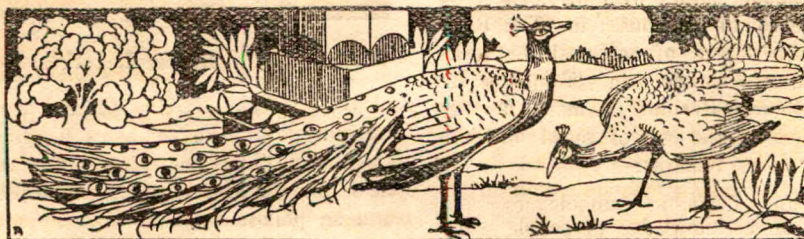
"We have not the slightest idea who Mr. Robert Frost may be, but we welcome him unhesitatingly into the ranks of the poets born."

Frost's second book of poems, entitled *North Of Boston* came out in 1914. The poems which were in blank verse, included some of the best known, such as "Mending Wall" and "Death Of The Hired Man."

On his return to the United States in 1915, he was hailed as the leader of the "new era in American poetry." His simple lyrics, his sympathy and his humour received great praise. Since then, while Robert Frost goes on writing poetry, honours have been showered on him as perhaps on no other poet in his country. They include the coveted Pulitzer Prize on four occasions (1924, 1931, 1937 and 1943), the first Russel Loines Memorial Poetry Prize of 1931 awarded by the National Institute of Arts and Letters, seventeen honorary degrees from as many universities and colleges including Harvard and Dartmouth. For his 600-page *Complete Poems* published in 1949, he was awarded the Gold Medal of the Limited Exhibitions Club.

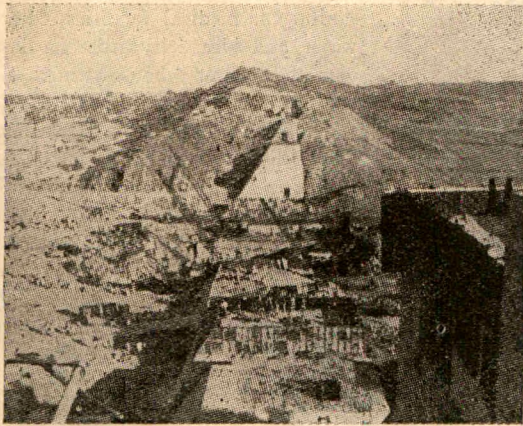
Robert Frost, the poet, retains his love for farming and teaching. During the summer, he lives in a small cabin on a 300-acre farm in Vermont. He moves to his house in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in October and lectures in Amherst College for two months during the winter. He also accepts teaching arrangements when they do not interfere with other works. Frost's only play, *A Way Out*, was well received in 1917 and was produced at the Academy of Music at Northampton, Massachusetts, two years later.

The position of the 77-year old Robert Frost as one of the most remarkable figures in contemporary American poetry is beyond question. He has, indeed, become an American institution.



PROGRESS OF THE DAMODAR VALLEY SCHEME

THE two major River Valley Schemes, Hirakud and the Damodar Valley are again under fire, this year from the opposition. Dr. Meghnad Saha has made some trenchant criticisms, the main point being inefficiency and wastage of money. Last year the attack was concentrated on the Damodar Valley, and was inspired by a group of officials who wanted to get control of the scheme for obvious reasons. Hirakud was under official control and so they kept silent on the details of its working. This year the opposition has spot-lighted both with the same accusations.



Tilaiya Dam. View across axis, Jan. 1952

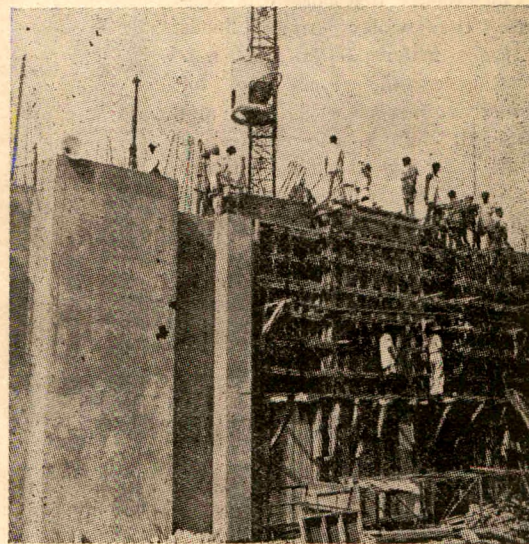
Very little publicity has been given about the officially controlled schemes at Bhakra-Nangal and Hirakud. Money has been—and is being—poured in torrents on both and no progress reports have been issued to the public, which seems to be rather curious.

We hold no brief for the Damodar Valley Corporation. Indeed, on the contrary. We were not at all satisfied either with the control or with some of the staff, at the beginning, and even today we are suspicious and dissatisfied about the working of the controls. The Commissioners were not all well chosen and the necessary drive and keen supervision seem to be lacking at every step. Work at Maithon was started late and the expected progress could not be made before the rains and the consequent floods stopped the work. The same is the case everywhere and therefore there is a time-lag beyond justification resulting in some considerable waste. It seems to us that if the D.V.C. is expanded slightly by the addition of one or two capable Commissioners, and an advisory committee on proper lines linked with it, then the additional expense would be more than justified by the saving in time, which means money in crores in this case.

But all the same it must be conceded that there is no hide and seek about the D.V.C., either at the top or broadly along its working, as in the case of the officially controlled schemes. We are not trying to justify all expense nor are we asking for the total exoneration from the charge of inefficiency. What we do emphatically state is that whatever be the state of affairs there is no deliberate attempt on the part of the Corporation to draw a screen over it. Ample publicity is given to the working of the scheme, in all its details and it is open to the public for criticism either way.

We have before us the latest brochure on the progress of the Project over three years and a half, extracts and illustrations from which are given *infra*. The details and the progress of the power grid has been omitted because as yet it is not functioning directly from the D.V.C.

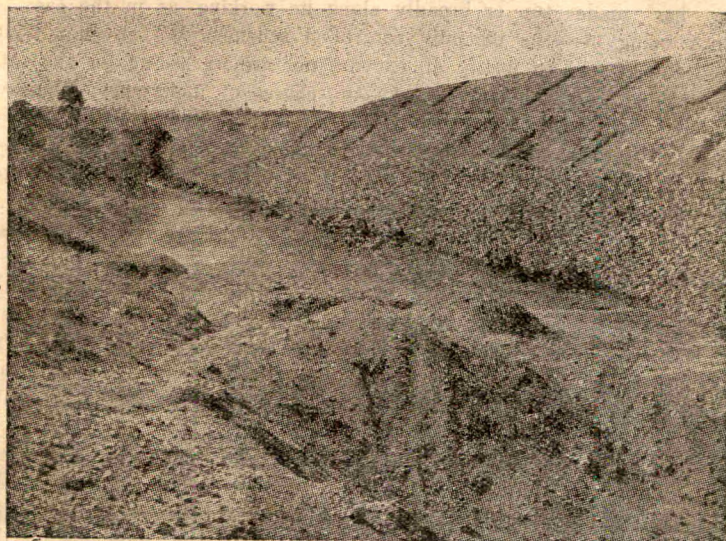
It might be mentioned in passing, for the information of those who missed our full description of the Project in one of our last year's issues, that it is a comprehensive multi-purpose project, modelled on the Tennessee Valley Authority. Flood-control, Irrigation, Power-production and Navigation are the main objectives. Subsidiary objectives on the programme, like soil-conservation, water-supply for domestic and industrial use, fishery development, anti-malarial campaigns and planning of cottage industries and small



Bokaro Thermal Project. July 1951

and medium industries, which would help in decentralisation of the metropolitan population, are also the statutory responsibility of the Corporation.

The latest brochure on the progress of the Project gives us a *coup d'oeil* over the entire scheme. We append extracts, which would help our readers to form an opinion on the matter :



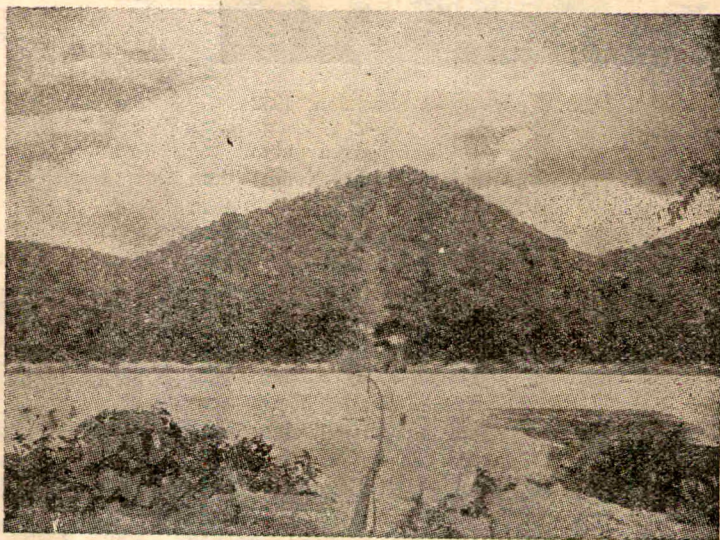
Konar Project. Progress in Jan. 1952

"Of the seven multi-purpose dams included in the Damodar Scheme, three have been reserved for later construction, and while all of them together will safeguard the valley from floods of the magnitude of a million cusecs, the four due for completion between this year and 1955 will afford full protection against the highest flood hitherto recorded. The erection of three hydro-electric plants associated with the three dams of the Second Phase has also been postponed for the present, and one unit of 50,000 KW is not being put in just now at the Bokaro Steam Power Station which is designed for an installed capacity of 200,000 KW to even out the seasonal variation of hydro-electricity.

"When this additional power, both hydro and thermal, becomes available the D.V.C. grid will certainly need further expansion; but the high-voltage transmission system, which is being erected now as part of the Corporation's First Phase Programme, is four times more enlarged than was originally contemplated. Similarly, the area under

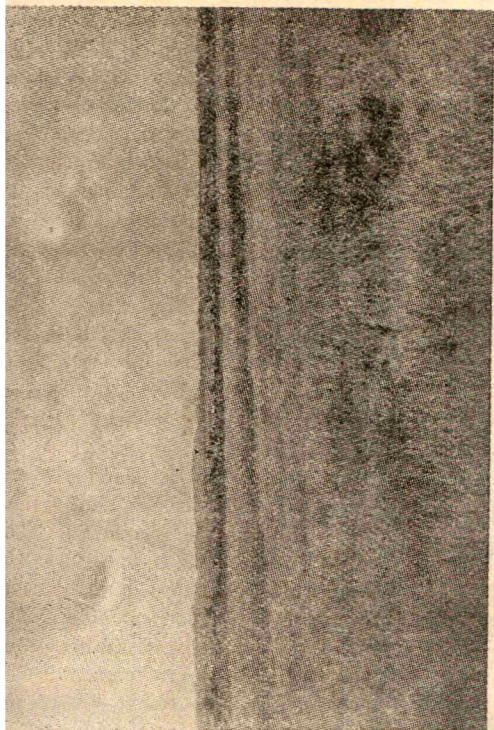
perennial irrigation has become extended by 50 per cent, and the million acres in the Lower Valley which will enjoy this benefit will do so as soon as the First Phase is finished. Of the 1,500 miles of canals and distributaries to be fed by the Durgapur barrage, 83 miles will be navigable, as was initially proposed, and the extra capacity of 50,000 KW which Bokaro will ultimately possess is also a supplement."

"*Tilaiya Project* : Completed towards the end of 1949, the construction camp at Tilaya consists of about 100 buildings of various types, and is provided with modern sanitation, medical facilities, filtered water and electricity from a diesel-operated power house which also supplies the mica mines and the town of Kodarma and Hazaribagh. The dispensary has since May, 1949, treated about 45,000 cases, among whom the local villagers predominate. The construction of this all-concrete dam began in January, 1950, and it is scheduled to be ready in 1952. The hydro-electric

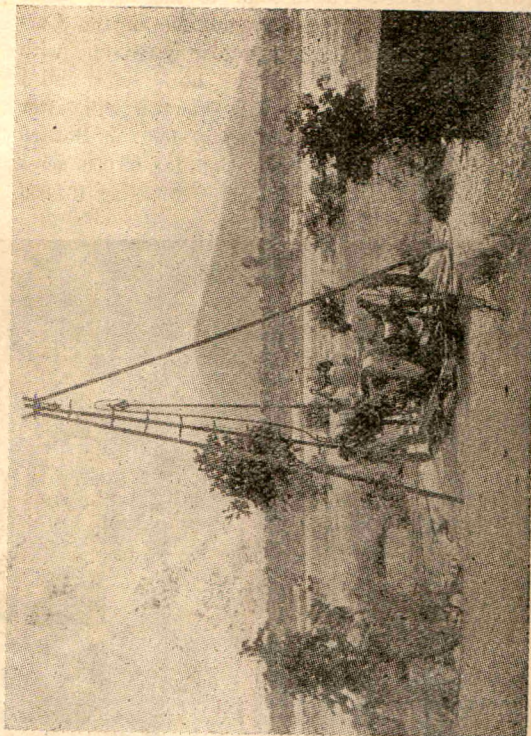


Maithon Dam site. Centre line

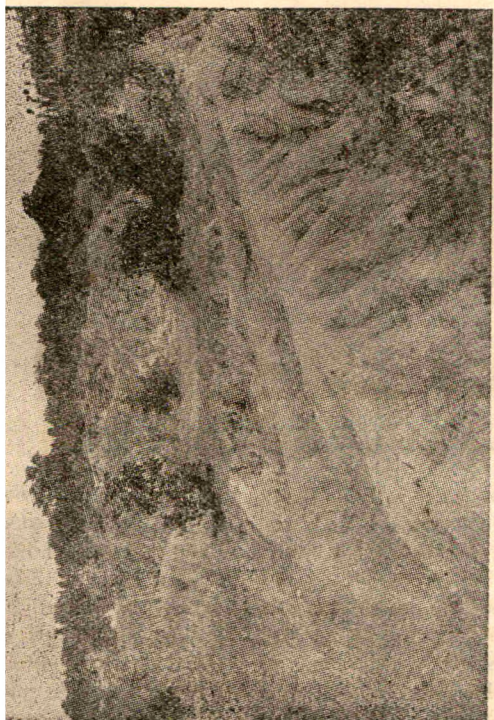
station will start functioning somewhat later. The water released from the reservoir will provide Rabi irrigation for 75,000 acres and Kharif irrigation for 24,000 acres, totalling 99,000 acres, a year. The hydro-electric generation is computed at 22,770,000 kilowatt hours per annum. The dam will also contribute to moderation of floods in the Lower Valley."



Chinese paddy on conserved waste land



Panchet Hill Project. Drilling at site



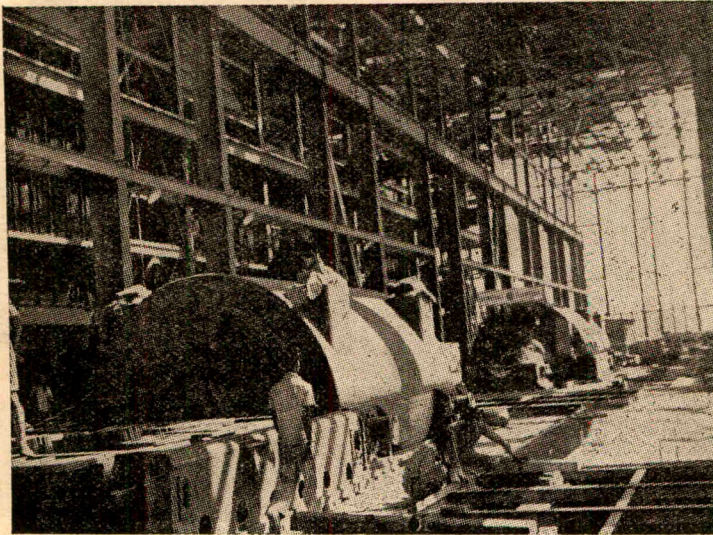
Soil Erosion near Hazaribagh



Soil conservation contour ploughing

"Konar Project : The second of the four dams included in the First Phase Programme of the Corporation, Konar is of the concrete gravity type with continuous earth embankments on both sides and a saddle dike. The release from the reservoir will, after supplying 400 cusecs of cooling water for the Bokaro power house, provide Rabi irrigation for 68,000 acres and Kharif irrigation for 36,000 acres, totalling 104,000

acres annually. The hydro-electric generation from the 40,000 KW plant has been computed at 191,000,000 kilowatt hours per annum. The construction of the dam began in the middle of 1950, and though the pace at the start was a trifle slow, work is at present proceeding satisfactorily on both the concrete and the earthen section. By mid-1952, the dam should develop sufficient storage to meet the needs of Bokaro, and its completion is scheduled to coincide with the 1953 monsoon. The Konar camp consists of 210 buildings



Bokaro Project. First Stator in sites. Jan. 1952

of all types, and possesses full facilities. The area was notoriously malarious ; but as the result of vigorous anti-malarial measures carried out during the last two seasons, it is now completely free from the scourge. The dispensary has hitherto treated about 40,000 persons including neighbouring villagers."

"Maithon Project : Maithon, the third of the First Phase dams, is designed primarily for flood control. Scheduled for completion by 1954, it is being constructed departmentally. The dam will be a com-

posite structure—partly concrete and partly earthen, and the attached generating station, with an installed capacity of 40,000 KW, will produce 164,000,000 kilowatt hours of hydro-electricity, while irrigation will be provided for 270,000 acres in the Lower Valley. As is in keeping with a project of such magnitude, Maithon is the largest of the Corporation's construction camps and contains over 325 buildings of all kinds. The available facilities are appropriate for a modern township, and include a primary school and a well-equipped dispensary where, since July, 1949, about 35,000 persons, with a good proportion of outsiders, have been treated. Its central situation makes Maithon the natural site for the D.V.C.'s Soils Laboratory, Timber and Mechanical Workshops and various other stores and godowns. The main distributing centre for the Sindri power is also located there, as is the headquarters of the Transmission Division, and to remain in step with the rising tempo of dam construction, the camp is still expanding itself."

"Panchet Hill Project : The last of the D.V.C. dams on the Damodar, Panchet Hill, like its counter-



Soil Conservation Laboratory. Crop tests

part, Maithon, on the Barakar, is primarily concerned with flood control, and the two together, with some help from the upper reservoirs, will give the Lower Valley full protection against the worst floods hitherto recorded. In design, too, Panchet will be similar to Maithon, and while 100,000,000 kilowatt hours of hydro-electric energy will be generated by its 40,000 KW plant, the area it will service with perennial irrigation will be 683,850 acres as against 270,000 acres to be benefited from Maithon. With the completion

of Panchet in 1955, the First Phase Programme of the Corporation will come to an end. The preliminary designs of the dam are ready, and preparations are well advanced for beginning its construction in 1953 when advantage can be taken of the equipment that by then will become surplus at Maithon."

"Bokaro Project : The Bokaro Thermal Power Station will be the biggest single plant of its kind hitherto erected in India. The power house is designed for an ultimate installed capacity of 200,000 KW; but the fourth unit of 50,000 KW is not being put in just now. The plant will use low-grade coal drawn from the Corporation's own mines situated about five miles away, and conveyed by an aerial ropeway, so as to minimize the cost of transport. The pooling water will come from the Konar dam 12 miles upstream, and sufficient local storage will be ensured by a solid concrete barrage, with lift gates, near the power house. Containing more than 276 buildings of various types, a township suitable for 1500 persons has been built at the worksite to house initially the construction staff and later the operating personnel. It is provided with all modern facilities including a post office, a school and a hospital where over 52,000 cases, both inmates of the camp and villagers from outside, have received treatment since June, 1949. Plant and equipment for Bokaro were ordered at the end of February, 1949, and

work on the power station proper started a year later. The first unit of 50,000 KW will be in operation by August, 1952, and the remaining two at intervals of two months thereafter."

"Soil Conservation : Afforestation and control of erosion are among the statutory duties of the Corporation which is also responsible for promotion of public health and the agricultural, industrial, economic and general well-being of the Damodar Valley. But no river valley project can, in any case, neglect soil conservation if large storage dams are to be prevented from premature silting. In the headwaters of the Damodar conservation measures are particularly necessary, as for years forests have been cut down recklessly, and overgrazing has left the slopes so bare of vegetable cover that rains cannot but wash away the soil. Moreover, the Corporation must reclaim waste land for relocation of the displaced population, and unless scientific methods are used in cultivating the new fields, they will revert to the desert. Thus the Corporation's Soil Conservation department is engaged simultaneously in mechanized reclamation as well as in land-use experiments, and while 5,000 acres of wilderness have already been restored to fertility, new crops and grasses as also various improvements in the existing agricultural practices are being tried out to ensure continued productivity of the land."

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ABANINDRANATH TAGORE : HIS EARLY WORK*

By S. K. SARASWATI

ACHARYA ABANINDRANATH TAGORE occupied a unique and significant position in the history of art movement in modern India. At a time when Indian art had degenerated almost to the point of extinction, stifled by the prevailing distaste of the so-called cultured class, under the influence of the ignorant superior attitude of the ruling community for things Indian; when artistic activities in India consisted of debased copies of third-rate Western art, Abanindranath, by an inner æsthetic urge, tried to break new ground and evolved a style which, though based on older Indian art traditions, was at once individualistic and distinctive of his own genius. He was a pioneer and a path-finder and to him goes the credit of raising Indian art from the rut in which it had unfortunately fallen and of inaugurating a movement that augured tremendous possibilities. The achievement of Abanindranath consists not only in what he himself did but also in what he signified.

An aristocrat by birth and an aesthete by temperament, Abanindranath took to art early in his life. He had his lessons in the technique of Western painting under two distinguished European painters, Sig. O. Ghilardi and Mr. Charles Palmer. The rigid technique of European painting, however, did not satisfy his æsthetic sense and imagination, and an inner urge led him to produce a few miniatures, based on the *Krishna-Lila*, which evoked unstinted appreciation from Mr. Palmer as having a new and distinctive character. Mr. Palmer encouraged him to proceed in the line that he had found for himself and to produce more works of a similar nature. Abanindranath's career in European art ended with this advice and he turned to the rich heritage in Indian art to find out his role.

The *Krishna-Lila* series, done in the nineties of the last century, thus turned to be a significant landmark, not only in the career of Abanindranath but in the history of modern Indian art as well. It was while doing this series that he discovered his *metier* and a sense of approach to his true vocation. "A

* *Abanindranath Tagore : His Early Work* : Edited by Ramendranath Chakravarti. Art Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Paper Rs. 13, cloth Rs. 15.

perfect identity," said the artist, "was established between myself and my theme," and it is this identity which, according to the Indian ideal, goes to the making of a great artist and of a supreme creation of art. The intellectual and imaginative function, the keynote of Indian and Oriental æsthetic concept, was re-discovered and with this recovery starts a new epoch—the epoch of neo-Indian art movement.



Siddhas of the Upper Air

In an interview with Mlle. Juel Madsen Abanindranath spoke of the artist as having four pairs of eyes—a pair like those of the ordinary man to see, the second pair which enable him not only to see, but also to remember the shape and form of things seen and to reproduce them, the third pair that lead him to go deeper into the meaning of the things, and the fourth, the eyes of imagination, which give him the power to see things unseen in nature and to create forms which are never found in nature. The fourth pair, which he calls the eyes of the soul, constitute the most power-

ful factor in the making of an artist. The second and the third constitute his intellectual equipment. An artist, deserving the name, must have these additional pairs of eyes to enable him to fulfil truly his vocation in life.

Abanindranath felt the formal and realistic concept of Western art to be an obstacle to the intellectual and imaginative function of art and it is this feeling which led him to seek new grounds and new lines of inspiration. He delved deep into the past heritage of Indian artistic and literary traditions. His quest was not confined to India alone, but was extended far beyond, to Persia on the one hand and to Japan on the other. He effected a fusion of the Occidental and the Oriental techniques, without any detriment to the character of the Indian art tradition, and evolved a new style of painting, entirely a creation of his for the expression of his own ideas and in fulfilment of his own æsthetic impulse. It is this signal achievement of Abanindranath that lay at the root of what is known as the Renaissance movement in Indian art.

The unique personality and genius of Abanindranath brought about this re-orientation and it is worth our while to get familiar with his early productions. The Art Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, has done a distinct service by bringing out an album of thirteen of his early paintings from among the specimens preserved in its gallery. The album is accompanied by short informative articles on Abanindranath and his work by Srijut Nandalal Bose, Srijut O. C. Gangoly, Prof. Stella Kramrisch and Srijut Benodebehari Mukherji. Srijut Nandalal Bose, the

foremost of the master's pupils, speaks of the emotional significance of the paintings and shows how the heart of the master "seeks to pierce through the veil of technique in order to reveal in art the fullest expression of emotion and love." Srijut O. C. Gangoly, the celebrated art-critic and historian, stresses on Abanindranath's power of assimilating methods and manners which, by a mysterious fusion of both eastern and western points of view, created a new language of Indian painting and brought to old Indian thought new forms of beauty and new forms of expression.

Descriptive texts explaining and elucidating the paintings are also from his pen. Srijut Benodebehari Mukherji studies the master's work in the light of contemporary art and analyses his style, lest we should forget in our enthusiasm for him as the 'father of modern Indian art,' as not belonging to any specific tradition, but as absolutely his own. The genius of Abanindranath needs no appreciative introduction; but a balanced analysis of his early works enables us to understand the manifold forces and factors that moulded the master's career and to correctly appraise the new movement of which he was the creator.

The thirteen paintings, reproduced in this album, "mark the turning away from the Western styles in India to the heritage of the country." Their publication in a decent form, as the present album is, is certainly of considerable historical interest. It may be contended that Abanindranath's mature painting is rather different from most of the paintings in this collection. But this does not minimise the value and importance of his early works. Not only are they of immense historical significance, but aesthetically too they are far superior to the contemporary productions that went by the name of art. They are pictorial records of the artist's pioneer attempts to recover the lost language of Indian art, the earliest beginnings of a splendid career of art. In these early gropings one discovers, in no uncertain manner, not only the new language, but also an art of rare charm and distinction. They belong to the beginning of the creative phase in the master's career and the qualities that characterise his style, are already there. In spite of their being experiments in diverse methods, manners

and techniques, the style is already distinctive and the atmosphere replete with Indian flavour. They indicate unhampered liberty in expressing *rasa* and feeling. To quote Gangoly :

"The leading traits of his wonderful miniatures are an intensely romantic and lyrical quality and a dreamy and mystic treatment of his subjects which lift them to a far higher level than the plane of merely literal naturalism."

It is from these early and simple beginnings that Abanindranath developed into the "wizard of form and colour."

The album is very nicely produced, in text as well as in colour-plates, in spite of so many handicaps to good printing now-a-days. It is very difficult to convey fully the fine and subtle lines and the mysterious colour-scheme, that characterise the work of the master, in colour halftone reproductions. The plates, reproduced here, however, approach the originals with a considerable degree of accuracy, resulting, no doubt, from a happy co-operation between the editor and the printer. Himself a reputed artist, the editor deserves congratulations for placing this beautiful album before the public.

To conclude, we cannot but reiterate again the achievement of Abanindranath in the words of Prof. Stella Kramrisch :

"Abanindranath Tagore averted his mind from imposed standards. Aristocrat and connoisseur, he assimilated the forms of the past and those around him to the sensibility of his living self, in the morning twilight of a beginning."

And that beginning was of the modern Indian art which has, during the last half a century, reaped a good and rich harvest.

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PANORAMA OF HISTORY IN AN AMERICAN MUSEUM

By JOE M. CLARK

THE history of a region and its people is depicted in the exhibits on display in the State museum of New Mexico at Santa Fe, a city almost three and a half centuries old in the American Southwest.

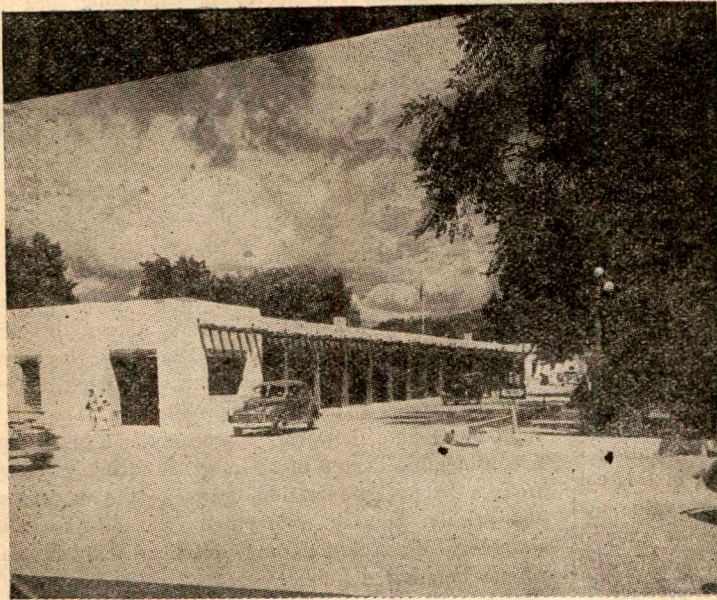
The museum contains a fascinating assortment of primitive tools, weapons, household articles, and artifacts which made living possible and pleasant both for the American Indian residents of the area and for the non-Indian explorers and settlers who first arrived there late in the sixteenth century. The early Spanish explorers began colonization of New Mexico in 1598, or 22 years before the early English settlers landed on the Atlantic Coast of the new continent.

The museum itself is housed in a building first used as the capitol of the colony of New Mexico in 1610. That was more than two centuries before the area became a Territory of the United States, and more than 300 years before it became the forty-seventh State in 1912.

The long, low structure, simple yet impressive, forms one side of the historic plaza which marked the end of the Santa Fe Trail, historic wagon travel route from the State of Missouri to New Mexico before the railroad was built. The building is still known, popularly and officially, as the "Palace of the Governors" and is the oldest public building in the United States.

More than 100,000 visitors now enter the museum each

year to view the colorful exhibits there, and many of these persons return again and again. Obviously, many find thousand years ago. Some authorities put the time as much as 5,000 to 15,000 years ago.



The oldest public building in the U.S.A. This adobe (sun-dried brick) structure at Santa Fe, capital of New Mexico, now houses a museum. It was erected by Spanish settlers as a provincial capitol in 1610

the past intriguing and here one may see glimpses of mankind's past with clarity.

The visitor plunges further and further into the past history of human life in this region as he winds his way through this fascinating museum. The centuries pass quickly, and the 250 years of Spanish rule seem brief indeed as the visitor examines mementos and handcrafts of the ancient Indians who raised grain and vegetables in the valleys of New Mexico, and who with spears and arrows hunted game in the nearby foothills, centuries before the Spanish conquistadores arrived in a hapless search for gold.

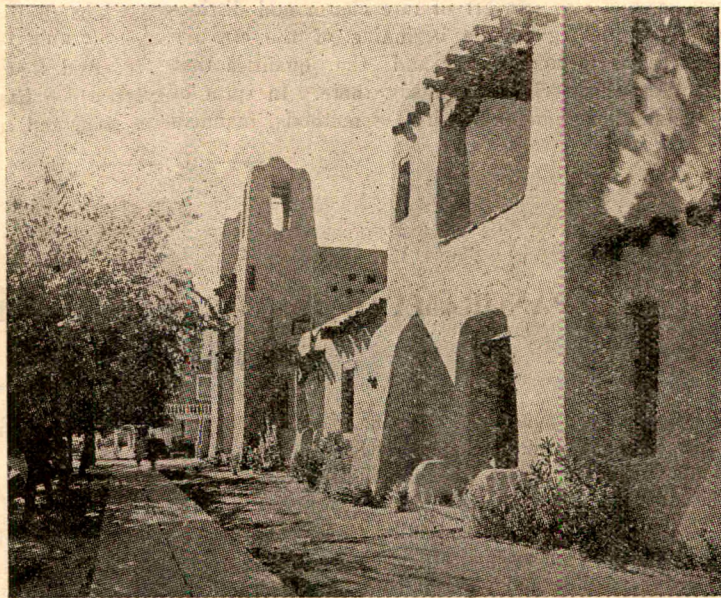
These aboriginal exhibits in the old "Palace" at Santa Fe are rated among the best extant. Some of the collections, started many decades ago, today offer a treasure of information for those interested in life in the long-ago in North America.

Authentic evidence has been found indicating that stone-age hunters visited what is now New Mexico several times as large as a standard modern brick—to facilitate erection and improve construction. (The same kind of

All exhibits on display in the museum, however, are dated since the beginning of the Christian era. And here it is clearly apparent that mankind has progressed far during these past 1900 years. This progress is shown in particular in the development of housing. Many of the early forebears of New Mexico's present-day American Indians lived principally in natural caves and crude shelters which they built with fallen logs and brush.

As time passed, others learned to utilize rocks in the construction of walls, using adobe, or sun-dried clay, as mortar. Adobe made with the clay found in certain sections of New Mexico proved so satisfactory for this purpose, that it came to be used almost exclusively in the erection of thick walls, much as cement is used today.

A further refinement in the use of adobe as a building material was introduced in this region by the early Spanish settlers. They taught the Indians how to mold and sun-dry adobe blocks of convenient size—about four



This building, patterned along the lines of an American Indian pueblo (communal dwelling), houses the art-gallery and auditorium of the State Museum of New Mexico

blocks is still used in the construction of hundreds of homes each year in New Mexico.)

This evolution in the housing of the people of the State is traced in exhibits at the museum. New Mexico now has some 50,000 American Indians, occupying 22 areas which they own. These areas include 18 pueblos or

travel routes in New Mexico before the advent of the railroads, and both have colorful histories.

The story of the "Palace of the Governors" itself is interesting. Its use has ranged from colonial capitol, to stable and back again in its 300-year existence. The flags of Spain, Mexico, and the Confederate States of



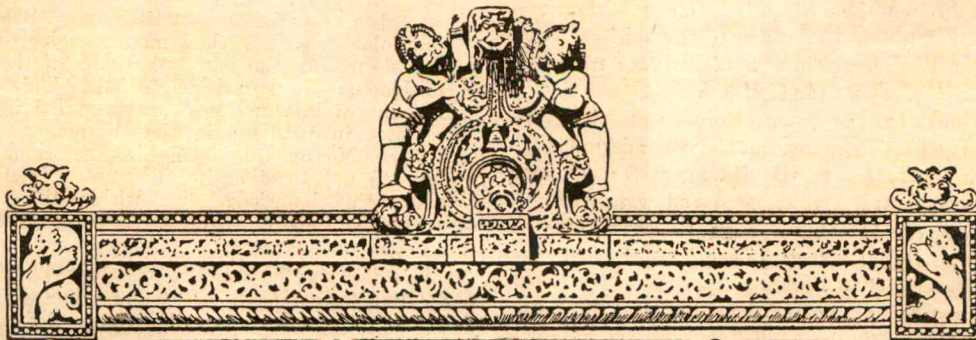
This realistic and authentic model in the State Museum of New Mexico illustrates the life in an American Indian village over 100 years ago

communal villages. Most of the Indians have been prompt to adopt methods or materials which promise to improve their pattern of living without altering it to any major extent. This is shown in the exhibits in the Hall of Ethnology, an adjunct to the museum, concerned with Indian origins, characteristics, arts, and customs.

Many visitors to the museum remember best the two old stagecoaches on display in the large grass-covered patio. Both of these vehicles were in service on regular

America (the States whose secession brought about the American War between the States) as well as the flag of the United States, have flown over it.

Obviously this is no ordinary museum. Here the history of a region and of a people unfolds. Here are exhibits to interest everyone, from school-children to historians, who make up the 100,000 persons who visit it each year.—From *The Highway Traveler*.



POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF ANCIENT INDIA

By PRAKASH CHANDRA SAXENA, M.A.

THE Hindu concept of *dharma*, as is well known, is all-embracing and all-comprehensive. No branch of activity; no walk of life is such that it may be thought exempt from its claims. For every act, howsoever humble or seemingly insignificant, there is a right and a wrong way of performing it. On the field of Kurukshetra Arjuna asks the Lord:

Sthitapraghnya ka bhasha somadhisthasya Keshava; Sthitadhih kimprabhasheta kimasita vrajeta kim?

Obviously even the most insignificant acts of the enlightened soul are different from those of others.

It is not therefore surprising—indeed it is only to be expected—that there is no branch of life howsoever secular-seeming, that in Hindu thought has not been coloured by the spiritual outlook that is the main characteristic of Hinduism. This is as it should be—for it is only when the fundamental approaches of a society or people in different spheres of life be identical or similar, that there is harmony and smooth-working of the social and political machine. Hindu political thought, for example, drew its inspiration and energy from the fountain-springs of religious thought as expounded by the venerable ancient seers. This naturally led to a close harmony between the spheres temporal and spiritual, ecclesiastical and secular—and thus the horrors of European Mediaeval Church-State conflict were entirely averted.

Of course, this led to the predominance of Church over State in Hindu States, in other words all affairs spiritual were given prime importance over affairs secular, but this as we shall see was not a bad thing. Emphasis on worldly matters is a characteristic of a materialistic outlook on the universe which results in fratricidal and suicidal wars, suspicion, distrust and hatred as in the world today. It was not because of religious fanaticism that the Hindus of ancient India subordinated the State to Religion but because they felt that the State, as all other things, is important only so far as it is contributory to the spiritual evolution of man and his attainment of the four treasures—*Dharma, Artha, Kama* and *Moksha*.

Unfortunately, superficial observers have misunderstood this. Their opinions have misguided the world into thinking that the Hindus never developed so-called secular arts and sciences and were extremely backward in worldly affairs. Says Prof. Dunning in his *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Mediaeval*:

“The Oriental Aryans never freed their politics from the theological and metaphysical environment in which it is embedded today.”

Or as Max Muller says:

“Religion and philosophy formed the only sphere where the Indian mind found itself at liberty to act, to create and to worship.”

Or Willoughby:

“To the early Eastern mind the fact that a thing existed was sufficient of itself to show its right to be. Thus was effectually excluded all possibility of enquiries as to the relative perfection or justification for the existence of *de facto* social and political speculation.”

The last assertion is so sweeping and condemnatory that it is obvious that the author knew nothing of the ancient classification of sciences and arts by the Hindus. According to it, the primary *vidyas* or sciences are 32 and the primary *kalas* are 64. Of the 32 sciences *Arthashastra* or *Dandaniti-Politics* is one. Two others were *Anvikshiki* (Metaphysics) and *Trayi* (Theology), which shows that politics was dealt with apart from the other two.

Sukracharya in his *Sukraniti* held that *Arthashastra* included both Politics and Economics, but the main body of thinkers sharply differentiated the two. The respective schools of Manu, Brihaspati and Usanaś all disagreed with Sukra in this.

Thus the Hindus, while entirely separating politics from other sciences still gave it a religious basis due to their inherent tendency towards synthesis, towards looking at life as a whole and each aspect of it as closely inter-related with all others. In the present world we find the different sciences developing individually with calm indifference towards all others and there is no one to correlate the different spheres of specialised activities. The need for a synthetic view in which all developments of the various sciences would be co-ordinated is now only faintly being recognised by the West, while it was put into use by the ancient seers of India. Writes Alexis Carrel in his famous *Man the Unknown*:

“Every year we hear of the progress made by eugenicists, geneticists, statisticians, behaviourists, physiologists . . . clergymen, sociologists, economists, etc. But the practical results of these accomplishments are surprisingly small. This immense amount of information is disseminated in technical reviews, in treatises, in the brains of men of science. No one has it in his possession. We have now to put together its disparate fragments and make this knowledge live within the mind of at least a few individuals. Then it will become productive.”

It was precisely this synthetic approach to the problems of life that enabled the Hindus of ancient India to achieve what is called *Rama Rajya* of which the most conspicuous feature is that all branches of

activity were perfectly adapted to the greatest happiness of society.

It was on this fundamental basis that politics grew into a separate science. As Dr. Beni Prasad remarks:

"After ages of intellectual activity politics was recognised as a science in itself and in the hands of some authors, was exalted to the rank of the supreme science but could never make itself completely independent of religion and ethics."

We are reminded of the Aristotelian conception of politics. The Greeks had a perfect realisation of the interconnectedness of the two.

The sages of India, in the sacred books, laid down the law for man for each of the varied branches of life. In the hands of priests and seers even the politics of India acquired a spiritual outlook and basis. Those who discussed politics as separate, could not restrain themselves from expressing views on other subjects. No one made the mistake of Western thought—of the separation into watertight compartments of different aspects of life. Everywhere the divine hand is visible. The divine purpose is to be enforced. Earthly punishment is reinforced by the divine and sometimes the latter is emphasised. Hindu social theories become part of the general theory of the universe and was made to fit into the general scheme which included theology, metaphysics, tradition, logic, law, ethics and economics.

All Indian social thought pre-assumes an ethical basis. Certain fundamental principles of morality are taken for granted, and on this basis it seeks to establish theories of social and political life. The State, on the Hindu view, is certainly not a mere 'hindrance of hindrances'—it is not merely a preventive institution. Again and again it is insisted on that it must create and maintain conditions for the virtuous life and keep men to their duties as laid down in the *shastras*. The State is not to be merely secular in the sense of dealing only with the non-religious and non-spiritual aspects of life. It must go deeper and contribute to the spiritual evolution of man. Repeatedly, we find insistence on the duties (*dharma*) of both rulers and ruled, rarely, if ever, on their rights (*adhikaras*). The theory of the State is only the other aspect of the theory of ethics. Politics is the ethics of a whole society—a theory of the duty of man in regard to all his relations and environment. To this end all governmental activities are to be directed.

Hindu theory has its Utopias of a Golden Age or an Age of Truth (*Satya Yuga*) but mainly the seers confine themselves to the practical problems of humanity. The bent of thought was essentially constructive and it is therefore that mostly the existing institutions, traditional scheme of duties and the prevailing form of government were not sought to be overthrown or replaced, but instead an attempt was made to build up systems of thought on their basis.

Facts are always compromised with. But though, like Machiavelli and Treitschke, the theorists were realists, they never once lost sight of the deeper values of life. The aim is always the same and always high—the means vary according to conditions and circumstances.

The Hindu habit of synthesis and idea of all-comprehensiveness of the State linked theories of politics and government to those of economics, agriculture, irrigation, famine-relief, mining, communication, diplomacy, fortification, etc., in fact all social phenomena.

One important result of the comprehensive view of life is that government was made only an agency of the enforcement of the social order. It was only a part of society. Its importance was never exaggerated. Though its authority was ultimate it was not made an end in itself in contrast to the spiritual, industrial or commercial spheres, as is and has been done by a large section of European thought. Society viewed from different aspects was conceived as political or religious or economic or military. But the wood is never lost sight of for the trees. The State is always subordinated to the good of man. No responsible thinker dares to look at things cold-bloodedly from a political or military angle alone. The same spirit is reflected in the figure of Asoka who gave up his schemes of conquest when he witnessed the horrors of war in Kalinga. This comprehensive view again results in a usage of the term 'government' in the modern sense of 'State.' And since 'government' was generally monarchical the theory of kingship may be taken as the Hindu theory of the State.

Another of the consequences of this was the rather unfortunate conception of political inequality between man and man on the basis of caste. Since on a religious view men were divided into castes, the State accepted this division and acted accordingly. The State as purely secular had not yet emerged. Privileges were accorded to those of high caste, but one good result was achieved: the absence of any separate ecclesiastical organisation like the Church in Europe. This eliminated the conflicts that might otherwise have arisen between Church and State. To quote Dr. Beni Prasad:

"It is the relation of the government with the social order and life as a whole which call for comment and guidance (in Hindu thought). From the very nature of social theory government could not be regarded as Sovereign in the Austinian sense of the term. It did not impart validity to the social order; rather it shared its validity. It could not alter it at will; other parts of it were as valid as itself. It sustained the social order but that was merely its function. It embodied the coercive power of the community and was bound to use it in the social order just as the priest or trader was bound to use his spiritual or economic power in the social interest. Sovereignty was really diffused throughout the community and was embodied in the Law which had its source in the Divine Will.

On the part of the individual there can be no unified allegiance, no single loyalty, except to society as a whole. No component part not even government, can claim to be absolutely sovereign. Here the monistic theory of sovereignty as applied to the State or government fails completely; only a pluralistic theory can grasp the Indian phenomenon. The State was only one of the groups to which the individual belonged, or rather, the State was merged in the social order as a whole. It is only the principles which lay at the root of the social and moral order that are omnipotent. They are summed up as Dharma, Law, Virtue or Duty. The Law, conceived in this wide sense, is above all individuals or groups. It limits the power of government; it regulates its exercise. It is above man; it is divine. With the government rests the ultimate power of adjusting social relations but the adjustment must proceed according to Dharma. Such are the principles in the light of which the Indian theory of government has to be examined."

Having indicated the basic principles of Hindu political philosophy I now proceed to the views of seers set forth in various treatises.

In Vedic literature we have only vague references to social theory. We find the institution of caste mentioned with reference to the supremacy of the Brahmana:

"The Brahma certainly precedes the Kshattria. For the king should think (that) when the Brahma is at the head, then my royal power would become strong and not to be shaken."

The Brahmana, repository of learning and spiritual excellence, is assured of supremacy. He is said to be under the special protection of the gods and is even the representative of the latter. His person is inviolate. The Shatapatha Brahmana declares him independent of government and exempt from taxes. The Atharva Veda says that kings who injured Brahmanas are ruined both here and hereafter. The Rig Veda calls them Rashtragopa (protector of the realm), they should always be propitiated.

In Hindu theory, monarchy is the key-note. The institution of kingship has divine sanction. Time and again in Vedic literature we find it declared that the king gets his authority from the godhead and is the representative of the Supreme on earth.

It must be noted that though the office of kingship is divine, the king's person itself shares this divinity to only a certain extent. The right to revolt is not ruled out. The king may be deposed or exiled, for, if he is tyrannous and unjust and thus fails to do his duty he loses all moral authority and privilege. He is supposed to be just and to protect his subjects and if he fails in this, he not only earns spiritual punishment but also disgrace on earth. He may be called to account or killed. In the Anushasan Parva of the Mahabharata, subjects are advised to arm themselves for slaying a tyrant. Though his office is divine, the king is not himself deified.

Here we have the ideal of Plato's 'philosopher-

king.' Later too, again and again, we shall find insistence on the moral virtues that a king should endeavour to acquire in order to rule well.

In another sphere however the Mahabharata is not so idealistic.

In the Ramayana, the great poet Valmiki gives a vivid picture of the 'social contract.' The original state of anarchy is a horrible one where there is no rainfall, no trade on earth, no security of life and property, no idea of law anywhere, no family life nor moral codes, where father and son fight, where the husband has no control over the wife, where there are no religious practices, no honour among even Brahmanas, no performance of sacrifices, no prayer, no joy nor happiness. From these horrible conditions the king saves society. He is the universal benefactor, father, mother, and friend. He is the truth and the light of humanity.

The Code of Manu (*Manusmriti*) and other law-books are our next source of political theory. All aspects of life are dealt with herein. The Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras are said to have sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively of the Creator (I. 21). It therefore follows that the Brahmanas are the greatest of men. They are all one with Brahman and the eternal incarnation of the law. A Brahmana's wrath will destroy everything. His origin entitles him to special privileges. All that exists is his by right. It is through his sufferance that other men exist. He is the support of the three worlds and the gods. Whether learned or ignorant, of noble or of mean occupation, he is divine (IV. 4). Manu has no respect for the Shudras. He can attain no excellence. While trade and usury are Satyanrita (mixture of truth and falsehood), service, the occupation of Shudras is Shwavritti (dog's mode of life). They are born of slaves. Their work cannot be allotted to the twice-born even by Brahmanas (III. 154-167, II. 168, II 155, VIII. 412-414, IV. 4-6, and V. 83-84). But a man may receive learning even from one of low birth, law from the lowest and an excellent wife from a base family (II. 238).

One cannot but deplore this unfortunate exception to the high idealism of Hindu thought. Moreover, not only were the lower castes deprived of their rights but they were also to be forced to their status in life by the State. All the castes must perform their duties, but Manu says, the Vaishyas and Shudras in particular must be compelled to do so, for if they did not, society would be thrown into confusion.

As to the law, Manu gives the primary authority as the Shrutis or Vedas and Smritis or tradition. The other two are the custom of virtuous men and reason. When two texts conflict both are valid but decision is to be taken according to custom or reason.

"What may have been practised by the virtuous, by such twice-born as are devoted to the law, that he shall establish as law, if it be not

opposed to (the customs) of countries, families and castes."—*Chapter on Civil and Criminal Law, Manu.*

All local and communal customs must be respected—the implication being that these are usually in accordance with the eternal law. This means relaxation of the rigidity with which a fanatic zealot might have sought to enforce his own conception of the sacred texts.

Manu accepts the theory of social contract following the state of 'matsya-nyaya.' For him, kingship is divine though in purpose utilitarian. The king is composed of the eternal particles of the eight gods: Indra, Varuna, Yama, Vayu, Agni, Surya, Kuvera and Chandra. He performs on earth the duties of all these and exceeds all men in lustre. All should honour him, none disobey.

The king is admonished to be humble and modest, learned and versed in sacred and secular wisdom. "Day and night he must strenuously exert himself to conquer his senses, for he alone who has conquered his senses can keep his subjects in obedience." He has a daily programme of duties prescribed.

We have a rather pessimistic view of human nature when we find that Manu, as in the Mahabharata, praises chastisement or *danda*, incarnation of Dharma, formed by Brahmana glory and the only thing supposed to be capable of keeping order in the world. Even in the Mahabharata we find Arjuna impressing on Yudhishthira the fact that without *danda* creatures would soon be destroyed and 'like fish in the water the stronger animals would prey on the weaker.'

"Even they that are breakers of rules, that are atheists and scoffers at the Vedas, afflicted by chastisement soon become disposed to observe rules and restrictions."

"If chastisement did not uphold and protect, then ravage and confusion would have soon set in on every side and all barriers would have been swept away and the idea of property would have disappeared . . . nobody would have studied the Vedas, nobody would have milked a milch cow and no maiden would have married."

The social instincts, as in Hobbes, are entirely ignored. So also Bhishma answers Yudhishthira when the latter asks him 'why one man, the king, should govern the rest of the world numbering many men possessed of great intelligence and bravery.' We seem to have here the Hobbesian view of human nature in its entirety. But there is a justification for this. As in Plato, the human being and his passions are likened to a charioteer driven by unruly horses. A natural corollary of this view is that in the State there must be an over-ruling power who keeps in check the unruly senses and passions of his subjects. It is a well-known fact that the path of temptation is always more easy to glide into and in the State—as in Plato's Republic—if there is no wise authority, it would be more

likely, though not inevitable, that the passions and inclinations of people might so get the upper hand that they might ruin themselves by a free play of these. At such times the fear of a higher authority would be the only deterrent. Hindu thought applauded chastisement only as a means to the welfare of the people themselves.

Thus the king has the final word. He is required to keep seven or eight ministers for consultation but the final decision is to rest with him. The royal priest must inevitably be confided in before every enterprise and none undertaken without his consent. Thus was a check placed on the misuse of monarchical power.

Local self-government is advocated, the smallest unit being a village, but authority is central for the sake of unified control.

Justice forms an essential part of protection which is the prime function of the State in Hindu thought. If a thief escapes undetected the guilt falls on the king. He has even to pay out sixteen times the amount or make good the loss to the plaintiff. The murder of Brahmanas, women and children is to be punishable by death. The weak are to have a privileged status. We cannot but admire this benevolent spirit of political thought.

Dire punishments await the king who is tyrannous or unjust.

"A king who punishes those who do not deserve it, brings great infamy on himself and sinks in hell."

"The guilt of an unjust decision is shared equally by the criminal, the judges and the king."
—(VIII, 18).

The idea is that kingly office is divine but it is a duty and not a right bestowed by God. In the Shanti Parva of the Mahabharata, Utatthya says to Mandhatri: "One becomes king for acting in the interest of righteousness and not for conducting oneself capriciously." An unrighteous king should be slain. The Divine Right of Kings is an unthinkable conception for the Hindu seers. King Vena is said to be the lineal descendant of Narayana himself and yet was slain by the Rishis, being unrighteous and oppressive. Later, Sukra in his *Nitishashtra* was to declare that the king is honoured because of his qualities and not birth. The justification of the king's authority rests on utilitarian grounds. Willoughby is entirely wrong in saying:

"In all of the vast Asiatic monarchies of early days the rulers claimed a divine right to control the affairs of the State and this was submitted to by the people with but little question.—*Nature of the State.*"

Hindu kingship is not unfettered or irresponsible. In the many Dharmashastras, Arthashastras, Puranas, Nitishastras and epics we repeatedly find checks to tyranny mentioned. These were both retributive and preventive. The latter were both internal and

external. Moral discipline is the first requisite for kings and a vast period of religious and moral training is mentioned before the office can be held. It is a matter of pride that the ancient Hindus realised the futility of external checks on irresponsibility of which even after centuries of blood and tears the Western world is not yet conscious. Even in recent times Mahatma Gandhi gave his life to the inculcation of the principle that inward progress and self-culture would work more wonders than any external checks or institutions seeking to do so, but the truth is not fully realised by all. We have seen the League of Nations fail and U.N.O. too is likely to do so, for, when there is no sincerity in the heart, no external institutions can promote goodwill and co-operation. Says Shamastry:

"... Religious and moral restraints as self-denial, conquest of the six passions, preparation for *Moksha* or *Nirvana* by renunciation, frequently preached to the prince and poor alike, were scarcely less powerful than the constitutional and legal checks of Western nations of modern times. How far the modern constitutional checks, based on utilitarian rather than ethical principles, are preferable to religious or philosophical restraints, which are applicable to all, is a question yet to be decided."
—*Evolution of Indian Polity*.

Other preventive checks were religious and one can imagine their effectiveness. Says Manu:

"A king who protects receives from each and all the sixth part of their spiritual merit, if he does not protect them, the sixth part of their demerit also."—(VIII. 307).

So also Sukra and Kautilya too in his *Arthashastra*.

Political preventive checks were Laws and Customs, Public Opinion, Ministers and Assemblies. Though the final authority vested with the king, all these had to be taken into account, and so far as possible, catered to. Sukra declares that a king 'should dismiss the officer who is accused by one hundred men.' In the story of Devapi and Shantanu, the former was a leper and though his father wanted to instal him as heir-apparent, public opinion made him change his decision. Similar is the case of Yayati who had to justify the installation of his youngest son as heir, to the people.

But most important were the ministers and assemblies. Of the high-priest says Kautilya:

"As a student his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master, the king shall follow him."—*Arthashastra*, I. 9

Sukra asks:

"Can there be prosperity in the kingdom if there be ministers whom the ruler does not fear?" Sukraniti says, "The king who does not listen to the counsels of ministers about things good and bad to him, is a thief in the form of a ruler; an exploiter of the people's wealth and soon gets estranged from his kingdom and alienated with his subjects."—(II. 515-516, 7-8).

The king was not even above the law as is the case even in many enlightened Western countries today. Manu says:

"Where another common man would be fined one karsha, the king shall be fined one thousand."

The effectiveness of the Gandhian technique of passive resistance and Satyagraha in the struggle for independence against a foreign ruler has been proved. How much more effective was the *Atmamedh* or *Prayopavesha* form of satyagraha can very well be imagined in an age of religious zeal. The people *en masse* made a vow of fast unto death until grievances were removed. We find in the *Rajatarangini* that ancient kings sent out spies to find out such cases of *Prayopavesha*; for the kings, even if ignorant of the matter, was branded a murderer if any death occurred. His 'crime' was punishable by re-birth as a lower animal.

Deposition and tyrannicide are allowed. In the Vedic period monarchy was elective and the people deposed many kings. Says Kautilya:

"A king of unrighteous character and of vicious habits will, though he is an emperor, fall a prey either to the fury of his subjects and to that of his enemies."—*Arthashastra*, VI. 1.

"Impoverished and disaffected subjects voluntarily destroy the king."—(VII. 5).

In the *Shantiparva* of the *Mahabharata*, Bhishma quotes the great *Rishi* Vamadeva as saying:

"That king who acts according to the counsels of vicious and sinful ministers, becomes a destroyer of righteousness and deserves to be slain by his subjects with all his family."

Sukra declares:

"If the king be an enemy of virtue, morality and strength, people should expel him as the ruiner of the State, and in his place for the maintenance of the State, the priest with the consent of the *Prakriti*, should instal one who belongs to his family and qualified."

He does not agree with Narada in that whatever a king does is right, nor with Aryadeva that a king is a mere servant of the people and nothing more.

Sukra gives the following functions of the king or state: protection of the people and punishment, tax-realising and tax-spending functions, wealth-producing activities, the advancement of learning and religion and acts of charity and conquest. Kautilya is more realistic and less idealistic. The latter even looks on religion as a convenient tool for the furtherance of state-policy and does not scruple to advocate prostitution of religious institutions for this: The king if in need of money may set up a temple with an idol in the darkness of night and collect the money offered by the people in their credulity. In his politics Kautilya is not irreligious but unreligious and this is why he is termed the Machiavelli of India. For conquering an enemy, poisonous drugs and prostitutes are recommended and to kill an enemy king various devices are

given in minute detail for doing so when he goes on a pilgrimage. The king may even give out that he is omniscient and able to converse with the gods in order to terrify the people. But all this is due to Kautilya's pre-occupation with the necessity of a strong administration which can wink at some irregularities in order to retain its strength which is to be used only as a means to enable the attainment by the people of the four ends: *dharma*, *artha*, *kama*, and *moksha*. His idealism can be gauged by the fact that while his contemporary Aristotle was justifying and proving the necessity of slavery, he condemned it in no uncertain terms. He even declared laws and fines for its extinction. 'An Arya can never be a slave,' he declared and said that such an ignoble custom can exist only among Mlecchas. Not only sellers and buyers but also witnesses of slave-deals were punished.

It is a well-known condemnation of the West that Orientals have never had any respect for human life. This malicious libel is disproved by the fact that even Kautilya lays down that it is the duty of the king to provide for all without means. He has to feed the weak and indigent, the widow without children and orphans. Men forsaking wife and children or brothers refusing to take care of minor brothers and sisters were punished. Men could take to *sannyasa* or join monastic orders only if they made provision for their families or were punished. Beggary was severely dealt with. Exploitation by businessmen was strictly punished and rigid control over prices and supply was exercised by the government. Society in ancient India, though monarchical and capitalist, yet exercised such thorough control over the two institutions that no misuse of power, political or economic, was even remotely possible.

In regard to inter-State morality, we find Kautilya absolutely amoral, though other theorists were not so.

Much the same trends of thought and outlook are to be found in the *Arthashastra* of Brihaspati or the Brahmapatya Sutras.

This brief survey of the political philosophy of ancient India makes it obvious that it can not be subsumed under any of the prevalent categories of Western political thought. The Hindu conception of politics is a thing unique. The closest approximation to it is to be found in the Greek thought of Plato and Aristotle and which was taken as a basis by Rousseau and other idealist thinkers. Hindu theory does not conceive of the State and the individual as entities opposed to each other. The idea of protecting and safeguarding the latter from the encroachments of the State—a preoccupation with Western thought—did not occur to the Hindu seers. Each member of society—as in Plato—is supposed to perform his own function and thus to contribute to the welfare of society as a

whole. Duties are always insisted on, seldom, if ever, rights. The divinity of the monarch derives its worth from the amount of service he renders to society. The individual is regarded only as a member of society and the latter exists only to further the ends of the individual's life. A more beautiful harmony between State and individual can hardly be conceived.

Another common characteristic of both Plato and of Hindu thought is the conception of each class of society having a definite and independent function of its own to perform. Each class, accordingly, has its own type of mentality and thus its own rights and duties. As Bosanquet says:

"Society, *prima facie*, exists in the correlated dispositions by which a plurality of individual minds meets the need for covering the ground open to human nature, by division of labour in the fullest sense."

All this may be true but whatever the benefits derived to society we cannot but deplore the system of privileges based on caste. That a Brahmana was considered one by birth and not by qualifications in the latter part of the ancient period, is evident from the laws for Criminal Procedure laid down by Manu and others where the most heinous crimes, if committed by Brahmanas and higher castes, were punished more lightly than if committed by others. I believe that no possible justification can be put forward for this. It amounts to a denial of personality. Laski says in another context:

"It is the primary fact in personality as such that it has no allotted station. It wins or ought to win the station in which it may best fulfil itself. It can do so by experiment alone . . . Any attempt at the division of society into 'natural' classes with 'natural' functions is bound to break down. We discover what we naturally are in terms of what we seek to become. And the discovery is intimately our own."—*Grammar of Politics*.

Apart from this, there is a lot to admire in the political philosophy of Ancient India. History records the amount of peace and happiness and what is more, virtue to be found in our country in those times. If, in spite of all this, some one should object to the monarchical system upheld, I can only retort: 'For forms of government let fools contest; whatever is best administered is best.' (This does not however imply the adequacy of the institution of monarchy in modern times).

The world has a lot to learn from the thought of ancient India. From the practical point of view, the sooner it is realised that no external institution or machinery or power of force can bring peace and prosperity to the world, the better. The greatest lesson of Hindu political philosophy is, in my opinion, that unless the heart of man itself is changed from within he cannot live happily or peacefully.

REVERENCE FOR LIFE

By I. E. J. DAVID

THE HERO OF VERDUN

MARSHAL PETAIN, the Hero of Verdun, was led to rest the other day. His imprisonment, his death and burial are a sad tribute to France. At a very critical time in the War of 1914 he saved France, and again at a very grave and a very much more critical juncture in the history of France he played his part again, and though aged, he took a decision which brooked no delay—perhaps rightly, or perhaps wrongly,—but *that* only he and his God knows, and probably posterity. But it was done for France and for the sake of his France, I have no doubt. What France did to him in return is, the defeat of human nature,—the defeat of France.

HATE AND VENGEANCE: THE SEEDS OF WAR

Marshal Petain was tried and condemned to death by France—the death of a traitor and a criminal. The execution was cancelled, but the life imprisonment was worse. France, one of the greatest nations of the century, which taught heroism, freedom and equality to the nations of the world, how small, how petty in its treatment of Petain! The ultimate victory or defeat of the nations which took part in the last World War depended or depends upon how they came out of that last heinous war—*upon the measure of the hate in their hearts*. The other day, five years after the blood bath, nearly a score of German “war criminals,” who appealed in vain to the courts and hearts of the Nations of the World, were hung one and all. Cold-blooded murder. The Christian Nations sent innumerable more such human beings to the gallows, branding them, in all self-righteousness, as “war criminals.” This cold-blooded murder flowed beyond the frontiers of Europe, to Asia, to Japan, and to our frontiers and now to Korea. Bloody hatred and vengeance galore. And we think, thus we have destroyed the roots of war and the seeds of war. Nay, this fair earth of ours is sown with bigger and deadlier seeds, and drenched with the blood of our brother man, and we are on the threshold of a mammoth harvest in Kashmir, in Korea, in the Middle East, in Russia and Europe. Man’s hate against Man is raining blood on the face of this fair earth of ours.

IF OUR CIVILIZATION SHOULD SURVIVE

As long as there are human beings, there may be those who hate and desire to plunge into wars. But if our civilization lays more emphasis and stronger emphasis on man’s love for man, and believes in *One Race*, in *One* people, *One* human family and *One* world, and cultivates love as the one and only

worthwhile and supreme end and aim of life, and endeavours to wipe out the hatred that encompasses man today, wars and hatred will be rarities, and against which the whole world will throw up its hands in wholesale horror and protest against man warring against man.

Hatred and love are born out of the hearts of individuals and these rivulets form ultimately the ocean. Hatred and love are cultivated. Love to become universal, love to establish the brotherhood of man, should be cultivated with assiduous and tireless effort. Every individual and organisation should take part in this great wide-world human effort on which the salvation and happiness of mankind rests—the hope of our children. Do you want our daughters and sons to be butchered and raped the way our mothers and wives were shamed and slaughtered, and the way our fathers have been led to hate and death?

OUR “CHRISTIAN NATIONS”

There are no Christian Nations. There are Christian individuals. It is amazing that the Christian Church as an institution and an organisation has never openly, boldly and uncompromisingly outlawed war. It is unbelievable that the World Council of Protestant Churches, which met not long ago in Amsterdam I believe, passed a resolution supporting the “Police Action” of the United Nations in Korea. It was pure hypocrisy on the part of those who met and passed that resolution, and to whitewash a full-scale war as “Police Action.” It was, I consider arrogant Imperialism. I for one, and I am sure all individual Christians disown any such resolution, and repudiate those men who met, however great they may be, the right to represent *Christ’s Church* and pass such a resolution. “Love them that hate you. Pray for them that despitefully use you. If you are smitten on one cheek, turn the other cheek.” *There is no compromise at all on this*. The Church cannot compromise one whit on this. Because it is not practised by many, it does not mean it is not possible, and it does not mean that anything opposite of this can ever be right. Right down the ages hosts of men and women, in all climes and countries, have practised and fulfilled this teaching,—martyrs, saints and ordinary obscure men. To commit a sin or crime is definitely bad, but to say that, that action or offence is not a crime or sin, is worse. *Then* you lose for ever the chance of conquering that weakness. Let us strive unceasingly for peace, and for the understanding of The Reverence For Life.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

A SURVEY OF THE RISE OF THE DUTCH POWER IN MALABAR, 1603-78 : By T. I. Poonen. *University of Travancore, 1948. Pp. xxiv + 303.*

This survey, though limited to a small area in time and geographical extent, has nevertheless been done with such scholarly care and accuracy that it must rank as a standard work of reference in its own corner of South Indian history. Though the Dutch sun has set, it should not be forgotten that that race ousted the Portuguese (the first race of European empire-builders in the East) as a colonising and trading power in India, and the English came behind the Dutch and eclipsed them nearly 70 years later. The value of Mr. Poonen's work lies in its going beyond the usual conquests and battles, and giving us the commerce, polity, administration, people's condition. It reflects credit on the University of Travancore to have chosen this useful work as one of its first publications.

J. SARKAR

VIKRAMADITYA OF UJJAYINI : By R. B. Pandey. Published by Shatadala Prakashana, Benares. 1951. Pp. 268. Price Rs. 15.

In this scholarly work the author has attempted "to reconstruct the history of Vikramaditya and the social and cultural history of his age on the basis of various types of evidence—astronomy, folk-tales. Brahmanical literary traditions, Jaina traditions, archæology, history of tribal migrations in Asia and the pure literature of ancient India" (Preface p. v). In the first two chapters, the author makes out his case for Vikramaditya's historicity based upon the cumulative evidence of "Indian eras, popular stories, the literary traditions of the Hindus and Jains, epigraphy, numismatics, the history of the Malavas and the history of the Sakas" (p. 49) and involving criticism of the contrary views of previous scholars from Fergusson to D. R. Bhandarkar. In the following five chapters (III-VII) the author attempts to trace Vikramaditya's career in detail in the light of the above evidence from his parentage and birth down to his great military achievements. Chapters VIII-XIII, deal with various aspects of Vikramaditya's Age under the titles *The Malava State under Vikramaditya, social conditions, religious conditions, language and literature, art and architecture and economic conditions*. The concluding chapter (Chapter XIV) winds up with a brief notice of Vikramaditya's last years and a critical estimate of his character and place in history.

We propose to make a few remarks. It is unfortunate that the *Vikrama Volume* (Ujjain, 1948) which was published in commemoration of the 2000th year of the Vikrama Era was not available to the author at the time of writing his work. Otherwise, when considering the view of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (pp. 61-76) which, as he rightly remarks, is "the most serious theory so far propounded" on the subject, he would have noticed the additional arguments put forward by the late lamented scholar (*Vikrama Volume*, pp. 57-68). He would also not have failed to consider the weighty arguments against the authenticity of the Vikramaditya tradition put forward by Dr. H. C. Raichaudhuri (*ibid*, 483-511) on the basis of the significant silence of the Puranic dynastic lists and the accretions in the Sattasai as well as the chronology of Varahamihira and Kalidasa. In so far as the reference to the mysterious Kshapanaka is concerned, he would have followed up the exhaustive and learned study of Dr. Charlotte Krause under the heading *Siddhasena Divakara and Vikramaditya* (*ibid*, pp. 213-80). To this we have to add that the author should have considered, in connection with his chronology of Kalidasa, the difficulties presented by the poet's use of "Middle Prakrit" in place of the "Old Prakrit" of Asvaghosha and Bhasa. We have, again, grave objections against the author's characterisation of the original constitution of the Malavas as "a democracy" with "a second chamber of elected members" and of their later constitution as "a mixture of democracy and aristocracy" (pp. 132-133). We would substitute for the first phrase an aristocratic republic of the usual *Sangha* type with a sovereign assembly consisting of hereditary nobles and probably a council without plenary authority to conduct negotiations with foreign powers. For the latter phrase we would substitute an aristocratic republic with a hereditary executive head. The above differences notwithstanding, we have nothing but admiration for the industry, learning and skill with which the author has tackled this very difficult problem. In particular, his illuminating chapters on the cultural history of the period rendered illustrious by the works of Kalidasa and the lexicon of Amarasimha are worthy of high praise. In conclusion, we heartily endorse the words with which Dr. R. C. Majumdar introduces the author in his Foreword: "He has laid the students of Indian history under a debt of obligation by his comprehensive, critical and scholarly investigation into the problem of the historicity and personality of Vikramaditya."

U. N. GHOSHAL

GAUTAMA THE BUDDHA: By S. Radhakrishnan. Published by Hind Kitabs Limited, 261-263 Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 69. Price Re. 1.

Sri Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan is perhaps the greatest living exponent of Indian philosophy. He has recently been sworn in as the Vice-President of the Indian Republic. Rightly Sir Francis Younghusband remarked that as an interpreter of the philosophy and religion of India to the West no one excels Radhakrishnan. When Sir Radhakrishnan delivered his lecture on the Buddha, contained in the booklet under review, in the Master Mind series to the British Academy it was observed of him that he was himself a master mind. This lecture was delivered to the British Academy under the Henriette Hertz Trust on 28th June, 1938 and first published in the fourteenth volume of the proceedings of the British Academy. It was first reprinted in India in 1945, then in 1946 and again in 1949. This shows how warmly has it been received by the students of Buddhist thought. In this lecture Sri Radhakrishnan gives a bird's-eye view of the life and doctrine of the Enlightened One in a very flowing style. So readable and thoughtful, so lucid and learned a lecture is rarely delivered now-a-days. The interpretation is wonderfully impartial and original. The problems concerned have been discussed authoritatively with appropriate quotations from the Pali and Sanskrit works. According to the great author, the Buddha is undoubtedly one of the greatest figures in history and one of those few heroes of humanity who have made epochs in the history of our race with message for other times as well as their own.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE PASSING OF SRI AUROBINDO (Its Inner Significance and Consequences): K. D. Sethna. Reprinted from "Mother India"—Bombay, dated January 9, 1951. Published by Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Pp. 23. Price Re. 1.

The return of "the material envelope of the Master" to its elements is a phenomenon that has a special significance to the author, a disciple of Sri Aurobindo and a poet whose mystic writings reflect his spiritual intuitions and realizations. Sri Aurobindo devoted his last days to re-writing or re-touching the *Savitri*—the drama that symbolized the triumph of Love over Death—a story that has been immortalized in the Hindu mind by generations of women making a particular day in May-June reminiscent of the old story of *Savitri and Satyaban*. It was "a lordly and leisurely labour," this writing of the drama. But "all of a sudden a couple of months before the fateful December 5, Sri Aurobindo startled his scribe by saying: I must finish *Savitri* soon." In these words the author read a mystic meaning that the Master had decided to take to another world for the greater work of helping the world's evolutionary process. This is the great faith and hope that sustain humanity amid so many disappointments and failures of body and mind.

TWO SCENES FROM SAVITRI: By Sri Aurobindo. Published by Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Pp. 14. Price Re. 1.

Only mystic scholars can indicate the superb poetry of this grand drama. The King Aswapathi childless, prays to the "Creatrix, the Eternal artist Bride," goddess Savitri, to give him some power that would break "the doom to which thou bindest thy

sons." The prayer is granted, and promises that "One shall descend who shall break the iron Law And alter Nature's doom by the Spirit's power."

Her lips shall be the honeycombs of God,
Her limbs His golden jars of ecstasy.

Strength shall be with her like a conqueror's sword...
Fate shall be changed by an unchanging will."

The Hindu knows the rest of the theme. The English-speaking world has now an opportunity to know and understand the significance of our Ramayana and Bharata stories.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

LINGUA INDICA REVEALED: By Principal S. C. Chaudhuri. Published for Life Education Service of India by Thacker Spink and Co. (1933) Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 8-4.

The main object of the work appears to be to disprove the necessity of selecting one particular language as the national language of India, for, in the opinion of the learned author, a *Lingua Indica* is already in existence; it is revealed through the close affinity existing among the various languages of India. He advocates the use of a common alphabet, 'tentatively the Devnagar alphabet in its present form, and ultimately the Devnagar alphabet in a scientific and adoptable form' (p. 113), for all the provincial languages. It is hoped that 'the adoption of this common script of Devnagar will work as a magic in merging the dialects of India into a grand *Lingua Indica* of Bharati, by a liberal levelling of the minor angularities' (p. 49). Nay, he goes further and declares that Mahabharati—presumably Sanskrit, the parent language which has nurtured the various later languages of India—for her most scientific grammatical system, accurately phonetic alphabet, and spontaneous acceptance by the vast body of human society living between Russia and Celebes and between Madagascar and Korea, and for the candid appeal of her non-communal and non-appellative universal religion of *Humanism* will, in no time, find herself sincerely welcomed as the most suitable common alphabet and the most exquisite common language of the world' (p. 149). Few people may be expected to be as optimistic and as hopeful as our learned author. But his attempts to draw attention to instances of linguistic unity noticed in different parts of India and of Indian influences far and near will be widely appreciated. Detailed and dependable information on this interesting subject is a desideratum. Results of our Government's reported move in collecting common words used in various Indian languages are eagerly awaited. The importance of the author's proposal for the introduction of one script, though not a new one, requires to be brought home to the people at large so that it may be implemented at an early date. It may be pointed out in passing that the style of the book is rather diffuse and the bibliographical references are incomplete.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

UNDERSTAND YOUR CHILDREN: By H. R. Bhatia. M.A. Published by New Hindustan Publications, 9A-92, W. E. A., Karol Bagh, Delhi, 1950. First edition. Pp. 239. Price Rs. 5-15.

Children are the assets of a nation, for upon them devolves the responsibility of upholding the society and enriching life and civilization. It is therefore desirable in the greater interest of the society that every facility should be provided for the maximal development of children's latent abilities. Most parents in our country are indifferent to educative processes and emotional training of their children. They rely solely upon schools and teachers in this respect. But school can hardly achieve success unless the home actively co-operates and parents exercise a wise and helpful attitude towards the little growing humans. Though there are numerous books on child psychology and development, general readers avoid them as dry pedagogy and thereby miss a chance of entering into an unknown and interesting world—a strange world of children's life and fancy, play and growth.

The present volume, free from pedagogic dryness, written in a simple, lucid and attractive style, aims at helping enlightened parents to understand the right way of bringing up, treating and training children. The author has discussed the various stages of child's development and characteristics thereof with definite suggestions for parents and teachers to be adopted for the right guidance of the young soul. Children's welfare is most dear to their parents. And parents to be equipped with proper knowledge for training children should acquaint themselves with their nature, regularities and problems. Sri Bhatia's book will help them admirably in this process of self-training for proper parenthood.

While congratulating the learned author for this excellent book we would request him to incorporate a

few chapters, in a later edition, on the comparative physical growth of boys and girls from childhood to adolescence with normal ailments and emotional bloomings peculiar to their ages.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

HINDUSTANI SELF-TAUGHT : By Soshella Ram. Published by the Vidya Mandir Ltd., New Delhi. Pp. 170+74. Price Rs. 3.

This is a very easy and handy primer for English-knowing people to learn Hindustani in both the alphabets—Devanagari and Urdu. Sm. Soshella Ram being in the educational line (holding London Teachers' Diploma) is thoroughly conversant with the modern scientific methods, so the book she has prepared is scientific. The rules are easy, the illustrations copious and the Hindustani-English and English-Hindustani dictionary appended at the end is very useful for beginners.

B.

REVOLUTIONARY PEASANTS : By Prof. N. G. Ranga. Published by Amrit Book Co., Caunaught Circus, New Delhi. Pages 234. Price Rs. 7-8.

Prof. Ranga in this volume presents to his readers a comprehensive study of peasant movements in different countries of the world including that of India and declares that the peasant is revolutionary through ages in spite of his obscurity. Neglect shown to the peasant by other classes, particularly urban workers and professionals is considerable but his contribution in world's democratic movements is not negligible. As a leading authority on Indian peasants, Prof. Ranga depicts the Kisan ideal of Swaraj.

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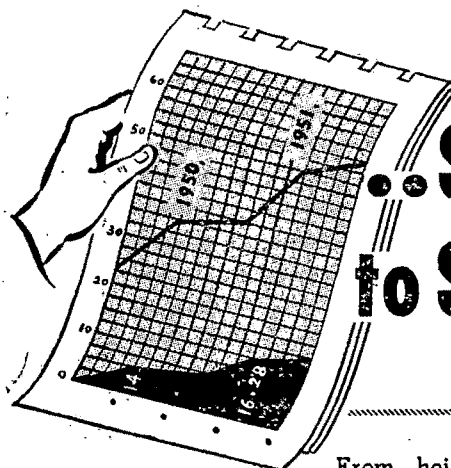
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In the first three chapters, the author discusses the subject from the Indian angle. Indian Peasants' struggle, particularly that of Andhra and Congress kisans with which Prof. Ranga was personally associated, is vividly described with the past historical background. In the next three chapters peasant movements in *Asia*—China, Philippines, Fiji, Mongolia, Korea, in *Western Europe*—France, England, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Ireland, in *Eastern Europe*—Poland, Balkan States (Rumania, Bukovia, Bessarabia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Greece and Yugoslavia) are given. Next four chapters are devoted to Russia, Africa, United States and Latin America respectively. According to the author like other dictatorships, the proletarian dictatorship betrayed the peasant masses of Russia during 1917-21. The chapter on Economic Depression (1929-35) brings out the international character of the peasant's lot in world crisis and hence the author concludes his book by a call to the peasants of the world to unite. The peasant shall establish his own democracy in which he shall be an equal partner with the workers, artisans, professionals and intellectuals. This is the ideal towards which the Indian kisan is working. Mahatma Gandhi blesses this ideal of "Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja-Raj." This is an interesting and instructive study for all political workers.

A. B. DUTTA

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL PROBLEMS (Second Edition): *By Dr. Raghuraj Singh and Vijayendralal Singh. Published by L. N. Agarwal, Educational Publishers, Hospital Road, Agra. Pp. 435. Price Rs. 5.*

The book is a collection of essays, being an advanced study on the most important economic and commercial problems of India. It has dealt with almost all the outstanding questions, such as, India's Fiscal Policy, Five-year Plan, Gandhian Economics, The Role of Foreign Capital in India, The Importance of Cottage and Small-scale Industries in India, Nationalisation of Banking and Industries, India's Foreign Trade, Indo-Pakistan Trade Relations, etc., that face Free India today. The problems are fairly elaborately treated within a short compass and the essays touch upon all the relevant points that arise on the different subjects in view of the economic and commercial developments of the country. At the end of each essay is given a bibliography of the authoritative books to be read by the readers, which has greatly helped to add to the value of the book. The book is obviously meant for advanced students of Economics and Commerce.

B. K. SEAL

EVERYMAN'S DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS AND PROVERBS: *Published by J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd. Pp. 766. Price 12s. 6d.*

Fashions change in quotations as in everything else; and by modern standards the dictionaries of a past generation seem to be ill-proportioned. Besides new authors and new historic phrases like Marshall Petain's "They shall not pass" at Verdun, are often quoted. Such phrases can not be found in older dictionaries. A new dictionary has become a necessity; and the volume under review removes such difficulties. Within a short compact volume the editor has given more than 10,000 quotations. The arrangement of the authors, English and non-English, is alphabetical. Their dates of birth and death are also given thus fixing them chronologically. Within each author again the arrangement is chronological though no dates are

given. In the case of the Bible, the usual order of the books has been followed. Its value has been greatly increased by a copious index. This is a very useful and handy book of reference for both students and busy readers, Indians especially. One little comment we have to make; if instead of giving *Ibid* as reference in the Bible portion, the book has been named, it would have been better.

J. M. DATTA

BENGALI

BANGALIR SARASWAT AVADAN, Part I. BANGE NAVYA-NYAYA-CHARCHA: *By Dinesh C. Bhattacharya. Published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta. Royal Quarto. Pp. x + 334. Price Rs. 10.*

"The Bengalis' achievement in the field of learning"—this title has been rightly given to this scholarly history of the philosophical school of New Logic which originated in Bengal and which ended by eclipsing the old Logic whose home was Mithila. This is a book of abiding value and unassailable authority on account of the high degree of accuracy and painstaking research displayed by its author. It covers a field which had not been so minutely or half so ably explored before. Future historians of the growth of mental philosophy in India and the evolution of Sanskrit learning in Bengal, will have to consult it. The author has wisely chosen not to follow the many winding paths of logical disputation and hair-splitting distinctions, which in Europe moved Thomas Carlyle to sneer at "the logical mill (John Stuart Mill) chopping straw." He has been more fruitfully employed in constructing a very dependable, full, and critical biographical dictionary of the founders of the Bengal School of Logic and their line of successors, with very useful lists of their works and the places where manuscripts of these can be found. We thus get a clear and instructive chart of the cultural evolution of Hindu Bengal (on the intellectual, not religious, side) during the middle ages,—a field which was a dark jungle haunted by legends and popular "ghosts" before. This result has been attained after twenty years of devoted labour, the examination of many thousands of documents and manuscripts (often in out-of-the-way places), and the piecing together of an infinite number of small details or dates thus collected. The author's freedom from the usual bias of pandits and his modern critical attitude to historical questions would do honour to a scholar trained in Germany or Oxford.

One little thing is of a personal interest to me. The great Vedantist Vasudev Sarvabhauma, who took care of Chaitanya at Puri, had migrated from Navadvip to Orissa in "fear of the ruler" of Bengal (p. 42). That was at the end of the third quarter of the 15th century. The oppression of the Abyssinian dynasty of Bengal Sultans reached its climax under the ruthless Shamsuddin Muzaffar, rightly called the lunatic or *Diwana* (died 1493), and in Delhi the fanatical temple-destroyer Sikandar Lodi had come to the throne in 1488.

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad has earned public gratitude by doing, unassisted by public funds, a service to learning, which cannot pay its cost, and which in other civilised countries is done by the State or well-endowed universities.

JADUNATH SARKAR

SRI RAMAKRISHNA PARAMAHAMSA : By *Brajendranath Banerji and Sajanikanta Das. Published by Ranjan Publishing House, 57 Indra Biswas Road, Calcutta-87. Price Rs. 3-8.*

A large number of books have been written on Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. With only a few remarkable exceptions almost all of them have been written from the point of view of Bhaktas devotedly attached to him. They have a value of their own, but devotees and admirers are not persons to write real biographies. A certain detachment is necessary to do that. The book under review is neither a biographical sketch nor is it written from the standpoint of a Bhakta. It shows Sri Ramakrishna as he appeared in the eyes of his contemporaries. Evidence from contemporary newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets and books has been gathered and put together so that the saint of Dakshineswar may appear in his true light shorn of all the trappings that have been thrown over him in the excess of a devotee's zeal and may shine in his true glory, the mist of time and distance being not there to make the figure appear as something different from what the great man really was. Though not a biography it has biographical materials enough to satisfy any intelligent reader. The great Brahmo leader Pratap Chandra Mazumdar writes in the *Theistic Quarterly Review*, October-December, 1879: "The Hindu saint is a man much under forty . . . His dress and diet don't differ from other men . . . He protests against being lionised . . . Our ideal of religious life is different, but so long as he is spared to us, gladly shall we sit at his feet to learn from him the sublime precepts of purity, unworldliness, spirituality and inebriation in the love of God!" And in his letter to Max Muller, September 1895, he writes: "I have frankly and warmly expressed my estimate of that saintly man . . . I would not withdraw a single word I wrote in his praise." The reputed authors have spared no pains to find out everything that is available and have collected a considerable amount of materials from contemporary documents, which throw a flood of light on the life and teachings of the great saint.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

HINDI

GANDHI GRANTH: *Compiled and edited by Prem Narain Mathur. Published by Ram Narain Lal, Katra Road, Allahabad. Pp. 172. Price Rs. 5.*

This is an anthology of penetrating contributions on some of the aspects of Gandhiji's mission by Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala, A. V. Thakkar, Haribhan Upadhyaya, Sudhindra and others, including the compiler-editor himself. The appendices regarding the Social Studies Association of Banasthali Vidyapith, seem, however, to be rather out of place.

KHURAK KI KAMI AUR KHETI: By M. K. Gandhi. *Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 302. Price Rs. 2-8.*

HAMARE BHOJAN KI SAMASYA : By Ramavadh Dwivedi and Shrigopal Tewari. *Published by Benares Book Corporation, Benares, 4. Pp. 96. Price Re. 1-8.*

Both these publications deal with the burning problem of food shortage in the country. The former is a compilation, edited by Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa, of Gandhiji's views on the subject in all its details, scientific as well as sociological as expressed by

Gandhiji from time to time in his *Harijan*. The latter, however, is a searching economic study of the problem, highly educative and practical. Such studies in Hindi are to be warmly commended, indeed, because they help enlighten the adult electorate in the country.

PATHSHALAON KA PRABANDH: By Prof. Jagadish Prasad Vyas. *Published by Laxmi Narain Agrawal, Agra. Pp. 198. Price Rs. 3-12.*

A series of lecture-notes in the class-room, now elaborated, dealing with the organization, ideological as well as administrative, of schools in a manner, which is sure to prove very helpful to schoolmasters in their arduous work of making schools, in terms of interest and attractiveness and usefulness, more like temples or playgrounds of the soul (and also of the various senses with which a child is endowed) than just prisons or cattle-pounds!

ANANT KI OR: By Swami Satyadeva. *Published by Gnanadhara Karyalaya, Jwalapur. Pp. 262. Price Rs. 3.*

A closely reasoned out appeal and advice, well supported by argument and illustration, "to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness"—to aspire and advance after the Eternal—so that one's life may be rich in health, happiness, peacemindedness and loving kindness.

G. M.

GUJARATI

GANDHI BAPU : By Ardeshtir Flamji Khabardar, Bombay. *Printed by Associated Advertisers and Printers, Bombay. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 143. Price Rs. 3.*

Gandhiji held poet Khabardar in great regard and the poet reciprocated that feeling. In thirty-eight pieces of high class poetry Mr. Khabardar has paid a poet's sincere and cordial tribute to Gandhiji's ideals and achievements in various walks of life, and as an *In Memoriam* volume it stands easily as a first class one amongst the many tributes paid to him.

BHARAT-NA LAL : By Pravin Vakta. *Printed at the Usha Printing, Bombay. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 36. Unpriced.*

Trikuta Mandir is a society of young artists in Bombay. They have staged a play lately depicting the *zoolum* practised by a Zamindar over his poor tenant and his family. The picture presented is realistic.

DHARMNUN TATTVAJNAN : By Rev. W. Graham Mulligan, M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D., of the Irish Presbyterian Mission, Bhavnagar Para. *Printed at the Saraswati Press, Bhavnagar. 1948. Cloth-bound. Pp. 687. Price Rs. 5.*

Rev. Dr. Mulligan writes Gujarati with a practised hand. A deep student of philosophy, he has set out various phases of it, such as belief in God, non-belief in same, i.e., agnosticism, etc., from a learner's and teacher's point of view. Notwithstanding his leanings towards Christianity, he has been able to view the various view-points of the subject, impartially and ably. Altogether it is a valuable contribution to this branch of literature in Gujarati.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



What is an Abstraction ?

K. G. Mashruwala, a trusted follower of Gandhiji and his successor in the editorship of *Harijan*, writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The February issue of *The Literary Guide and Rationalist Review* contains a good critical review of Gandhiji's Autobiography by Lord Chorley. The reviewer is a Rationalist and finds it difficult to understand Gandhiji's conception of God and his faith in Him. Let me quote his own words:

"It is difficult to be more precise than to say that Gandhiji believed in God. When one comes to ask oneself exactly what he understood by God, one finds oneself in even greater difficulties than one does with the average Christian or Theist. In the introduction to his book, indeed, he says that he has not yet found God but is seeking after him. A little earlier he says that Absolute Truth is God, though he agrees that 'his manifestations are innumerable.' Truth is an abstraction—and it is difficult to understand how God, in any accepted sense of the term, can just be such an abstraction. Yet it is clear from the rigorous, indeed ruthless, way in which Gandhi struggles in this volume to achieve the truth about himself that a worship of the Truth in this quite exceptional way can lead to remarkable results.

"In an article written years after, Gandhi discussed whether God is a Force or a Person. His conclusion is not at all clear, but he admits that 'the power we call God defies description.' The truth of the matter is that Gandhi's intellectual equipment was not of the kind which wrestles successfully with such problems. As appears over and over again from his Autobiography, his genius was essentially that of the practical man, the organizer, the wielder of an iron will and determination."

Lord Chorley asks with surprise and tries to answer himself as follows:

"How, then, does this essentially practical man, this bold experimenter with truth, this shrewd politician, come to have such an intense, if vague, religious faith? I think the answer is almost certainly that he derived it largely from his maternal upbringing, as has happened so frequently with religious leaders."

It seems to me that Lord Chorley's difficulty is commonly shared by all those, whether Theists or otherwise, who are accustomed to conceive of God in only one way, viz., as some sort of mystical Being—even if formless—situate somewhere outside the Creation, and creating, breaking and remodelling it out of materials, at His command somewhat like a potter making pots out of clay, and governing the universe somewhat like a ruler governing his kingdom. Indian philosophy starts with the removal of this conception. God is to be conceived of both as the potter and the clay, the ruler and the governance; and His abode is in the pots themselves and inseparable from them. Until the mind becomes disabused

of the former rudimentary conception of God, the Vedantic conception of Him might remain an enigma to Western philosophers of even Theistic persuasions. Atheism has its origin in the personified conception of God. When this conception fails to appeal to man's reason, he finds no basis for belief in God.

Lord Chorley says, "Truth is an abstraction—and it is difficult to understand how God. . . can just be such an abstraction?"

But what after all is an abstraction? Is it anything more than a verbal summing up of a mental isolation of the common principle in several concrete objects? We speak in "abstract" terms and make a show of thinking in the abstract, but are we ever able to make a really abstract conception? Whether we speak of truth, love, non-violence, beauty, cruelty or even red and blue and white, or of force and energy in the abstract, or of the specific forms of energy like light or electricity, we are never able to conceive any of them except in a distinct or hazy association with several objects through or in which those properties are made manifest. Let us take also such a mathematical symbol as n . It looks, and has to be worked upon, as if it were a definite numerical quantity. We know, however, that it is a fraction, the value of which cannot be exactly calculated; and yet it can be definitely represented by a pair of compasses.

Man has the capacity of speaking in abstract terms of matters which he can conceive of only through concrete examples; he has also the incapacity of not being able to speak in exact terms of matters which he knows, in an exact manner. For instance, he can understand sweetness and yet can never define it in exact language.

When you say God is Truth, or God is Law, or God is Love, or the converse of any of these, while your speech is in abstract terms; really your mind has a distinct or hazy picture of concrete objects that represent your idea of Truth, Law, Love, etc. That God is spoken of in so many diverse manners means that the term God is really a grand verbal abstraction of abstractions of all types of concrete realities. It is a generalization of all generalizations. On account of man's inability to picture all the types at once, he chooses what appeals to him as the most important among them, and for his own immediate purposes confines the term God to that one type of abstraction only. Thus, one speaks of God as Love, another as Truth a third as Law, a fourth, as Bliss, and so on in infinite ways. Every one of these is a compartmental view of God; and when man is conscious of his compartmental vision, he says, "the power we call God defies description."

Somehow the Hindu mind is used to moving from the abstract to the concrete and back without feeling embarrassed, and sees no difficulty in rationalizing its belief, or making a religious creed of its rationalized theory.

Hence Gandhi can, in the same breath, speak of

God as an abstract idea and believe in Him as a real force. He can also personify Him, and can understand even those who give Him a definite shape in the form of a god.

Perhaps it is necessary to give a further hint. Truth, Love, Non-violence are usually conceived of as virtues, qualities, sentiments or properties of the mind comparable to properties like red, blue, sweet bitter, etc., of ordinary substances. So when it is said that God is Truth, or Love, we are apt to think that God is the virtue of truthfulness or love. This is too meagre a conception of these words. The words do not represent certain virtues or attributes only, but the Force or Power of truth, etc.

Truth and Non-violence are as much types of Energy as Electricity and Magnetism, and must have their definite laws of action. These have not yet been fully investigated and applied in life, though un-awares they have been made use of from times immemorial, even as levers were made use of before the laws of mechanics were discovered.

When Gandhiji speaks of his experiments with Truth he seeks to know how Truth acts as a Force in the universe. As a man possessed of reasoning and discrimination and as a man of action, he carefully considers how an absolutely truthful person should act under particular circumstances, and decides to do so regardless of the pain or pleasure that might accrue to himself. He then waits to see how the force of Truth works in the world.

Perhaps he may find that his judgment about the truthfulness of a particular action was wrong *ab initio*. In that case he is not ashamed to confess his mistake, and to make amends, if he has thereby caused harm to others. I believe that no Rationalist or scientist could adopt a better attitude in his investigations. His God is Truth; that is to say, in the language of scientists, he dedicated himself to research into the Force of Truth and made it his lifelong and sole occupation. If we examine the life of any great master or saint, we shall find that their devotion to God meant but the relentless pursuit of one or another of such forces as truth, non-violence, compassion, justice, the spirit of brotherhood, etc.

I hope that this will make the subject more clear, but I am not sure if I have succeeded.

✓ The Welfare State

Brij Gopal Gupta observes in *Careers and Courses* :

"Welfare State" is the intellectual talk of the day. Even most of our reputed politicians are agreed on at least one concept—all are ardent supporters of the 'Welfare State.' Even the Indian National Congress at its Nasik Session endorsed the idea of 'Welfare State' as the definite guiding principle of the State. Above all it is also in harmony with the broad outlines of the functional basis of the State as laid down in the Indian Constitution through a number of Directive Principles of State Policy. With the sweeping victory of the Congress at the polls it is doubly imperative for all to know about the development and meaning of the concept of Welfare State.

CONCEPTION—OLD AND NEW

A good deal of misunderstanding and confusion is on account of a lot of ideas in currency about the real meaning and implications of such a state and it is therefore in the fitness of things to start by a fairly rigid definition of the Welfare State. "Essentially, it is a community where state power is deliberately used to modify the normal play of economic forces so as to obtain a more equal distribution of income," in this way ensuring for every citizen a basic minimum real income, irrespective of the market value of his work and of his property.

Such a view of the rights of the citizens and functions of the state is comparatively a radical one, and even as recently as a hundred years ago would have generally been regarded as outrageously revolutionary. In the middle of the 19th century the dominant Adam Smithian opinion among the social theorists was that society is merely an agglomeration of isolated self-regarding individuals that the greatest sum of human happiness would be achieved if the state stood aside and left individuals free to pursue their self-interest; that the only links between men which had any value were contracts which they entered into in their unhampered pursuit of self-interest; and that 'every law is an evil for every law is an infraction of liberty.' Everywhere the cry was to 'restrict the privilege to restrict.'

The owner of property was free to use his resources as he thought best and the man whose livelihood depended entirely on the wages he could earn by his labour was equally free to obtain from employers whatever he could extract from them in single-handed negotiation. The outcome, only too often, was that a minority enjoyed enormous possessions and incomes while many others spent their lives in almost unrestricted destitution and squalor.

THEORY OF THE NEW SOCIETY

The crude individualistic doctrine was attacked, breached, and finally overthrown because people experienced that people pursued self-interest to the point where they cripple the lives of their fellows and that many citizens are so hard-pressed that if left to their own resources they will be unable to resist such condition. On the ideological side came Jeremy Bentham and other utilitarians with their oft-quoted slogan, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

The theoretical justification for the battle against poverty and for the use of state power to end destitution was first systematically enunciated at Oxford.

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There during the 'sixties' and 'seventies,' T. H. Green, Professor of Moral Philosophy, delivered his "Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation." He taught generations of students that:

"The life of the individual was absolutely dependent upon the life of the community, and that a scheme of thought which regarded the liberty of the individual as something distinct from the welfare of society, was entirely false. The individual depends on the community for all that makes life worth living; the community must therefore secure for the individual all the conditions necessary for his full spiritual development . . . The state exists to secure 'a good life' for its members, not merely to prevent them from suffering concrete injuries. Liberty is not the 'absence of restraint,' but a 'positive power of doing and enjoying something worth doing and worth enjoying!' . . . The man who is enslaved by poverty is no more truly 'free' than the man who is locked up in prison. The true function of statesmanship is to produce a community in which all the individuals shall, so far as is possible, be capable of living and free to live, a good life."

From this doctrine it was but a short step to what Keynes, Beatrice and Sidney Webb called "guaranteeism," the "policy of securing to every individual, as the very basis of his life and work, a prescribed national minimum of the requisites for efficient parenthood and citizenship."

Then came the two world wars and depression over the next thirty five years and turned the theories of philosophers into realities. The two wars accustomed people to a state apparatus, which in the interest of society as a whole, limited and changed the rights and the obligations both of labour and property; they developed and trained an army of civil servants familiar with the arts and processes of regulating the ordinary man's life in detail; they taught all sections of the community to turn to the state for solutions and instructions.

WELFARE STATE AND SOCIALISM

The distinctive features of socialism are those of the communal ownership and control of the means of production (nationalization), and by the attempt to pursue and maintain material equality throughout the population. By contrast, the Welfare State is the attempt to provide everyone with the security of a basic minimum income; this can be provided without necessarily enforcing equality of incomes, without the nationalization of industry, and without expanding the degree of collectivism unavoidable in the day-to-day life of a community containing millions of people.

SOME ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

The essence of the Welfare State is almost the reverse of the 19th century, individualistic economy. On the production side part of the nation's resources are used to provide every citizen with certain goods irrespective of whether or not he can (or wants to) pay for them: the criterion becomes human needs rather than purchasing power. For example, milk is produced for all children without expecting them or their parents to pay a price which will cover the cost of production. On the distribution side all citizens can depend upon a reasonable minimum of income irrespective of whether or not they work and save.

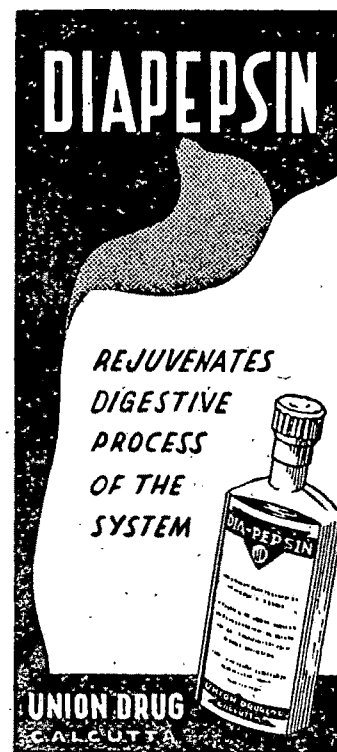
Of course, dependence on the forces of supply and demand is not entirely abandoned. Rather, what happens is that they now come into play only after

the State has provided everyone with a 'ground-floor' of material security.

It is this 'ground-floor' of material security which the commentators have in mind when they discuss the economic problems of the Welfare State. They argue that: It withdraws from the lazy worker the old spurs which formerly induced him to work diligently and regularly; it increased to a wasteful point his readiness to throw up his job and seek a new and more acceptable buyer of his skills; it reduces his readiness to learn new skills and shift to another trade when his old industry is threatened with redundancy; an unduly largely proportion of the nation's man-power has to be diverted to the administration of the Welfare benefits.

The largest amount of money required to finance the benefits of the Welfare State necessitate higher rates of taxation. Such taxation itself creates additional problems; it is said that: it deprives the worker of all incentive to earn more than his untaxed minimum; it makes it well nigh impossible for an ambitious worker to save enough to set up on his own; it leaves the middle class with no margin for saving and investment.

Additionally, the state has had to increase its revenue by strict taxes on profits; and here such taxes kill industrial initiative: no one but a fool is likely to shoulder the risks and worries of new projects when he knows that if he succeeds much of his rewards will be taken by the State; while if he fails the losses will fall on his own resources; the only sensible thing under these circumstances is to 'play safe' and carry on with the accepted routines.



The second main body of defect of the Welfare State is that the taxation by which it is financed discourages the hard-working wage-earner and checks middle-class saving entrepreneurial initiative. The following U. K. figures are instructive:

Year	Net saving as percentage of personal income
1938	2.8
1939	2.0
1949	1.7

INDIA AND THE CONCEPT OF WELFARE STATE

For a hard-headed realist, with the Indian productive capacity being what it is the concept of Welfare State is only a long-term objective to be realised gradually by stages because 'Welfare' measures benefit the poorer sections of the community by a re-distribution of income. The possibility of increasing national welfare through such palliative is, after all limited by the size of the cake and also by the fact that too much redistribution kills the incentive for increasing production. It does not help to argue that the numbers of pieces into which a cake can theoretically be cut is infinite—make half and there will always be half, because beyond a certain point the "half" which remains is only of academic interest. Sardar Patel was right in his wry assessment that "we have only poverty to distribute." The national salvation lies in the round increased production and that social welfare should be promoted as far as practicable, but the dangers of any precipitate policy must be coldly calculated. "The sound policy for those who believe in the Welfare State," the *Economist* declares "is that the State should seek to maintain for its citizens the highest standard of individual welfare that it can reasonably afford and does not undermine the economic efficiency or the political liberty of the citizens."

The Challenge of Communism in India

L. M. Schiff writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

Communism first began to receive notice in India towards the end of the twenties and it was primarily as an industrial movement that it gained influence. At a time when Gandhiji was inflaming the country with his peculiar brand of political idealism he more especially drew attention to the poverty of the peasant and by his dress, mode of living and constructive program expressed the feelings of the rural masses, but at that time little attention was given by the disciples of Gandhi to the cities and the first great wave of strikes and developing trade unionism rapidly led to communist leadership especially in Bombay. But the communists were still a small group talking a foreign language for the most part and having foreign education. The high-water mark at this time was the Meerut Conspiracy case in 1928-29. From then until the war the Government of India clamped down on communism and for long periods the party was illegal and largely underground.

Towards the end of the period before the war under the influence of the anti-fascist world outlook communists increased their influence in various 'Popular Front' movements and these were not without their influence in India. From attacking the Congress as a movement of the Indian bourgeoisie

the communists now began to enter the National Movement and were not uncordially received by some progressive leaders such as Pandit Nehru. In the National Movement of the thirties the communists began to increase their influence and there were a good many Marxists in the Secretariat of the Congress. The outbreak of war did not alter the situation until the invasion by the Nazis of the Soviet Union. At this point the Communist policy and that of the Congress diverged. The communists began to support the war effort, were given a freedom not hitherto granted by government and greatly increased their influence.

Their hostility to the movement of 1942 was used in the election campaign after the war to suggest that they had been agents of the police and enemies of freedom. This may explain the weakening of their position in the immediate post-war period. One should also mention their rather ambiguous attitude to partition and the Muslim problem generally. The Indian socialists finally crystallized out of the loose leftist groupings of the pre-war period and, as the present elections have proved, hate communism more than they do the Congress. The great influence that the communists had in the working-class areas of Bombay or Kanpur was to some extent lost, in part because of the Congress policy of putting the government behind the new INTUC Union organization. At this time the communist leadership was changed and the last vestige of involvement in the broad movement for independence or the 'bourgeois revolution' was abandoned. The able P. C. Joshi was replaced by the ultra-left Randive and the party came under the influence of adventurists and often of terrorists. But in this period the party began increasingly to pay attention to agrarian problems.

In 1951 after intense internal conflict the Randive leadership was replaced and the policy of the party is now clearly under the influence of the Chinese brand of communism. This puts great emphasis on land reform and the support of small industrialists and the middle class as against the large capitalists and foreign controlled capital. The influence of the party has increased by leaps and bounds, not so much in their old centres such as Kanpur and Bombay but in the South, where incidentally it had been most fiercely repressed. In the Telangana area of Hyderabad where the party had been virtually at war with the government and had actually redistributed land to the peasants, all fourteen communist candidates in these elections

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have won seats. In Kerala (Travancore, Cochin and Malabar) they have had striking successes, and would have had many more had not the socialists split the vote. In Madras state they have also done very well, but largely due to their victories in Andhra and Malabar.

The part of their programme which concerns us here is that which deals with the agrarian problem. The party program of October 1952 writes: 'Agriculture and the peasant problem are of primary importance to the life of our country. We cannot develop agriculture to any considerable extent and provide the country with food and raw materials because the impoverished peasantry deprived of land is unable to purchase the most elementary agricultural implements and thus to improve its farming.' It proceeds to point out that in their impoverished state the peasants, constituting 80 per cent of the population, are unable to buy even a minimum of manufactured goods and are forced by poverty to go into the towns, thus 'swarming' the labour market, depressing the prices of labour, increasing unemployment and affecting the standards of the working-class also. This half-starved majority is deprived of the means to educate the children and thus contributes to conditions of cultural backwardness. The land of the landlords and the properties and incomes of the de-throned or enthroned princes are made inviolable. The landless peasant can have land, it appears, but only if he can buy it or compensate the landlord for it. But to buy land and to pay compensation capital is needed, and tens of millions of poor peasants

who live from hand to mouth have no capital. Therefore they have to stay without land and continue existence in poverty. The communist program suggests that to tackle this evil it is necessary to hand over landlord's land, without payment, to the peasants including agricultural labourers; and to legalize this reform in the form of a special land law, thus realizing abolition of landlordism without compensation.

It is necessary also to ensure a long-term and cheap credit for the peasants to enable them to purchase agricultural implements and the necessary needs, and for small artisans to enable them to purchase raw materials, etc., to carry on their trade. It is further necessary to improve old and to build new irrigation systems and to cancel debts of peasants and small artisans to money-lenders. Finally it is necessary to ensure adequate wages and living conditions to agricultural labourers. It is obvious that such a land policy must be accompanied by a parallel policy in regard to industry, to relieve pressure on the land and to encourage indigenous industry. This involves limitation on unfair forms of competition by foreign capital. If we add to these points the emphasis on autonomous linguistic provinces, we shall get some idea of why the Communists have been so successful in elections in many parts of South India. Their influence is still very weak in the North, and, thanks to the lack of unity amongst the many parties of the Left, they have not done as well as might have been expected in Bengal.



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ग्राम-ब्रिलियान्तेम

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Gide and Santayana

Two Eminent Individualist-Humanists

Victor S. Yarros writes in *Unity*, November-December, 1951 :

Our age is irreverent and distinctly skeptical. It is loath to bestow the order of merit on men or women of exceptional gifts and accomplishments. But there is no denying the uniqueness of Gide and Santayana in the realm of letters and thought. Neither founded a school, and neither had ambition or interest in popularity. Both were supremely independent, detached, far above the battles here below. Gide was not an original thinker in the last analysis. He was a man of letters rather than a philosopher, whereas Santayana is unAmerican in his philosophy, incurably Latin, and a poet rather than a logician. Both were stylists, and each created his style the better to express his unconventional ideas. Neither was ever quite satisfied with his formulations; each was full of nuances and shades of meaning beyond the comprehension of the average reader of difficult works.

I shall not pin any label on either of them. But we can consider the views they struggled with and managed to set down in advanced age for our edification.

In the first place, they were inveterate individualists, despite the collectivist trends and tides of the time. Technology did not particularly interest them. Gadgets meant nothing to them. Simple living and high thinking were their natural elements. Modern inventions left them indifferent. They had no love for mankind and professed none, though both were essentially Humanists.

Santayana has repeatedly declared himself a materialist and a naturalist. This position, he insists, is not irreligious. The naturalist can be a poet, a musician, a lover of beauty and goodness. "Religion in essence is the recognition of the Powers on which our destiny truly depends and the art of propitiating those Powers and of living in devout harmony with them." The materialist is no foe of spirit, but of false claims in behalf of the spirit. He respects and is friendly to popular religion in so far as it exalts or serves spirit and makes for harmony.

Santayana is not a Christian and not a monotheist, if his words have any meaning. He speaks of Powers, not of a Power. He rejects what is called Revolution. If he perplexes the orthodox, he is sorry, but the style is the man, and he is, after all, a poet even in his prose. He is too subtle to be lucid, and he writes, like Stendhal, for the "happy few."

However, even the few are often perplexed by his expressions. Thus, in speaking of death he says that "it is easy, almost pleasant, to give up the world if we know what the world is, and we never die too soon if we have found something eternal to live with." This is a most enigmatic utterance. Is anything eternal? Is mankind eternal? Is the cosmos itself eternal?

If we die young, we have not "lived" with anything eternal long enough to enjoy the bliss; and being human, we cannot fail to regret the fact, unless we believe in a hereafter. Surely Santayana does not believe in the crude, naive, orthodox hereafter. It is clear that he has a nostalgic, sentimental attachment to Roman Catholicism. Reason hardly justifies that attachment, but we human beings are not always rational. Santayana is aware of that, but he is not a scientist nor a rigorous logician. Protestantism he calls "a tradesman's religion," and the ultimate Protestant ideal, he says, "is to have no outward or specific religion at all—no priests, churches, theology, scripture or Sabbath, indeed no God." This is gratuitous and arbitrary. Nothing in history warrants this inference. Nothing in logic justifies it. Catholics, too have been known to reject supernaturalism and embrace agnosticism, but not because of any peculiarity in their faith. Secularism and Humanism are steadily gaining ground at the expense of all orthodoxies and all supernaturalism. This is an irreversible trend, and all the sciences, physical and social, are contributing to it.

Santayana is no admirer of democracy, yet he is no aristocrat in principle. He sees little sense in counting heads, but even less sense in breaking them. What is the alternative—philosopher kings and presidents? Hardly! Santayana has been called a rational anarchist, but this is not really a fit label for him. He certainly is no State-ist, no collectivist, but neither does he favor class rule. Concrete issues, whether economic or political, seem not to interest him. He dwells, to repeat, in the realm of abstractions and generalizations. He has never taken part in reform movements. He is no fighter. Programs are not his forte. He is satisfied that war is not caused by human pugnacity and aggressiveness, and a ruthless world dictator, he opines, could do away with wars of strictly economic origin and nature. The other causes of war—and there are such—are apparently unpreventable as yet. The future may or may not solve that problem.



Andre Gide, for years the acknowledged leader of the French literary world, was less complex and less baffling than Santayana. He, too, was first and last an individualist and Humanist. His record is less consistent than that of Santayana. Born into a strict austere Protestant and Calvinist family, he never quite freed himself from the influences of his childhood. His religious opinions underwent evolution, and at one period he was undoubtedly a theist, perhaps a Spinozist. His Catholic friends hoped at one time to convert him to their religious philosophy, but he was too critical and conscientious to commit himself to any very definite system. "Revelation," he wrote in his *Journals* shortly before his death, "what have I to do with it?" To a logical and rigorous thinker this was a strange question. What have we to do with Revelation? Why, everything. If Revelation was a fact, it was a world-shaking fact. It revolutionized human life. If it was a fiction, as rationalists hold, the recognition of that fact is equally revolutionary and world-shaking. If man must solve his own problems, without any aid from "divine" sources or powers—as the rationalists affirm—then supernaturalism in religion is worse than meaningless. If, as some theologians maintain, sinful man can never save himself and only divine grace and love can—and will—redeem him and eliminate evil from his future everlasting and abundant life in another world, then secularism and Humanism are the most dangerous delusions and snares, and our works on science and philosophy are heaps of rubbish.

Gide died an atheist, though he had used the term God in some obscure sense. He wrote in his *Journals* that God was still evolving and "becoming," and that we humans are his real creators. All gods are man-made, man-imagined, according to the rationalists. This is intelligible prose, not poetry or metaphor.

Gide was a mixture of classicism, romanticism, and impressionism. He was not a first-rate novelist, but a sincere and truth-seeking artist, given to introspection and conscious of his eccentricities—homosexuality, for example, a vice he was not ashamed of even in advanced age. He was always honest with himself. He was no superpatriot, and never pretended to be one. He admired German genius and said so. He was charged with cowardice, opportunism, and vacillation, and all he said was that he could see the other side of the questions which caused tension and discord between nations, races, and classes, and just had to be true to his own nature. Hypocrisy, dogmatism, and bigotry were utterly repugnant to him.

Socialism and Communism appealed to him as champions of social justice and equality, and he sympathized with the oppressed and exploited without ever doing much for them. Politics and economics he never studied scientifically. His half-formulated ideas in these spheres were superficial and lightly held. The spirit mattered more to Gide than any concrete program. He fervently welcomed the Bolshevik revolution, but a little experience in Russia, as a guest of the Kremlin and the "controlled" press, disillusioned and sobered him, and he repudiated the whole Soviet-Communist system. He was an anarchist in his attitude toward organized government, like Santayana. He owed his high position to his style, his versatility, his charity, and his freedom from fanaticism. On the whole, he was an attractive asset to Humanism and rationalism.

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Truman Stresses U. S. Goal in Technical Co-operation Programme

Americans want the less developed countries of the world "to learn the methods of our science and our industry and use these methods to develop their own resources," President Truman declared, speaking before the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development.

Truman emphasised as the two guiding ideas of technical co-operation "first, co-operation, freely sought and freely given, and second, help to those who want to help themselves." He added: "To have peace, we must strike at the conditions of misery that envelop half the people of the earth. That is the purpose and the meaning of Point Four (technical co-operation)."

Other speakers at the privately-sponsored conference included W. Averell Harriman, director of the U.S. Mutual Security Agency; Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers; Lewis G. Hines, special representative of the American Federation of Labour; and Justice William O. Douglas of the U.S. Supreme Court. All of them stressed the urgency and importance of the technical co-operation programme.

Harriman said it was important to remember that hunger and disease are a form of slavery, and that where they exist "it is folly to talk about freedom."

"It is possible for the world to have both bread and freedom," Reuter asserted.

Hines pointed out that the American Federation of Labour had always supported the technical co-operation programme. He added: "As the leading democratic country, and the nation with the highest industrial development, we have the greatest moral and material responsibility for helping the peoples of the world to harness modern technology in the service of human well-being, peaceful social progress and international harmony."

Justice Douglas told the conference that technical assistance should be accompanied by bold and dramatic economic and social reforms. He called for an extension of what he termed "the American Revolution of social justice." He said this should include representative democracy in which all men and women could vote as they choose and land reforms which would enable every farmer to cultivate his own soil.—USIS.

Progressive Educator Explains Theory of "Learning by Doing"

William Heard Kilpatrick, 80-year-old professor of education at Columbia University in New York City, is often called America's greatest teacher. His progressive educational theories have spread to all parts of the world. Students from 59 countries have attended his classes.

Core of Dr. Kilpatrick's philosophy is his belief that learning comes by doing. In a recent interview the famous educationist explained how his theory works in the classroom. He said:

"Learning comes only from experience. Children must learn all over, through thinking, feeling and bodily response. In the old formal days, school children 'learned' things in order to repeat them, to be examined on them. Those things never really became a part of their being. That is why they forgot most of them as soon as they left school."

This theory of learning by doing had already been expounded by John Dewey, leading American philosopher and teacher. Dr. Kilpatrick put it into practice with his famed project, or activity, curriculum. This method discards the formal curriculum with its emphasis on memorisation and recitation of teacher-assigned lessons. Instead, under the skilful guidance of teachers, children work on activities that they themselves have helped plan and in which they have a genuine interest. Routine classroom studies become mere tools in accomplishing the tasks they want to carry out.

"It is purpose that we want," said Dr. Kilpatrick, "worthy purpose, urgently sought. Get these and the interest will take care of itself."

The child may paint a picture, construct a motor boat, edit a newspaper, Dr. Kilpatrick continued. He may take part in community affairs. A biology class, studying about home, children and marriage, may organise a nursery for children of working mothers. An agricultural class may benefit local framers by studying soil composition. Thinking, planning, initiating, working together, these children are developing self-reliance, independence, moral and civic responsibility.

"It is —first, last, and all the time—not subject matter which must immediately concern us," said Dr. Kilpatrick, "but life and personality and their best growth."

He was asked whether children in progressive schools learned reading, writing and arithmetic as well as in traditional schools.

"Indeed they do," said Dr. Kilpatrick. "Every survey made has shown that pupils in progressive schools do as well in every respect, and better in the creative areas, than traditional school children."

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Dr. Kilpatrick's system has particular significance in a democracy where each person has a responsibility in local, state and national affairs. The better trained the individual to think, to plan, to find out, the greater his power to help evolve ways to national and international progress.—USIS.

Co-operatives Help Improve Farmers' Lot

Many farmers in the free world are creating better living conditions for themselves by working together in farm co-operatives. Through group action they are accomplishing much more than they could if each man worked separately.

Farm co-operatives, of course, are not new. They have had a long and successful history in Europe and the British Commonwealth, but it was not until recent years that they began springing up in many other parts of the world. Co-operatives are taking hold now in South America. They are proving helpful in India, Pakistan, Burma, the Philippine Republic, Japan, Iran, Lebanon, Israel, Thailand and other nations.

In the United States, two-thirds of all farm families are served by one or more of the 20,000 farm co-operatives now in operation. Through these co-operatives U.S. farmers market their produce at fair prices. They buy petrol, oil, supplies, seed, fertilizer and machinery in lots at reduced prices. They get long-term credit at reasonable rates. Largely because of rural co-operatives, nearly 90 percent of all U.S. farmers now have electricity to light their homes, pump their water and make their daily work less burdensome.

U.S. farm co-operatives are of all sizes. Some serve only a hundred or so farmers. Others are vast and complex businesses like the California Fruit Growers Exchange, which has 15,000 citrus-fruit growers as members.

Often, it is necessary for farm co-operatives to have government aid if they are to get started and prosper.

Co-operative farming is a system of agriculture in which a number of farmers voluntarily join together to carry on all, or a part of, their farming operations. There are at least three ways to distinguish co-operative farming from collective farming.

First, membership in a co-operative is voluntary. If farmers are coerced in any way, the society ceases to be a co-operative.

Second, a co-operative is run democratically by majority vote of the members.

Third, each member of a co-operative profits according to the produce of his land and the fruits of his labour.—USIS.

The National Forests of the United States

Lyle F. Watts, Chief, U. S. Forest Service, writes in the *United States Information Service*:

The United States has 152 national forests that are owned and administered by the federal government. These forests, which embrace about 180 million acres, are located in 40 of the 48 states and in the territories of Alaska and Puerto Rico.

The Forest Service in the U.S. Department of Agriculture has the responsibility of seeing that the national forests serve the best interests of all people in the nation. As a guiding principle, we work for "the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run."

National forests have many uses. They produce timber, water for irrigation and municipal use, hydroelectric power, wildlife, grazing for livestock, minerals and recreational areas for millions of Americans. The Forest Service must weigh all of the uses of each national forest and manage the forests so that no single group is favoured above other groups.

Under U.S. Forest Service supervision, commercial loggers are now cutting around 4,500 million board feet (375 million cubic feet) of timber in the national forests each year. This is about one-tenth of all the timber harvested in the United States. National forest timber is sold at appraised value or by competitive bid to the highest bidder, who cuts only those trees that foresters have designated for cutting.

The national forests also are contributing to the

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nation's supply of meat, hides and wool by providing seasonal grazing for more than 8,000,000 head of cattle and sheep. The livestock are owned by private ranchors who pay a small fee to the U.S. Government for the privilege of grazing their herds in the national forests each summer.

National forests provide many of the finest recreational areas in the United States. Millions of Americans go to the forests each year to camp, picnic, hunt, fish, hike, swim, ski, climb mountains, ride horseback—or just to relax and enjoy the beauties of nature. The Forest Service maintains 4,500 public camping grounds and picnic areas and 230 winter sports areas. More than 50,000 miles of forest roads are used by motorists and thousands of miles of trails by hikers and horseback riders.

Hunters and fishermen may use the national forests so long as they observe state fish and game laws—the same restriction that applies to citizens who hunt or fish on private land. National forests contain one-third of the nation's big game animals such as deer, elk and moose and are the home of large numbers of small game and birds. Anglers can catch mountain trout and other fish along 90,000 miles of streams. Hundreds of lakes provide boating, fishing and swimming for Americans who want to spend holiday out-doors.

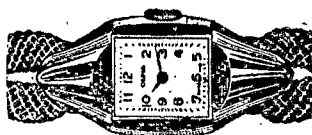
For people who enjoy forest in its original, primitive state, the U.S. Forest Service has set aside 77 wilderness and wild areas embracing 14 million acres. No roads or houses may be built in these areas, and no timber may be cut there. The idea is to leave nature undisturbed. Anyone travelling in a wilderness area must go on foot, by horseback or in a canoe. Since there are no lodges or hotels, he must carry his own bedding and food. A man who sits alone at night beside his campfire and listens to the night sounds of the wilderness is probably as far removed from civilization as it is possible to get in this age.

Although national forests provide many economic and recreational benefits for all Americans, the primary purpose of many national forests is to protect vital watersheds. Millions of Americans rely upon the high mountain forests to provide them with clean, pure water for domestic use, irrigation, generation of hydroelectric power and thousands of industrial uses. We know that floods increase and soil erodes when vegetation is stripped from watersheds. We know that the whole nation suffers when the forested areas are abused.

That is one of the reasons why the U.S. Forest Service protects national forests from fire, insects, tree diseases, unwise logging and overgrazing. It is one of the reasons why we feel that all Americans owe a debt of gratitude to pioneer conservationists who laid the foundation for the present system of national forests in the United States.

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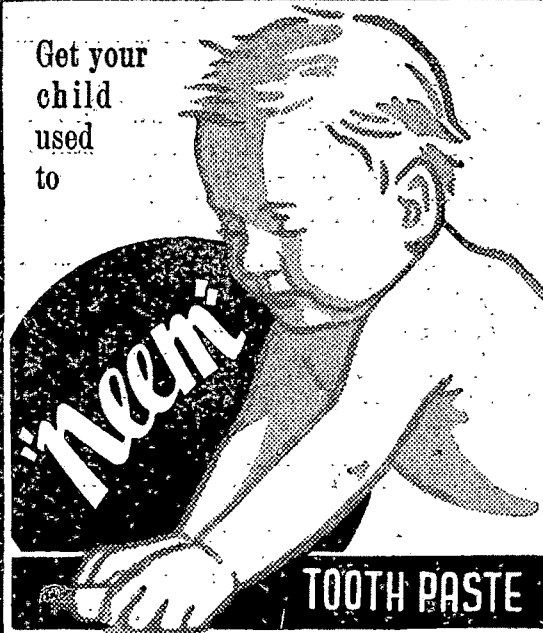
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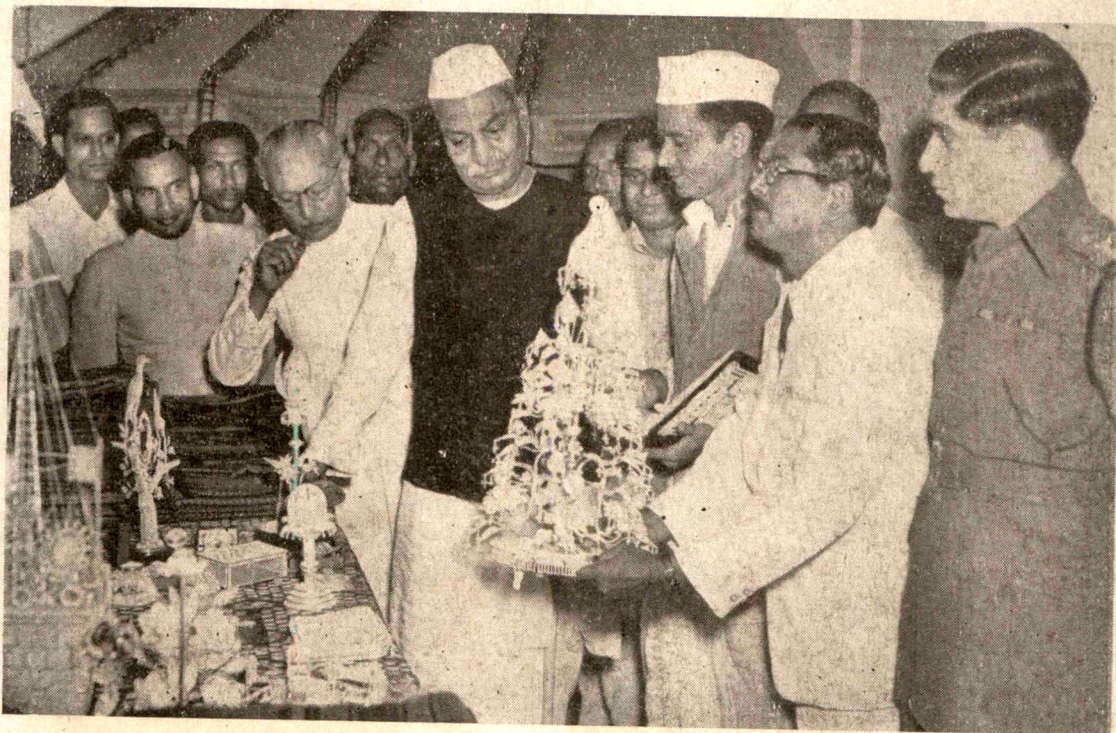
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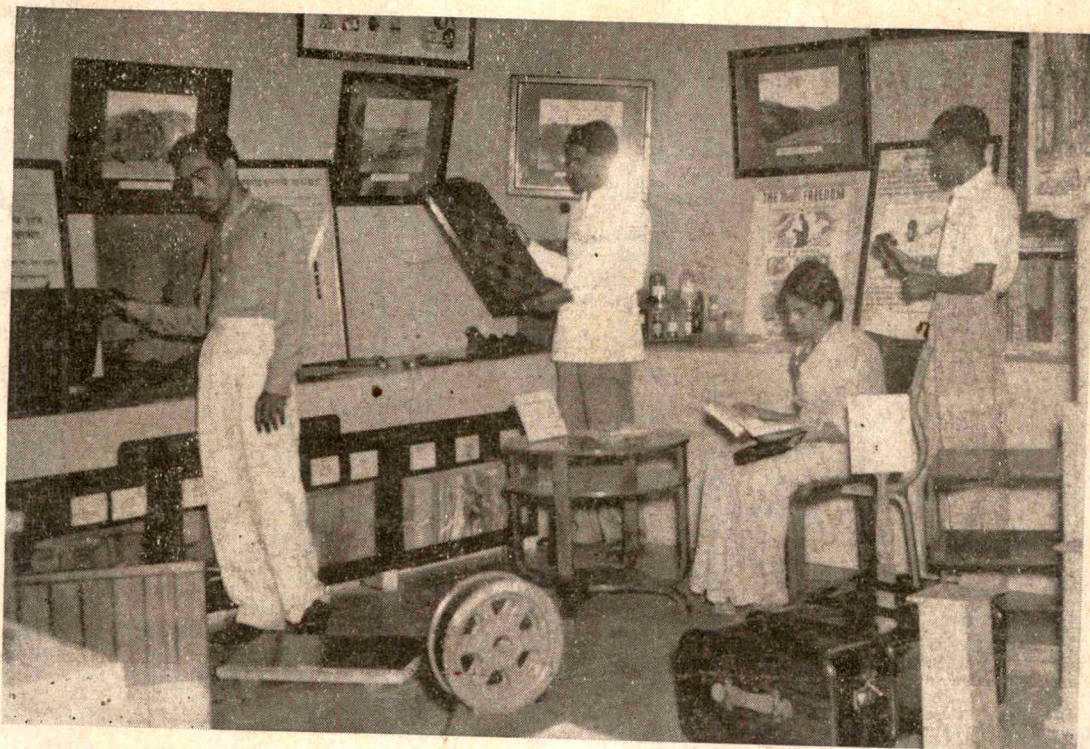
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President Dr. Rajendra Prasad visited recently an Exhibition of Orissa Arts and Crafts held in Puri



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THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST



1952



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WHOLE No. 548

NOTES

The Bharat Sewak Samaj

Our sacred lore relates the story of *Siva* and *Sati*. After *Sati* had perished of sorrow at the insult offered to her Lord by her own father, *Siva* became frantic with grief and after destroying Daksha's *yajna* ceremonies he began to roam the three worlds with the lifeless body of *Sati*. *Siva* being thus bound with the chains of attachment and desire, *Dharma* the Supreme Law, became enfeebled and the worlds moved towards destruction. The gods took counsel and at their direction Vishnu cut *Sati's* body into fifty-two pieces with his *Sudarshan Chakra*. Thus freed from the source of all his bonds *Siva* again became completely *anasakta* (unattached) and tranquil; *Dharma* again gained force in the worlds.

Our gods-that-be, whatever their metal, have tied themselves up with the fetters of lust for power, *Dharma* the Supreme Law, is on the point of collapsing. It is a happy augury that a realisation of the writing on the wall has come to them—or rather it has been forced on to them by the storm of opposition from their political opponents aided by the resentful apathy of the Common Man, in the streets and the fields, towards the fate of their once chosen leaders. But where is the divine agency that will cut asunder the chains that is dragging them—and the nation—towards Nemesis?

The Bharat Sewak Samaj is born of that realisation. The official announcement runs thus:

Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, Member, Planning Commission, Government of India, said:

"The situation with which we are confronted today is that while our consumption standards and our social services stand at an exceedingly low level, even the meagre resources available for meeting the

current needs of the people are not being put to the best use and all the present opportunities for developing these resources and for increasing production are not being fully availed of. The impression is that the State at various levels is itself not setting a good example in this respect and this creates psychological resistance to any appeal to the people for greater sacrifices and an all-out effort. In this context it may be pointed out that the reputation of the administration for integrity and impartiality is of no less consequence than its standard of efficiency. The active elements find themselves in a largely negative, non-co-operative and destructive mood and as regards the masses we are still faced with their age-long ignorance and inertia. Some of the things which have produced this morbid outlook in the intelligent and active sections of the community are:

(i) Insufficient evidence of a firm and consistent social purpose in the policies and administration of the State.

(ii) Absence of substantial signs of progress and achievement and a series of unexplained and inexplicable failures and mistakes.

(iii) Confusion and demoralisation created by the play of power-politics around narrow personal or sectional ends.

(iv) The sight of too many people engaged in and thriving on selfish pursuits and unsocial acts, creating an overwhelming feeling of despair.

(v) The unsettling effect of unemployment and under-employment in the case of a large number of educated and semi-educated persons.

The most outstanding factor in the present social stalemate is the belief regarding the complacency of many of those who wield authority and bear the

responsibility for the conduct of the nation's affairs. The administration seems to have resigned itself to the deadening fact that we must curtail programmes and activities because we have not enough resources. But we seem to be oblivious of the other deadly fact that if we go on limiting life-giving social activities, we may turn the despair of the people into an incurable madness."

It will be noted that this statement does not carry any indictment of those who are either at head of affairs of the Union or are in authority in the States. We admit that it could not come from Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, placed as he is. But nonetheless the diagnosis of the ailments is incomplete thereby, and as such no cure can be hoped for.

What would be the function of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, and wherefrom will it draw the authority and power, without which it cannot possibly function for any good? These have to be clearly indicated. If it is merely designed to act as a passive barrier against the anti-social forces then the genesis and character of those have to be clearly understood by all. Such an attempt at analysis was made by Acharya Kripalani in the *Vigil* for June 28, under the caption "What is Patriotism." In that, after giving the Dictionary definition of Patriotism and giving examples of the changing of its historical connotation, from our own record, in aiding the John Company to establish the British empire and later, in the Mutiny, in attempting to re-establish Moghul empire by a joint effort of Hindu and Moslem, he gives his deductions regarding the present chaotic condition as follows:

"Patriotism in the past, as we have shown above, was quite consistent with the love and service of a foreign country or even foreign domination. Has this habit disappeared today? It has not altogether disappeared; but now-a-days it is generally rationalised. Those who indulge in this kind of love for the foreigner try to prove that ultimately it benefits the native land. Defence and support of British rule in India was for a long time considered a patriotic duty by public men including earlier Congressmen. When the Congress divided into two groups, the moderates believed that it was their patriotic duty to save the country from the extremists' desire to shake the foundations of the British Raj. That they thought would lead to chaos, and it and not slavery was the greatest danger to the country. The moderates managed to believe that the sum total of Britain's activity in India was for the benefit of India. This was the political faith in which Gandhiji himself was brought up. Before 1919 he freely gave expression to this idea. Earlier he advised Indians in South Africa to help the British in the Boer War if they aspired to be the equal citizens of the empire. In India, following the same logic, he carried on a recruiting campaign in Gujerat in 1917-18 during World War I. But the

people with their horse-sense knew better and the recruiting movement was an utter failure.

"During World War II many Indian patriots believed that national duty demanded absolute support of the British. Even those who were anti-Nazi were not averse to offer support. They only wanted their moderate demand, to give support through the agency of national leaders, to be conceded. They could not have been unaware of the fact that triumphant Allies would enslave other people as they did after World War I. They held that their demand granted, the otherwise imperial war would change its character and become a war of liberation. On the other hand, the Communists before Russia entered the war denounced it as an imperialist war. However, as soon as Russia came to be involved, the war's character by some kind of alchemy changed. It became the people's war, a war of liberation. In the pursuit of what they considered their patriotic duty the Communists denounced the 'Quit India' movement and offered their co-operation to the foreign government. Some of them, it is believed, were responsible for the arrest of underground workers. The Communists of course rationalised their attitude. They said that the defeat of Russia would mean slavery everywhere. The fight for Indian freedom was to be fought on the battle-fields of Russia! Communists are believed to hold the same view about the cold war that is going on today between the two Blocs. Their position is that if Russia is defeated in the next war it would mean the end of freedom in all countries including India. Indian freedom is again to be won by Russia and, what are called its satellite states! Common people laugh at such ideas, because they do not understand such mystical transformations. It is widely believed that if Soviet Russia were to declare the present government in India as progressive straightaway the Communists here will transfer their allegiance to Sri Nehru's government, which they oppose and denounce today!

"But it would be wrong to suppose that this extra-territorial patriotism, properly rationalised as the good of the native land, is the monopoly of the Communists. I have shown that it existed in different forms in recent and past history. Today, many undoubtedly patriotic Indians believe that it is our duty to ally ourselves with the Atlantic powers, principally with the U. K. and U.S.A. and even allow U.S.A. bases of operation in India against Soviet Russia. Like the Communists these rationalise their attitude. They believe that if Bolshevism succeeds, there will be an end to all freedom. Therefore perhaps Sri Rajagopalachari declared that Communism was his first enemy as he was the first enemy of the Communist. Had he no worse enemy! Capitalism, bribery, corruption in administration and blackmarket, though they undermine the character of the people, are less dangerous! It is

this attitude in high quarters that allows a long lease to the anti-social forces working in the country."

We may not all agree with all the arguments presented above. But it is time, beyond doubt, that we should search our hearts and decide for action. Disruption will not wait.

"To the Officials"

The following extract from *The Hindu* was printed in the *Harijan* of July 5. The directive is correct and the impulse behind it is correct as well. But the defect lies in the observance of it by the person himself who issues it. The man who loves temporal power and is drunk with the wine of autocracy, to whom adulation is life's blood, cannot very well expect that his underlings will believe, or give full value to, his words :

"The following is from a directive that the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal has issued to officers of Government :

"The governance of any country in the world today is no easy matter and the governance of a great and varied country like India is perhaps as hard a task as any in the world today.

"Any person who is associated with this governance must approach this great task with humility as well as with a measure of faith. Whether we are small men or big, we are engaged in great undertakings affecting the life and future of vast numbers of human beings. No man can say with certainty that success will come to him, but every man can determine to do his utmost to achieve success.

"The governance of a country does not merely consist in issuing orders from some high office but rather in reaching the minds and hearts of the masses of the people to bring about satisfactory human relations. Ultimately, almost every problem can be resolved into one of human relations.

"We have to deal with human beings and humanity and we can only deal with them if we always keep in view the human aspect of every problem. We are apt to forget this, living in our ivory towers of Government offices and dealing impersonally with files and papers. But behind those files and papers and the problems discussed in them, lie human beings."

Kashmir

The Kashmir tangle is again exercising the minds of all thoughtful persons. The U.N.O. too is again about to launch another effort as the following news-item, which appeared in the daily press recently would go to show :

"Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Minister of Defence, will represent India at the resumed mediation efforts which Dr. Graham, the U. N. Kashmir Mediator, will hold in Geneva in the third week of August, it is learned.

"Dr. Graham has been having talks with representatives of India and Pakistan at U. N. Headquarters

in New York on the demilitarization question. It was reported that the talks had reached a stage when Dr. Graham felt it should now be held on a Cabinet level, preferably in Geneva. The Government of India had suggested New Delhi as the venue of the talks as it would not be possible to send a Cabinet Minister abroad especially when Parliament was in session.

"It is understood that the talks will now take place in the third week of August by which time both Houses of Parliament will have gone into recess."

Whether this effort will lead to anything tangible or make confusion more confounded is another matter. Judging by the choice of India's spokesman, we have little hopes of a just solution. We fear the *impasse* will continue in a still more aggravated form. We believe this very tangle is affecting the brains of Sheikh Abdullah, the Chief Minister of Kashmir.

This colorful gentleman, we believe, has begun his day-dreams afresh. The Sardar has vanished from the scene, leaving the wobbly Nehru, with his fetish of "secularism," at the mercy of the arch-plotters headed by that embodiment of mediaeval culture. So what harm if a venture is made into the realms of power-politics as shown by Machiavelli and Metternich? One need not be a king to dominate a State and all its nationals with autocratic powers, as has been demonstrated by any number of Presidents and Premiers in Central and South Americas. Nor need one form a neo-Pakistan by severing all relationships with India, in order to establish a Moslem hegemony over minority groups. Hence these feats of political legerdemain as exhibited by the adroit Sheikh Sahab.

The absurdities of his contentions are well-exposed by Acharya Kripalani in the *Vigil* for July 5. We append extracts below :

"Periodically Sheikh Abdullah, the Chief Minister of Kashmir, gives the public a peep into the working of his colourful mind. He expresses himself with such vehemence and passion that he creates an awkward situation for his and Kashmir's friends in India and delights the hearts of the enemies of Kashmir and India."

"It has been decided that Kashmir shall have its own separate flag. This is not the old flag but a new one. This privilege was not accorded to other Indian States that voluntarily joined the Indian Union or were forced by circumstances to do so. The general public and not merely the members of the Hindu communal organisations, therefore, fail to understand and appreciate the special treatment accorded to Kashmir in this matter."

"More important than the flag issue is that of the abolition of the nominal rule of the Dogra prince. Apart from consistency, it raises important constitutional issues. The question of consistency may be disposed of on the ground of political expediency. Conditions, say, in Hyderabad are quite different

from those in Kashmir. The one great difference is that in Kashmir the majority of the population is Muslim and the prince happens to be a Hindu. In Hyderabad, the majority population is Hindu and the prince happens to be a Muslim. In both States if public opinion is ascertained it would vote for the abolition of the princely order in any shape or form. In both cases there is bound to be some communal bias involved on account of the religion of the princes. In Mysore, the general opinion may be for the retention of the prince. But such an opinion will be communally unbiased. However, in the case of Kashmir if the princely order is abolished, India will not be suspected of Hindu communalism. If in Hyderabad the Nizam's constitutional rule is abolished, it will be said that Hindu communalism inspired the decision and the Government of India will be made to appear as a party to the decision. Such a suspicion cannot be allowed. It would appear that our authorities and some of our public men are suffering from some kind of communal inferiority complex. They must always be on their guard to prove to the world that theirs is a Secular State and that they have nothing to do with what may even remotely appear to be Hindu communalism, however just and equitable otherwise a particular course of action may be."

"Again, Kashmir has chosen to integrate with India only in the matter of three subjects, External Affairs, Defence, and Foreign Relations. If that is so, it stands to reason that its representatives can participate in the proceedings of the House of the People only when these subjects are under discussion. If they are allowed to participate in the debates concerning all the affairs of India and voting thereon, it will be suspected that the party in power wants to utilize Kashmir vote for further strengthening its position."

Very recently it has been announced that in addition to the three subjects there has been a further link, inasmuch as the Writ of the Supreme Court of India will obtain in Kashmir.

But at the same time the score is up on the other side too as the following news-item from the daily press of July 26 goes to show :

"Maharaja Sir Hari Singh's title to the 'rulership' of Jammu and Kashmir, with a dynastic history of 100 years, will be extinguished by a resolution of the State Constituent Assembly on August 11.

On that date the Assembly will also begin discussion on the proposal to elect Yuvraj Karan Singh as Head of the State, in accordance with decisions arrived at during the recent discussions.

Apparently, the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference is still undecided about the Yuvraj's new title, but it is expected that one other than Rajpramukh or Governor will be chosen to denote his popular status. It is unlikely, however, that his emoluments will be substantially different from a State

Governor's or much lower than the net allowance he now receives from his father.

At present, the Maharaja pays to the Yuvraj Rs. 1 lakh a year out of his own privy purse of Rs. 15 lakhs, but the Yuvraj's income, it is understood, is subject to deductions by the 'ruler.'

As indicated by the Prime Minister on July 24, the Maharaja will probably continue to receive his entire privy purse, although it is doubtful if the State's share of Rs. 6 lakhs will be paid in future. Discussion in the Constituent Assembly on the resolution proposing Yuvraj Karan Singh as Head of the State, which will be moved by Sheikh Abdullah, is likely to continue for two days. No further business will be transacted by the Assembly during this brief session, but a further meeting may be called in October to discuss other details of the agreement reached in Delhi.

Addressing over 200 National Conference workers at Jammu on July 25, Sheikh Abdullah, the Kashmir Premier, said that, in fact, there had never been any difference of opinion between India and Kashmir regarding their constitutional relationship which came into being five years ago. He added : 'We are against Hindu *raj* as much as Muslim *raj*. We shall continue to fight communalism everywhere in whatever shape it appears.' He accused Hindu communalists of designs to break the ties that bound India and Kashmir together but, he said, 'it was not a paper agreement but a union of hearts which no power on earth can loosen.'

Sheikh Abdullah who earlier arrived at Jammu from New Delhi accompanied by Mirza Mohammed Afzal Beg, Revenue Minister, left for Srinagar by road with a car flying the Union Flag for the first time.

Pakistan has told Dr. Graham, U. N. Representative for Kashmir, that it is not averse to continuing discussion in Geneva as he has suggested, usually reliable sources said. The Pakistani Cabinet has considered Dr. Graham's latest proposals and sent a reply."

The ultimate solution lies in the lap of the gods of crooked *Welt Politik*. But there is increased dismay and resentment in the minds of all right-thinking Indians and joy, *per contra*, in the hearts of their enemies.

The Chinese Puzzle

We have been friendly with the Chinese people for over two milleniums, and our relations with the Chinese People's Government are extremely cordial even to-day. Therefore the significance of the following news-item that came into the daily press on July 29, is a bit of an enigma :

"The Chinese authorities of Tibet have now increased the number of Red troops in Yatung, it is reliably learnt. The number is estimated to be more than 2,000. It is stated that most of the houses of Tibetans in Yatung have been billeted for accom-

modating the troops. It is further stated that the Chinese have completed all preparations for constructing a road from Yatung to the Indian border and that the 'liberation' troops will begin the work this week."

Perhaps the Chinese under Mao Tse-tung, who is a realist, are taking a forward view of international affairs and preparing for all eventualities. We wonder what our Foreign Affairs department, which is guided by Pandit Nehru, who is anything but a realist and is an infant in diplomacy, is doing under the circumstances.

Railroad or Road to Ruin ?

At the time when the completion of the Assam Link was announced with a great deal of fan-fare by Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, little was said about the cost. The taxpayer's money is nobody's concern these days, excepting when non-political nation-building projects are asked for. Then we hear a great deal about shortage of funds and the Central Cabinet's responsibility to the tax-payer.

The amazing financial muddle perpetrated by Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar's department, and the ruinous lack of control the Railway Board has displayed in this very same Assam Link, has been highlighted by the *Vigil* in its July 19 issue. As it is based on the Railway Audit Report 1951, there can be no challenging of facts.

We do not know the exact quantum of money wasted by this project and neither are we in a position to apportion blame, but the way the Admirable Crichton of Pandit Nehru's choice has held the reins of his department cannot but cause astonishment to all who know the ways of bureaucracy. We append a few choice extracts :

"Out of the total cost of Rs. 8.53 crores of the Assam Rail Link Project, the value of contract works was about Rs. 3.80 crores, of which contracts of the value of Rs. 83 lakhs were awarded by the Railway Board on the basis of 'Single Tender' (Rs. 51 lakhs for Bridge work and Rs. 32 lakhs for other than Bridge Work). Contract works of the value of Rs. 88 lakhs were also executed by the Engineer-in-Chief with the approval of the Railway Board either on Single Tender basis or after inviting limited or open tenders. Under the rules, all contracts for over Rs. 5,000 in value should be placed after tenders have been called for in the most open and public manner possible and with adequate notice, except where, for reasons which should be in the public interest, the Engineer-in-Chief decides that it is not practicable or advantageous to call for tenders. 371 contracts amounting to Rs. 2.09 crores, each costing more than Rs. 5,000 were given out under the powers of the Engineer-in-Chief and of these, there were about 300 works of approximate value of Rs. 1.7 crores given out otherwise than on open tender. The latter included earthwork involving

a total value of Rs. 80 lakhs approximately, which was given out on rates fixed by the Engineer-in-Chief.

"From early 1948, Audit drew the attention of the Engineer-in-Chief to the provision in the rules regarding invitation of open tenders but, even with the advantage of a break in the working season afforded by the prolonged monsoon which could profitably have been utilised for planning and for inviting open tenders, there was no change in policy."

"In regard to other works for the working seasons of 1948-49 and 1949-50 tenders were invited for 72 works through Press and for 115 works by circulation of notices to all approved contractors, Public Works Department, other Government Departments, and private bodies such as Municipalities and other institutions. The response to tenders invited through Press was poor. This unsatisfactory response appears to be due partly to the fact that the tender notices did not give adequate time as required by the rules. This aspect of want of adequate notice was also taken up by Audit since 1948."

"Audit's view is that whatever justification there might have been in the earlier stages for dispensing with open tenders, there was not the same justification after the first working season. Even if the adoption of the open tender in isolated cases in the initial stage had not proved fully encouraging, partly due to adequate notice not having been given and partly due to the special conditions prevailing at the commencement of the project, it cannot be accepted that sufficiently valid grounds existed for the general disregard of the open tender system throughout."

"The irregular features of the case are :

(a) Limited tenders for the purpose of this contract were called for without furnishing complete sets of drawings showing the general dimensions of the proposed works, as required under the rules for such special types of works. Limited tenders called for thus did not serve any useful purpose for comparative study of the rates. The Administration have explained that it would have taken them not less than 6 months to complete the structural drawings and designs, etc., and that for works of this nature, it is not uncommon to take advantage of the knowledge and experience of well-known technical firms by asking them to give complete structural drawings and designs along with their quotations. This complete dependence on the outside firm was due to the delay in fixing the final location of this station and the inability of the Administration to complete structural drawings within the same time that the contracting firm was apparently able to do.

(b) Reasons for dispensing with open tenders for this work costing about Rs. 5 lakhs have been explained as due to the fact that the construction being of a special nature (earthquake proof), it could not be entrusted to firms who were not organised or ex-

perienced in the line and were not conversant with local conditions. The explanation is not convincing to the Audit.

(c) The commencement of this work prior to the execution of the contract or settlement of rates and the failure to obtain the financial advice of the officer available on the spot, at any stage in the negotiations, were objectionable. Permitting the starting of work before finalising rates cannot but place the Administration in an embarrassing position in negotiating rates. The Administration have explained that although recorded acceptance of the rates is not forthcoming, the rates for the work in foundations were settled before the contractor was allowed to start the work."

Jute and Pakistan

Jute is the mainstay of Pakistan's trade. Indeed it is the base on which its entire present-day economic structure rests. But the world-depression has affected its jute exports vitally and further the boosting-up of India's jute production has severely affected prices. Drastic measures are being decided upon as the following news-item in the *Statesman* of July 30 would show. The news emanates from the official sources in Dacca. This news clearly shows how acutely deficit in rice East Pakistan is:

"The recent decision to reduce jute cultivation in East Bengal to 25 per cent of its present total acreage, which was confirmed by the East Pakistani Premier, Mr. Nurul Amin, is indicative of the realistic approach that is now being adopted towards the problem.

"Factors which have influenced this move include the substantial carry over from last season, amounting to about 1,300,000 bales, and a growing realization that the jute boom, caused by world stockpiling and the Korean war, may not return, at least for the present. Moreover, the reduction in jute acreage will leave more land free for growing food-crops.

"Paddy and rice are now selling at substantially higher prices than jute, a reversal of the position during the boom. The minimum Government selling price for Jat Bottoms jute is Rs. 17 per maund at *kutch* baling centres, while at the grower's door it is Rs. 1-8 less. It is, however, difficult to assess what percentage of the growers are actually getting these prices. On the other hand, the present provincial average price for rice is Rs. 22-13 per maund. Thus the raising of food-crops would be more advantageous to the cultivator. What lends support to this view is the fact that East Bengal has an annual rice deficit of 7m tons, while the shortage in pulses and oil seeds is greater."

Coup de Etat in Egypt

There was a dramatic and sudden change in the turn of events in Egypt towards the end of July. As

yet it is too early to say what this change signifies. But the portents are not favourable towards the British.

"King Farouk, ruler of Egypt for 17 years, abdicated on July 26, on the demand of the Army which ordered him to leave Egypt before 6 o'clock.

"The ex-King sailed from Alexandria with Queen Narriman in the royal yacht, *Mahroussa*, escorted by two destroyers, punctually at 6 p.m. With them was their seven-month-old son, Prince Ahmed Fuad, in whose favour he has abdicated. His two eldest daughters by his first wife, Farida, were also on board. They were believed to be going to the Italian port of Genoa from where they may fly to the U.S.A. Mr. Caffery, the U.S. Ambassador, saw the royal exiles off. It is reported that Mr. Caffery, the only foreign diplomat to be received by Farouk between his abdication and departure, handed him a message from the U.S. Government."

The Man of the Hour, General Neguib, seems to possess a reasonable frame of mind as the following news-item would show. But the party he has put in power might not be so even-minded:

"General Neguib, Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Army, in a statement published on July 29, in the daily *Sawt es-Sudan*, said: 'Unity of the Nile Valley should be the result of the Sudanese people's free choice. It should not be imposed on them.'

"The newspaper said General Neguib supported unity of the Nile Valley, but wishes it to be realized in a manner acceptable to both countries. He thought unity should be realized after British evacuation."

Mossadiq Back in Power

Persian affairs have again gone into an *impasse* with the return of Dr. Mossadiq to power. Passions are again running high and it is to be seen as to how the Premier solves the vital problem of finance. His objective of nationalisation will have the approval of the democratic world, but the methods proposed are open to question.

The following news-item cabled from Teheran gives an idea of the temper of the Persian Majlis. The reference to the International Court brings to our mind a certain misconception that has gained ground after the International Court refused to entertain the case brought in by Britain. The decision given does not affect the case as it stands, the Court merely stated that the case was beyond its jurisdiction.

"All Deputies walked out of the Majlis when an Opposition member, Mr. Ashrafi took his seat amid cries of 'You are a traitor' from the visitors' gallery.

"Mr. Ashrafi followed the Deputies as they trooped out, when they returned a few minutes later he was not with them. The Majlis overwhelmingly approved Dr. Mossadiq's programme submitted two

days ago, 68 of the 69 Deputies present voting for its acceptance.

"An independent Deputy, Mr. Damawandi, demanded the removal of the American advisers with the Persian armed forces. He recalled that the American judge had voted against Persia when the International Court recently passed judgment on the oil dispute with Britain.

"Dr. Mossadiq's programme promises widespread reforms of the electoral laws and judiciary and education systems, and betterment of the people's condition. The extra funds necessary for the programme would be found by cutting down Government spending and increasing taxes and use of country's oil resources.

"Foreign policy would be based on 'friendly relations with all nations' within the framework of the U. N. Charter."

Korea. The Aftermath of Yalu River Raid

The massive bombing of the Yalu River power stations and grid has had far-reaching repercussions. The American point of view is thus explained in the *New York Times* as quoted in the *American Reporter* of July 16. We present it without comments :

"There has been an astonishing amount of confusion and fuzzy-mindedness in the almost worldwide reaction to United Nations air raids on the Yalu River power grid in Northern Korea. The Communist Peiping radio, however, will assist in setting minds at rest. The oracle has spoken, oracularly, and this is what it says :

'Anyone with common sense knows that a hydro-electric power station is a project of peaceful construction devoid of all military significance.'

"For this reason the United Nations raids are denounced by the Communists as an 'atrocious,' an act of the 'utmost barbarity' against 'beautiful and peaceful targets.' At the same time the Communists suggest the hope that earnest persons of goodwill throughout the world will deplore this 'arbitrary' attempt to upset the 'peace' negotiations at Panmunjom.

"Of course, 'anyone with common sense' is not supposed to know that the Yalu power grid has supplied the radar network for the anti-aircraft batteries that have been shooting down American and Commonwealth fliers and guiding the Russian-built jets down MIG Alley. He is not supposed to know that those Suiho generators power shore batteries that fire on United Nations ships, that they supply arsenals in which the mortar shells are fabricated to kill boys from Iowa and Gloucestershire. These installations, 'devoid of all military significance,' just happen also to supply some of the current for the Soviet naval base at Port Arthur.

"The Peiping radio, however, has left one question unanswered. Why does a United Nations air raid

against such a power station on Korean soil upset 'peace' negotiations while a Communist mass assault with infantry and armour on a United Nations ground position, also on Korean soil, presumably has no effect on that same negotiation? Apparently if one fights in the air, that is political. If he fights on the ground, that is merely coincidental. The 'peace' negotiation was undertaken when the Communists wanted it. It has been obstructed and prolonged as it suited the Communist purpose. It will end, one way or the other, when the Communists think that end to be advantageous."

Regarding the Korean truce negotiations, the *World Interpreter* of June 13 had the following comments to make :

"The Korean truce negotiations, at one and the same time, are more hopeful than they appear on the surface, and more filled with technical complexities than the average newspaper reader knows. Hard as the job may be, this column will undertake to bring certain hidden factors into the open, and show what really has to be resolved before, a settlement can be expected—yet why, nevertheless, a truce is not impossible.

The one big issue remaining is that of war prisoners. In a legal sense, the North Korean and Chinese Communists have something of a case on their side. You have read about the Geneva Convention, which the U. N. spokesmen say they have faithfully observed. This Convention is a pact signed as far back as 1884 by many countries, at Geneva, Switzerland, to regulate the treatment of wounded, together with other steps for a more humane waging of war. The Convention was later expanded—in 1906, especially, when the Convention largely as we know it today was adopted. There have been subsequent additions.

Note This : As recently as 1948, in the spirit of the Geneva Convention, an agreement was signed by Russia, Britain and the United States, providing that prisoners of war should be returned to their country of origin. The Communists in Korea, therefore, on the face of it, have legality on their side when they demand the return of all their captive fighting men. After World War II, Britain brought back forcibly some of its soldiers who wanted to stay in former enemy lands, and placed them on trial. But speaking of legality, is the Korean conflict a war, or a "police action"? The North Koreans did not declare war when they invaded South Korea, and in doing so they were striking against their own country, whose government was domiciled in the area they attacked. Furthermore, the Red Chinese still insist that their troops are "volunteers," and if that is true, what claim on them has the government at Peiping?"

But despite all complexities, there is the supreme question, is this war worthwhile? Here again the

American point of view was fully demonstrated by the *Newsweek* of New York in its June 30 issue. We append an extract :

"Never had the American people waged a war that was so dreadfully stalemated, or talked about a truce that was so gnawingly frustrating. After two years of fighting since the North Korean Communists crossed the 38th Parallel on June 25, 1950, and after one year of talking since Jacob A. Malik of Russia orated on 'The Price of Peace' on June 23, 1951, the war seemed as unending and the peace seemed as elusive as ever.

Was the Korean war therefore a horrible mistake? This week, the topmost leaders of the U. N. Command in Tokyo and of the Defense Department in Washington took a new look at the war on its second anniversary. They came up with these replies to four loaded questions :

Is the Korean war futile ? : As one ranking U. S. officer of the U. N. Command puts it, the Korean war has—

Solidified the free world's determination to resist Red expansionism ;

Disrupted the existing time-table of Communist aggression ;

Awakened free and would-be free men to the deadly, implacable, and ruthless character of Communism ;

Made the U. N. realize battles are fought not merely by military forces in the field but by ideologies in men's minds ;

Created a mutual respect among the fighting men of those nations devoted to the cause of peace, freedom, and individual dignity ;

Gained precious time to be used for military research, production, and above all, planning on a global scale.

Against this official GHQ view stands the personal protest of Maj.-Gen. Daniel H. Hudelson, who just returned to civilian life after commanding the 40th Infantry Division (Southern California National Guard) in Korea. Writing in the Hearst newspapers this week, he echoed the feelings of many Americans who were unhappy about being bogged down in a bloody but limited war in which there was no hope for victory :

'We are not fighting to win in Korea. And that is not the American way of fighting ; not the American way of doing things. I don't think the war we are fighting today . . . is a military war in any sense of the word. The opposite of military is political . . . I, don't think we have accomplished one single thing by remaining in Korea . . . It resolves itself to this : We have got our foot stuck in the door. We can't get in or out. We are there. Period.'

Is the U. N. effort a flop ? : Pentagon leaders are not satisfied that all our allies have contributed as much as they might. They are pressing the State Department continually to obtain further commitments from U. N. laggards. But they realize that many

of the fifteen nations fighting alongside the U. S. and the Republic of Korea are also combating the Reds elsewhere, as are the French in Indo-China and the British in Malaya.

They feel that the multinational alliance has worked amazingly well. Indeed, the national differences that stood in the way of an efficient 'Shape' in Europe might not have been overcome were it not for the extraordinary example of the U. N. Command in Asia.

Is the cost too heavy ? : The Korean war's cost, in the Defense Department's view, must be weighed against what it has bought. The 109,971 American casualties listed last week—19,329 of them dead and 9,684 missing—plus the \$7,000,000,000 annual cost are a frighteningly heavy price to pay for a hunk of not too strategic real estate. But the price is precious little if, by standing up to Red aggression in Korea and by girding our military loins elsewhere, we have staved off or made sure of winning a third world war.

Are the truce talks doomed ? : Tokyo GHQ passes the buck on this question to the Kremlin. It depends on whether the Reds think they have gained all they can in Korea and whether they hope to offset their failure there with success elsewhere.

Washington still hopes that the POW-repatriation issue, the last roadblock in the way of peace, can be smoothed away. But it fears that the truce talks will peter out indecisively. Its best hope, in such a case, is that the retraining of the ROK Army, which is being given equal priority with combat itself, will make it possible to withdraw most American troops eventually."

The final answer is yet to come. The question still stands : is there a way-out ? And likewise, was there any other way ? History does not provide an answer.

Questions and Answers

Shree Basanta Kumar Das (Contai, Midnapore) is one of the star questioners in the Central Assembly. He has been its member for the last four years and a little above. During this period, this quiet and unassuming man has enabled us to learn things about the administration of India and Pakistan.

On May 22nd and 27th, he asked questions about Pakistan's treatment of the Hindus, and got answers from the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister combined in one person; the answers are not satisfactory. It could not be otherwise. Those who know something of the genesis of the Pakistani idea, of its growth and fulfilment could not expect better things. They should know by now that there were two ways of dealing with Pakistan—one, the Nehru-way of stooping to conquer,—the other need not be specified. Till then, there will be witch-hunting on both sides of the border.

On the 20th June, Shree Basanta Kumar Das asked questions of the Central Food Minister, Janab Rafi Ahmed Kidwai on the food problem in West Bengal. The answers will explain the questions:

"(a) Chakdah in Nadia District and Hatgachi, Bermajur and Hasnabad in Sunderban area.

(b) Severe distress prevails in all these places particularly in three Thanas of 24-Parganas, viz., (1) Hasnabad, (2) Sandeshkhali and (3) Part of Haroa. The population affected in this area is 4.1 lakhs approximately.

(c) The prevalence of acute distress in these areas is due to (i) considerable damage caused to crops on account of breaches in the embankments in consequence of floods of September, 1950; (ii) failure of crops due to irregular rainfall in 1951; (iii) high price of rice and (iv) low purchasing power of the people.

(d) One of the reasons for the rise in prices in 24-Parganas district is that local rice is being smuggled into Calcutta. The State Government are being given extra rice for distribution in Calcutta through a chain of special shops and simultaneously measures against smuggling of rice into Calcutta will be tightened. These measures have the effect of stopping local rice from leaving the area, and the price is expected to fall. The Government are also issuing 10,000 tons of rice and 10,000 tons of wheat in the affected parts at a reduced price of Rs. 15 per maund.

(e) About 8,500 people are daily provided with work on test works and gratuitous relief has been rendered to more than 5,000 families.

Besides, 5,000 mds. of wheat and 5,000 mds. of rice are being distributed as gratuitous doles through non-official organisations.

(f) On the 15th June, 1952, the Government of West Bengal had the following stocks:

Rice	92,400 tons
Wheat	156,600 tons

249,000 tons

(g) The present rate of distribution under modified rationing is about 2,200 tons of rice and 2,200 tons of wheat per week. At this rate the requirement for the period June to December will be roughly 66,000 tons of rice and 66,000 tons of wheat. But the population covered by modified rationing is likely to increase during the coming months. During last year the actual distribution under modified rationing for the period June to December amounted to 54,000 tons of rice and 106,000 tons of wheat or a total of 160,000 tons. Distribution this year may go up to about 75,000 tons of rice and 70,000 tons of wheat. West Bengal Government estimate that during this period they will have to distribute 95,000 tons of rice and 89,000 tons of wheat under modified rationing."

Supplementaries followed in which other members

also took part. Shri Das asked the following with their answers as below:

May I know what is the effect of the steps so far taken and how far the price of rice has fallen?

When I was in 24-Parganas and Nadia the prices were about Rs. 45 a maund. Yesterday's reports were that the prices have fallen to Rs. 30-2-0 a maund.

May I know whether these measures have been taken in other districts outside the 24-Parganas?

The measures have been taken wherever distress prevailed or the price of rice had gone up to Rs. 45 a maund.

May I know whether it is a fact that the pressure of procurement of rice from the outlying districts to Calcutta is one of the reasons of distress, so that large quantities of rice are smuggled into Calcutta and the price has gone up in the outlying areas?

It is not a case of the procured rice. The rice that is being smuggled into Calcutta are sold at high prices.

May I know what steps are being taken to stop that smuggling and whether it is a fact that the Government is going to take charge of the rationed area of Calcutta in order to reduce the pressure?

Government has undertaken to provide all that is required for the rationing of the Calcutta Industrial area so that the rice procured from different districts should be retained in those areas and be sold wherever there is distress.

May I know what has been actually sent to the Province of West Bengal by this time?

I cannot actually say 'how much.' But they have got sufficient stock to feed Calcutta for three months and I think it is more than 35,000 tons. Some of it has reached there already and other ships will be reaching Calcutta in the course of the next month.

May I know, sir, whether Government is prepared to take the responsibility for the whole quantity of rice that will be necessary as stated by the Hon. Minister in reply to part (g) of the question?

Yes.

Dr. M. M. Das: May I know whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the fact that a virulent propaganda is being carried on by some interested political parties to the effect that the consumption of wheat is detrimental to the health of the Bengalis and therefore should not be consumed by the people of the famine-stricken areas?

Of course, interested parties may say anything, but I have told them that the change of diet is doing good to the Bengalis. (Laughter).

Pandit L. K. Maitra: The Hon. Minister just now stated that as an interim measure of relief he has sanctioned 5,000 tons of wheat and rice for free distribution to people and 10,000 tons of wheat and rice for sale at Rs. 15 a maund. Do I take it, sir, that that is the final amount that he is considering, or will he go

on increasing it from time to time when necessity arises?

STATEMENT

The details of measures sanctioned by the West Bengal Government for the alleviation of distress in scarcity areas are:

Nature of relief	Amount sanctioned
1. Agricultural Loans	250,000
2. Land Improvement Loans	68,550
3. Crop Loans	507,900
4. Gratuitous Relief	120,000
5. Loans to Artisans	700
6. Test Works	60,554

The Government of West Bengal are distributing 7,160 lbs. of milk powder and 531 of multipurpose food to needy persons, they are also distributing 10,000 pieces of cloth, blankets and children's garments.

We think that arrangements so far made are all that Governments can do. The rest is for the people.

Unity of India

On March 1 last, the Prime Minister of India, visited the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works which have grown near Asansol in the district of Burdwan. He spoke to the workers on the "Unity of India," and on their being "partners" of this new enterprise. On the former topic he stressed the obvious: Our age-long history has created this unity in spite of regional rivalries and language difficulties. But he missed the central point that Indian "unity" has been built on federalism—the unity that is enriched by differences—all bringing their special richness to beautify the whole. We, however, reproduce this portion of the speech from *Chittaranjan*, a periodical, devoted to the interests of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works.

"Many people who are employed in these workshops are from Bengal, Bihar and many other Provinces. We have gathered here to make India independent in respect of her requirements of locomotive. We have got independence for the whole of India and not for any particular Province or Provinces. It is only for a proper administration that India has been divided into the different Provinces. There may be minor differences among inhabitants residing in different parts of our country, but we must not forget that we have one history, one culture and one civilisation. The Workshops established here are not for Bengal and Bihar only; but it has to meet the need of whole of India. My advice to you all, irrespective of your Provincial affiliation, is that you should work hard and put in your united and strenuous efforts to make the venture a success."

We would have been more pleased if Pandit Nehru had, in the past, taken some more interest in actively preventing the victimisation of some provincials by others. Preaching becomes meaningless after a time if it be not followed by action.

"Regional Planning"

Reading an article in the *Leader* of Allahabad, dated May 12 last from the pen of Prof. V. K. Sri-

vastava Khandwa, we are again reminded of the unreasonable attitude of the Nehru Government and the Congress Party in the matter of redistribution of Provincial boundaries. Wrote the Professor:

"The Bombay Plan assumed the existing Provincial and State boundaries, as constituting suitable regions. But the Reconstruction Planning Report, however, recognised that industrial development could not proceed according to artificial Government boundaries. It must depend upon the geography of raw materials, power and markets. The formation of the Provincial boundaries has been mostly sporadic. There is, however, a move for the fresh demarcation of the State boundaries and reconstitution of States on linguistic basis. The economic geography of the country also presses hard the need for regrouping of regions in a different way. It must naturally be related to the distribution of natural resources or some major economic factors. That the existing Provincial boundaries do not correspond to the distribution of economic resources and the need for their proper development is admitted. But a satisfactory scheme of economic regions has not yet been evolved. The scheme proposed by Professor Coupland, similar to the TVA example and based on the agricultural divisions, envisaged the four regions, namely, the Indus, the Ganges, the Delta and the Deccan. Now, after partition, this has become unworkable. Dr. R. K. Mukherji was of opinion that the deltas cannot be separated from the up-river regions. This also violates the generalisation by Mr. Lilienthal, that the regions should not be so large that they are not, in a management sense, of 'workable' size."

Prof. Srivastava is not unaware or unconscious of the Federal Constitution of our State and of the necessity of having a strong centre. He cites the example of the Soviet Union to explain his position:

"The Soviet State Planning Commission in its report of 1926 declared that the entire State system was so constructed that the frictionless course of the whole mechanism without crisis and catastrophes would be ensured, while the whole working collectivity participated consciously in the aggregate social production. In Russia, the general plan for the U.S.S.R. was drafted by the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union, but each of the various republics that combined to form the Union had its own State Planning Commission which drafted a scheme for the economic development of its own area. It is necessary that in our country, there must be established Planning departments with qualified personnels in all the States. Even the local self-governing bodies, such as Municipalities, District and Taluka Boards and Panchayats, have to play their vital part. Instead of having full-fledged planning commissions for every State, we have development Commissioners chiefly for community projects in certain States, planning officers

have been appointed for districts. It is necessary that there should be apparent as well as underlying unity in the set-up of the administrative machinery and its working for all different regions. Making a fine Utopian blue-print of a plan is not difficult. It is the honest and efficient execution of the plan that requires great care, effort and sagacity. The sphere of work for each region should be independent of red tapism and undue interference, and yet there should be proper co-ordination and adjustments. The Central Planning Commission should invite their own plans for regional development from the regional planning authorities, since different regions have different aspirations and different resources to satisfy them. In the absence of such an appreciation, 'the steam-roller of national planning is bound to suppress the just claims of certain regions while vested interests succeed in boosting up the claims of others.' India is a vast country, made up of several territories that considerably differ from each other in respect of natural geography, geology, natural resources, human resources, language, culture and political administration. It is, therefore, in the interest of all these regions as well as of the country that Regional Planning Commissions are established in each State, with their powers and responsibilities properly defined.

"There is a need for both positive and negative methods in order to correct the regional disparities. The positive method stands for laying the foundation for development in areas where potential resources for expansion exist but have not been exploited. This would mean, in most cases, large-scale extension of irrigation, facilities for agriculture, development of adequate provision of power and transport facilities for industrial expansion. The negative method is difficult to be acted upon; it means disintegration. There are certain forces in the modern economic organisation which are making for the dispersion of industry. The cotton mill industry in India was formerly confined to the town and island of Bombay, but has now been established at several up-country centres like Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Hubli and also Nagpur, Madras and Kanpur.

"Finally, it is well to remember that democratic Planning pre-supposes an over-all unity of policy combined with proper diffusion of power and responsibility. Regional planning should be vested in the hands of local authorities. The function of the Central Government should be to evolve a co-ordinated policy and to act as an ultimate source of reference in case of conflict between local or sectional interest. The regional authorities must, however, arrange to build up the strength of administrative personnel, requiring specialised talent and experience, and as the Draft Plan said, the capacity of the administration system to be able to cope with its functions at all points, is vital to the success of planning."

Facilities of Passport System

Mr. Azizuddin Ahmad, Pakistan's Minister of State for Minorities, said in a broadcast at Lahore that the passport system between India and Pakistan would "further facilitate" the movement of traffic between the two countries. "Without the introduction of passport system," he said, "it is impossible to ascertain the number of Indian nationals who are residing in East Pakistan or that of Pakistan nationals in India." He said that Hindus in East Pakistan were free to transfer their immovable property. In 1946, a total number of 8,173 sale deeds were registered out of which 6,480 sales were by Hindus including a sum of Rs. 36,76,960. In 1951, sales were made by the Hindu involving a sum of over Rs. one crore and four lakhs, he added.

Earlier he told correspondents that the language problem in East Bengal was a "really serious issue." No amount of compulsion in regard to language issue would improve matters, he said.

He did not say why the Hindus sold so much more of their property in 1951 than in 1946. Nor did he say anything regarding the fairness of these sales.

Dalmia and Pakistan

"The great Hindu tycoon Seth Dalmia is doing a roaring business in Pakistan. In both wings of our country he has his factories and business. A clever and shrewd businessman, he has placed some Muslims and Europeans in each of his firms, so that the common man may not know who actually runs the show.

"Here, in East Pakistan, he has a mighty drum-producing plant near Dacca's airport, Tejgaon. This firm, which is known by its familiar name of Allen Berry and Company, works in a manner which makes average Pakistani suspicious of the whole thing. There is a hush, hush atmosphere and no one is allowed to enter the factory. The clever Dalmia's chief Director, Mr. R. Sharma, has drafted a Nazi from Hitler's Land to rule the roost. His name: H. P. Pence. This German engineer, drawing a salary of Rs. 2,500, is as rude and crude to his visitors and workers as the machines.

"A Muslim-hater, he is determined to dismiss the Muslim workers of the factory. He has already started his campaign of hate and malice against the poor Muslim employees, many of whom are leaving their jobs in utter disgust and frustration. Pence, *Star* learns, has not got his 'de-nazification certificate.' If that is a fact, will our sleeping beauties of the Eden Buildings take legal action against him and deport him to the country of his birth. The attitude of this German Manager towards Pakistan is very unhealthy, and the sooner he is packed off the better for Pakistan.

"It is understood that he is on a three-year contract with the Company. Let Dalmia transfer him to Bharat. We, in Pakistan, cannot tolerate such people

who abuse our country and treat our nationals with contempt."

The above is from the *Star* of Karachi, dated May 31, 1952. On this occasion we are reminded of the controversy between Sethji and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the late Sardar Patel. It was during the last week of 1950 that exchange of letters took place.

Asia and Communism

Mulk Raj Anand in his book *The Indian Way* used words which recall what Tolstoy had prophesied, that from Asia will rise another "scourge of God" to chastise and renovate Asia. On Lenin's death an English newspaper reproduced his words. In pp. 161 and 163 of this book, Anand said :

"A certain kinship between the Russian and the Asiatic (exists). M. de Vogue was the first to draw attention to it. M. Henri Massis goes so far as to affirm that he recognizes *dans le type intellectuel Slav survivance du type hindu* (in the Slav intellectual type the survival of the Hindu type).

"... Dostoevsky, however, different in other respects, is on common ground with Tolstoy, and with the poet Blok who cried, 'Yes, we are Soy-thians! Yes, we are Asiatics, with greedy slanting eyes...'"

These two quotations supply the clue to the enthusiasm with which young Asian intellectuals have gone in for Communism. Ethnologists will explain how the call of blood is heard again and again through the centuries. But the facile generalisations of European authors do not explain the whole thing.

For the last 40 years the world has been passing through one crisis after another. First came the 1914-18 war, followed by the economic debacle. Before it could be controlled came the 1939-45 war. The hope of peace is as distant as ever. Even the most recluse of scholars has grown conscious of this disease in the body politic. Prof. N. N. Sen Gupta in an article in the *Calcutta Review*, January, 1945, on the "Social Implications of Idealism and of Dialectic Materialism" ends it with the following words :

"Various social problems confront us today. We are now at a loss to understand what should be the proper relation between the various groups and between man and man. . . . Economic needs have raised new problems regarding the institution of the family, of marriage, of education, of religion also. . . . Should we explain the actual social groupings . . . by appealing to the supernatural . . . Should we bring in the 'Law of Karma' . . . ? Will it be more desirable to explain social phenomena by means of material and efficient causes? . . . It is for the social reformers to decide whether they should explain social questions from the idealistic stand-point or from the materialistic, objective and scientific standpoint."

These are ultimate questions, and the controversy between the two are as old as the hills, and do not appear to be answered satisfactorily. But our Communists of Russian or Asian brand are realists. They know what is to be gained and how. During the

British regime they were anti-imperialists; during the first two years of the last war, they stuck to that position. But on June 21, 1941, Germany under Hitler attacked the Soviet, Churchill promised help to Russia on the 22nd. And on that day the imperialist war was transformed into a "People's War." The Indian Communists started a weekly named as above. When the "Quit India" Movement began, they sabotaged it, acting as "fifth columnists" in India.

Their record in India's internal politics has been as treacherous. They supported the Muslim League in its Pakistani demand—thus adding strength to the elbow of the disruptionists of our traditions. This record is after the pattern of the parent organization, helping to sabotage nationalism. And their love of peace, of peace among States, is as insincere. Lenin's words that "the road to London lay through Kabul" reveals the policy of the Soviet Union. Kabul's discontent with London-Simla began in the thirties of the 10th century. The British Government made repeated attempts to impose a ruler on her. The Russian method has been direct absorption of Asian territories from the Urals to the Amur. How she had grabbed Manchuria is a well-known story. The result has been two Russo-Japanese wars.

At the end of the 16th century she had taken possession of Siberia ; at the end of the 18th there were nine Cossack "lines" or "hordes"—Don, Kuban, Terek, Astrakhan, the Ural, Orenburg, Semiretchensk, Trans-Baikal and Amur, 300,000 square miles were grabbed with a population of two millions (20 lakhs). During Russian wars the Cossacks had to supply 400,000 men.

The Bolshevik revolution, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" has not stopped that process. China under Mao Tse-tung has added to the strength and power of the Soviet "Fatherland." And the new thesis is :

"Without the Soviet Union, there would be no freedom or independence for the peoples of Eastern and South-eastern Europe." (Dimitrov). Gottwald: "Without the victorious struggle of the Soviet people against Germany, and without the powerful aid rendered by the Soviet Army, Czechoslovakia would not have been able to free herself." Vasile Luca: "Without the victory of the Soviet Army over Fascism, the new type of democracy, whose path these conditions opened up, would not have been created."

This story gives an indication why our youngsters, egged on by their leaders, are heard shouting—"Revolution for Ever." It is a symptom that requires careful watching from leaders of public opinion and rulers of States.

Light on Yugoslavia

Shree Rajah B. Manikam, East Asia Secretary of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council, submitted a report on Yugoslavia which was published in the *National Christian Council Review* of June-July last. The report is very interest-

ing and explains a lot of the controversy between Yugoslavia, a tiny State, and the Soviet Union. We quote extracts from the report :

"Fifteen million south Slavs, in six republics, now form the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Of these the Serbs form 7 millions, Croats 4 and Slovenes 1½. There are also other polyglot groups near the borders. These people have been under foreign powers, such as Turkey, Austria-Hungary and Venice for long periods. They do not speak one language. Religion too has been a divisive influence. The enmity among Roman Catholics, Orthodox and Muslims has been at times very violent. The country has remained economically undeveloped. Excepting the fertile northern plains, the land is mostly mountainous, dry and unfertile. In spite of the availability of raw materials necessary for industry, there has been little industrial development. Prior to the last World War, nearly one-half of the population was illiterate.

Devastation during that war has had the largest war-time loss. Due to resistance to the Germans and Italians, one in ten Yugoslavs have been killed (millions wiped out). Loss of livestock, industrial materials and agricultural equipment has been immense.

If we keep this background of the country in mind, we can understand why Yugoslavia has today a communist form of government. The divisive influences in the country were to be countered by the formation of 6 autonomous republics. Poverty was to be reduced by State ownership, redistribution of land, universal employment, development of co-operatives and intensive industrialization. Naturally therefore the authoritarian voice of communism with its neat formulae and doctrinaire answers to all human problems has had an irresistible appeal to the people, and hence the country has gone communist.

We found that the people of Yugoslavia preferred to characterize their government as state socialist and not communist. It has no truck with Soviet Russia. What then are its chief characteristics? The six republics are said to be sovereign and equal irrespective of their size or economic status. How far these republics will continue to enjoy this equality remains to be seen. There is no such thing as an Iron Curtain in Yugoslavia. The people listen to any radio broadcast they like. Newspapers print communiques on both sides of an international issue such as the Korean War.

The church has freedom of worship and functions effectively. How far this state of affairs will continue, only the future can tell. Yugoslavia believes in decentralization of government in all but national policy. They believe that the creation of a bureaucracy or a ruling class is the greatest danger to their socialism. Hence they encourage Workers' Committees, co-operative Control and management of industries, etc.

Yugoslavia believes in the UNO as the great instrument for establishing right relations between small and large nations."

But there are "pressures" on people to make them cease attendance at the churches, and the party in power expects that there will be "withering" of the religious spirit.

"The Roman Catholic Church (owing to its acknowledgment of the Pope of Rome, is in disfavour) in Yugoslavia is the largest, with 5½ million membership, while the Orthodox Church comes next with 5 million members. The third largest religious group is the Muslim. The Jews who numbered about 200,000 were practically obliterated during the war.

"The head of the Orthodox Church is Patriarch Vikentije, who welcomed our deputation to Yugoslavia. The highest authority in the Church is the Council of the Bishops, numbering 23. The Holy Synod serves as the Executive body for the Council of Bishops. There are two seminaries, one at Rakovica near Belgrade with 96 students, and the other at Pritzen with 185. A third is under discussion.

We were very much impressed with the work of the Union of Orthodox clergy which was established in 1889 for consultation, fellowship and training of Orthodox priests. Out of the 2,300 priests in the Church, 1,656 are members of the Union, including two Bishops. In 1929, it was outlawed but reorganized after the war. Its work is both religious and national. About 90 priests of the Union are employed in government positions. Nearly all the Orthodox clergy are members of a political organization known as the 'People's Front.' About 200 priests participated in social and humanitarian work of private agencies, thus ensuring the Christian emphasis in such work. The Union assists priests and their families in their material needs and in their parish work. In co-operation with the State the church maintains a Social Insurance scheme which provides free medical service and pension to the clergy. A bi-weekly journal (*Vestik*) is published. The Union holds conferences for priests, maintains a Consumers' Co-operative which provides food, clothing and religious equipment for the priests, and assists through its members in literacy campaigns, relief work and co-operatives.

There are about 15,000 Old Catholics in Yugoslavia. That ancient church calls itself the first Protestant Church in Europe, as it revolted against the Latin supremacy and language as early as a thousand years ago. The Old Catholic Church differs from the Roman Catholic in that it does not believe in the infallibility of any church official, or in the immaculate conception as being necessary to one's salvation, or in compelling every one to go to private confession. All church services are in the national languages of the people concerned. The Bishops will not give up their right to grant divorce through their ecclesiastical

courts. There are two Bishops and 23 priests in active ministry. The church constituency is poor and has suffered a great deal under Roman Catholics in the past. The Protestant groups in the country are the Lutherans, Reformed, Baptist, Brethren, Methodists and Adventists. These protestant churches are to be found largely in northern Yugoslavia. They are principally ethnic minorities of Hungarian, Slovak, German or Vend descent. Their priests have been usually trained abroad. One of their most acute needs is the provision of adequate ministerial leadership, there being no Evangelical Faculty in Yugoslavia."

This last quotation should have a lesson for the Nehru Government. Their handling of the "language problem" has been inept, and politically dangerous. It will destroy national solidarity.

"How Tito Woos Asia"

The following curious piece of news was given in the New York *Newsweek* for July 21. It is revealing both in the light of international stresses and in the glimpse it gives us of the American attitude towards peace-loving nations.

"India and Iran are reported to be the first targets of Belgrade's diplomatic offensive. Yugoslavia's relationship with these countries should be purely nominal since neither geography nor economic interests warrant any particular intimacy between them. Yet within the last months two of Yugoslavia's ablest diplomats have been sent to New Delhi and Teheran.

"Dr. Joze Vilfan, who arrived in India early this year as ambassador, had been an Under-Secretary for foreign affairs. According to diplomatic reports, his instructions were to encourage neutralist psychology in India and to point to Yugoslavia's anti-Kremlin Communism as an example for India to follow. Vilfan seems to have acquitted himself well in both tasks. At a recent banquet in his honor, the newly appointed Indian Ambassador to Moscow, K. P. S. Menon, is reported to have said: 'The Soviet and American blocs are like two ships going in opposite directions headed for an inevitable collision. India and Yugoslavia are in the third ship sailing serenely in the right direction.' Similar expressions have appeared in the Indian press. During his few months in New Delhi Vilfan has also been successful in persuading the Socialist leader, Rammanohar Lohia, to pay an extensive visit to Yugoslavia and an Indian mission to study the Yugoslav organization of labor and agriculture. These visits have been engineered at the time when U. S. Ambassador Chester Bowles has been trying to organize small landowners into free American-style co-operatives as an alternative to the Communist-style collectives.

"The Yugoslavs are following a similar line in Teheran. The neutralist movement there is sparked by the Minister, Serif Sehovitch, a top Yugoslav diplomat. He is a Moslem from Bosnia and was, prior

to getting his current assignment, stationed in Greece, where he did a brilliant job improving relations between the two countries after the Tito-Cominform break. Some diplomatic reports maintain it was Sehovitch who finally persuaded Premier Mossadegh that it was not only possible but eminently profitable to accept American money and American military aid. Point Four missions without incurring any obligations whatsoever. On Marshal Tito's birthday, May 25, diplomats in Teheran were startled to see a full page of the semi-official French-language newspaper *Le Journal de Teheran* devoted in Yugoslavia and its leader. 'It is quite obvious,' one of the articles said, 'that outside powers have an interest in maintaining and strengthening the independence of Yugoslavia and in giving her aid for that reason. But the Yugoslavs remain strictly neutral and will not join any alliances.' This line is supposed to have made a deep impression on Premier Mossadegh."

Military Studies Association of India

Captain Liddel Hart, well-known British authority on the Science of Warfare, has agreed to become the Vice-President of the Military Studies Association of India. The Association, which has its headquarters at Baroda, has as its aims the encouragement of the study of military subjects and creation of interest in defence problems and the establishment of a military library. Captain Liddel Hart in a message to Mr. Jadhav wishing the Association success, said that there was "great need for a more scientific approach to military studies which have been neglected, compared with other branches of knowledge."

"If you wish for peace, understand war," Capt. Liddel Hart said.

Mr. Jadhav is in communication with the Heads of Indian Universities and Colleges for popularising scientific studies of military problems. He said that he had already received very encouraging response from the Vice-Chancellors of some Universities and Heads of Education Institutions.

This news was given to the public on June 10, 1949, by Sri M. G. Jadhav, Director of the Association. We commented on the news at the time and our excuse for referring to it was lack of news of these activities, and of activities of kindred nature in the States. Even the Bhonsle Military College at Nasik, founded by the late Dr. B. S. Moonje, is silent. Matters could not be better at other centres. In West Bengal, while Sri Bhupati Mazumdar was in charge of Home Defence, there was a certain amount of activity.

So long we have armed enemies, it is useless to think in the terms of disarmament. And if we have to have an armed force for defence, we have to keep abreast of world developments in the science of warfare. We have paid for our isolationism with six

centuries of abject slavery. Need we repeat the experiment?

Israel—To Cede Territory?

On July 11 last a news from Jerusalem reported that Col. Abid Shishakly, said to be the "strong man" of Syria and its Chief of Staff, had demanded that Israel should hand over to Syria "the eastern shore of Sea of Galilee." This drew attention to his intention to have "far-reaching revision of the armistice border."

This revision consists of (a) a strip 10-kilometre wide on the eastern shore of the Sea, hitherto recognized by Syria itself as the border between these two States; (b) drainage work on the Israel side of the Huleh swamps "to cease." The latter had caused an armed dispute between Israel and Syria.

Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt are reported to have joined Syria in making the demands and a foreign State, unnamed, is reported to have put "pressure" on Israel.

We do not think that Israel, so soon after her heroic fight with her enemies, Muslim and Christian, would consent to such a revision. She would be justified in resisting such "pressure." We have always sympathized with the Zionist movement, because that small nation, fighting under heavy odds, against seven States, Yemen, Ibn Saud's Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Egypt, has enlisted on her side the world's admiration. Any number of the *Jewish Frontier*, an organ of Israel's nationalism, can be perused to show the burning desire to make good what was achieved in 1947-48. An article published in it in February last from the pen of Abba S. Eban on the "refugee" problem would demonstrate our point. We quote the following words:

"In addition to these two reasons which endow the Arab States with special responsibility—namely, their part in the creation of the problem and the close ties of kinship which bind them to the refugees—there is a third and most important consideration. It is the consideration of capacity. They can solve the problem: they are in a position to do it. Surely they might regard this as a privileged capacity, as an honored privilege. By this I mean that the States in which the refugee population now finds itself do, in their aggregate, possess the resources of land, of water and even of finance which could, within the shortest possible time, rescue the refugees from their present plight. I do not need to contrast the vast land and water resources of the Arab States against the far more limited and meager resources of land and water which lie to Israel's hand. Nevertheless, if Israel, with these minute resources, in a relative sense has been able to absorb 700,000 refugees, it is not difficult to estimate how much more easily and with how much less cruel strain the much wider and more generously endowed Arab States could, if the spirit of kinship and responsibility moved them, assist the international community in the settlement of this problem. Day by day we read

of the vast royalties which Arab Governments and countries and territories receive for the natural resources with which they are so plentifully endowed. The most minute fraction of these assets devoted to the common cause of humanity and to the cause of refugee resettlement would make an immediate impact upon the settlement of this problem."

The Muslim and Christian States of the Middle East boast of their high principles. Add to this the vaunted Islamic solidarity. Where is it today, at least in the matter of Muslim "refugees"?

In John Gunther's *Inside Asia*, we have a picture of Caim Weizmann, the head of the State of Israel, which reveals the man and his conception of the Israel to be. He dreamt dreams as all men, great and small, do. He was a dreamer and a chemist and he came to the assistance of Lloyd George who was "searching for technical assistance in the preparation of explosives. There was an acute shortage of acetone, a substance indispensable to cordite manufacture . . . Synthetic acetone—and much else—was an imperative necessity. . . . Within some weeks Weizmann had discovered a method of manufacturing acetone . . . (p. 614)" Victory was won for Britain, and victory for "political Zionism." The Balfour declaration was its outer expression.

With such a history, it is not likely that the Syrian proposal will be easily entertained. Tension will continue. The Arab States will be responsible for it.

"Christianity and Reconciliation of Nations"

Christian leaders have been anxious to prove that the founder of their religion, "The Prince of Peace," as he was called by his message of the Fatherhood of God, paved the way for world brotherhood. Prof. Dodd of London, speaks highly of it as reconciling the Jew and the Gentile—always a difficult problem as the world has been finding today. Religion has not been able to reconcile nations. The dividing lines have increased number; economics has joined hands to add to the tensions. It is really human nature that is at fault. Today it uses religion for crusades or *jehads*; tomorrow nationalism; on the third day economic interests; and on the fourth, perhaps, the plea of preservation of peace.

Britain's Experiment in Free Litigation

Shree Sunit B. Kher writing in the *Bombay Chronicle*, commends Britain's new experiment in "free litigation."

"The Legal Aid and Advice Act, which received the Royal assent on 30th July, 1949, and which came into partial operation on 2nd October, 1950, has been widely acclaimed in Britain as a revolutionary experiment in free litigation. It is a venture of great social and legal significance and formed part of the

policy of the first Socialist Government of Britain to improve the lot of the common man by extending the social services in the country.

The Act is mainly based on the report of the Rushcliffe Committee which was appointed in 1944 to inquire into the facilities existing in England and Wales for giving legal aid and assistance to poor persons and to make recommendations for the purpose of rendering such aid and assistance more effective.

The object of the act is to provide for the establishment of a scheme to afford legal aid and advice for the benefit of persons of limited means and for making legal assistance in criminal proceedings more readily available for such persons. There are five basic principles underlying the act. They are, first of all that no person ought to be deprived of legal advice or if necessary legal representation before any court in the country by reason only of lack of means. Secondly, that those who can afford to pay nothing should receive their legal aid free, but that those who can afford to contribute something towards their own costs should contribute what they can afford. Thirdly, that the legal services should be provided by the legal profession, who should receive fair and reasonable remuneration for their services. Fourthly, that the administration of the scheme should not be by a department of State or a local authority but should be by the profession itself. Finally, that in so far as it is not found from other services, the cost should be borne by the State.

The act is divided into two parts. Part I deals with (A) Legal Aid in Civil Courts and (B) Legal Advice and Preliminary Legal Aid. Part II deals with (C) Legal Aid in Criminal Courts.

As regards legal aid in Civil Courts the principle of the scheme contemplated by the act is that legal aid should be available to persons, to be called "assisted persons" whose disposable income does not exceed £420 a year and whose disposable capital does not exceed £500. Whether this is so or not will be determined by a body known as the National Assistance Board, acting through its local officers. In assessing the means of an applicant, the National Assistance Board will deduct a number of payments, such as maternity benefits, sick pay, disability pensions, an allowance in respect of each child of the marriage, income-tax, rates, interest on loans, and other payments which people have to make. This means that at the present standard rate of income-tax, there will come within the scope of the scheme persons with a gross income of up to £700 or £760 a year. It has been estimated that some 12,000 persons may qualify for legal aid under Part I of the scheme.

After the assessment of his means as aforesaid, every assisted litigant will be required to contribute or not, as the case may be, towards his own costs. Where the assisted person can afford to make a contri-

bution to the costs of his case, he will be liable to pay an amount which will be settled by the board with due regard to his financial resources. The amount of his contributions out of income will be calculated according to a formula. Any man or woman whose disposable income does not exceed £3 a week—£156 per annum—is deemed to afford nothing. Beyond that figure he will contribute half of the difference between that figure and the actual amount assessed as being his disposable income, subject in the case of a married man, to a wife's allowance of £52 a year. To illustrate this point, if a married man applies for a certificate with a disposable income of £308 a year, exclusive of his wife's allowance of £52, then his disposable income is, in fact, £256 per annum. Had it been £156 he would have paid nothing. The difference between £156 and £256 is £100. His maximum liability for his own costs is one-half of that figure that is to say, £50. If the proceedings are comparatively cheap and the bill is less than £50, he would pay the whole costs himself. If they go on appeal to the House of Lords and the costs rise, even, say £2000 or more, he will not be required to pay more than the £50 maximum and any balance will be found by the State. As regards capital, he will also be assessed and required to contribute in the case of a single man all capital over £75 and of a married man all capital over £150.

To work the scheme successfully, it is essential to make provision for ascertaining whether a prospective litigant has a reasonable cause of action, for assessing the actual contribution which he can reasonably be expected to make, and finally for conducting the litigation. In order to secure these objects the Government has placed the primary responsibility for the scheme, upon the legal profession itself. The administration of the scheme, both for legal aid in civil proceedings and for legal advice, will be in the hands of the Law Society (a body of Solicitors incorporated by Royal Charter) with the addition of representatives of the General Council of the Bar, under the general guidance of the Lord Chancellor. For purposes of administration, England and Wales are divided into 12 Areas. For each area there will be an area committee, consisting of some fifteen practising barristers and solicitors. The day-to-day working of the system is a matter for the Area Committee. Thus it will be responsible for the preparation of panels of barristers and solicitors willing to participate in the schemes; the provision of adequate facilities for legal advice in their areas; the handling of contributions; and the rendering of estimates, reports and accounts to the Law Society. In each area there will be local committees.

The key which normally opens the door to legal aid for financially eligible applicant is a "civil aid certificate." A person who wishes to receive legal aid will have to apply to a local committee for the civil

aid certificate. Legal aid will be refused unless the local committee is satisfied that the applicant for assistance has reasonable grounds for taking, defending or being a party to the proceedings and the case is one of a type which it would be reasonable for him to prosecute or defend at his own expense. By these means it is intended to secure that vexatious, frivolous or other discreditable proceedings or proceedings in which the costs are likely to be out of all proportion to the amount or importance of the claim, are not brought at the public expense. It is not intended to allow the legal aid system to become the means of furthering litigation of a trumped-up or unworthy nature which the reasonable citizen would not pursue even if he had the means.

It is about time that similar provisions were made in India. Here "justice" is unobtainable to the man of moderate means.

Land for the Tiller

The *Washington Post* on July 7th editorially lauds India's latest land reforms as a "thrilling" demonstration of democracy in which the people of India themselves have set about to work out their own destiny.

The editorial says :

"The transfer of 60 million acres (24 million hectares) to peasant ownership in India the other day was one of the proudest accomplishments of Prime Minister Nehru's Government. For farmer-ownership is a symbol of human dignity ; and the lack of it, is the old absentee landlord system throughout Southern Asia, which has been one of the most effective rallying cries of Communist propaganda. But there is mighty little dignity in trying to scratch a living from a tiny farm with the antiquated methods and implements that are almost universal in India. A change in land ownership will not provide one additional bushel of grain, and will not decrease India's dependence on food imports by a single dollar, unless it is accompanied by improved farming techniques and by access to cheap and easy credit.

"In the State of Uttar Pradesh, where the 60 million acres changed hands, most of the holdings are too small to be economic with the kind of equipment at the farmers' disposal. Even the freeholders, of whom there are many in this State, have found it hard to earn a subsistence living from three-acre (1.2 hectare) plots that are little more than kitchen gardens. The Indian farmer needs not only to own his land and to get out of the clutches of the moneylender, he also has to learn to rotate his crops. He must have credit facilities to buy fertilizer and steel-tipped plows ; and of course he needs clean water to prevent disease and, if possible, to irrigate his field. Fortunately the Indian Government is aware of these imperatives, and the United States is helping, through the Point Four programme, to see that the basic needs are satisfied.

"Certainly the United States cannot insure

India's democratic future simply by spending dollars or sending technicians there. The Indian Government and the people themselves are the only ones who can keep free their subcontinent. But what makes the latest land reform in India so reassuring and so thrilling is that it shows the Indians themselves at work to shape their future. If every underdeveloped country showed such vision and energy, there would be fewer fears about totalitarianism finding new worlds in Asia to infiltrate and conquer."—*USIS*.

"Bapu Raj Patrika"

Mira Behn does not spare herself in the service of the poor. The "Pashu-Lok" in Dehra-Dun in the Uttar Pradesh is an institution in Animal Husbandry that is destined to be an exemplar to all India. She does not use the modern methods of fertilizers and tractors, but depends on nature to renew the fertility of her soil and on human and animal labour to do the necessary work. Her institution is not a profit-making venture. But she insists that it must pay its way as her Master, Gandhiji, intended.

The *Bapu Raj Patrika*, an English version of the Hindi Patrika "addressed to the peasantry of India," is introduced to the public, price three annas, is published from Gopal Ashram, P.O. Pilkhi in the Tehri-Garhwal. It reprints the address that Mira Behn delivered at Barhaput-Bhauri on February 12 last. Therein she briefly described Bapuji's ideal of a happy India that will ensure *Bapu Raj*.

"1. There will be self-sufficient healthy villages in which man's primary needs of life are produced, namely, food, clothing and houses.

"2. The Government will be quite simple. No people will live in palaces, and no people will burn up thousands of rupees worth of petrol. The powers of Government will rest principally in the village Panchayat, which itself will be a true guide and servant of the whole village.

"3. There will be quite simple decentralized law in which exploiting lawyers will have no place, and the poor man will not have to run to far-away law courts.

"4. There will be honourable police, strong in discipline, honesty, and a true sense of service to the people. At the same time the hugely expensive army, spending crores and crores of rupees, will be dispensed with. Aeroplanes will also be dispensed with.

"5. There will be no capitalists whose factories will be destroying our village industries."

The 6th clause speaks of there being no "foreign loans" which are having a baneful influence on India's home economy and foreign policy. Since then she had toured on horse-back through the Muzzafarnagar and Shaharanpur districts. She found "the people" in "deep discontent" regarding the "present state of affairs" (p. 7). She has made a report of these experiences and sent copies to our Rashtrapati and Prime Minister specially. The article says :

"When the time comes for distribution of the zamindari lands we must proceed on a definite plan which will be based on three main necessities :
1. Grain and fodder crops, 2. Grazing lands, and 3. Trees."

"The best lands must be kept for cultivation, some of the medium lands for grazing and the inferior lands for trees. Where grazing lands have been ploughed up they will have to be given back to the cattle. In the same way patches of land will have to be devoted to the growing of trees for fire-wood. This will not be difficult when extra lands become available out of the Zamindaris."

"The destruction of grazing land which is now taking place all over India will mean the destruction of our Mother Cow. This will mean the end of bullocks, and if there are no bullocks to plough the fields, there will be no grain, so the death of the Mother Cow means the death of us all. Therefore it is that the grazing lands have to be given back to the cattle if we do not want to be destroyed."

Ness Wadia's Services to the Poor

The Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat have in a resolution, extolled the great services of Sir Ness Wadia in the cause of the poor. The resolution says :

"The Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat have heard with the deepest regret the news of the sad demise in April last of Sir Ness Wadia and place on record their sincere appreciation of the great services rendered by him to the Parsi community, specially in the direction of housing the poor and the needy. He carried out the wishes of his revered mother in spirit and in the letter in the administration of her magnificent donations to the Parsi community. His own charities for the benefit of all classes and creeds will ever be remembered by a grateful public. The example he has set not only to the community but to the City of Bombay in Industrial enterprise, Philanthropy, Industry and Integrity should be a guiding star to the youth of the community. The Trustees convey to his son and daughter their deepest sympathy in their bereavement."

The Parsi community has acquired the skill of earning money like a trader. But it spends like a prince.

Asian Students' Poor Show

The Statesman of July 25, carried the following report :

"Mr. Justice S. N. Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, told reporters in Calcutta that Melbourne University had imposed stricter conditions for the entry of students from India and other Asian countries. This step, he said, had been taken because of the low percentage of passes among such students at various examinations of that University in 1951. Of the 93 Asian students in the first year, only 19 passed. The results of Indian students, particularly in engineering, had been disappointing. Among them were some who had failed twice in the first year

engineering examination, and, in accordance with the regulations of the University, are excluded from further studies in that subject."

The University had decided that in future only those Indian students who had passed the Intermediate examination in the first division in their country would be allowed to sit for its Matriculation examination. Hitherto, any Indian student who had passed the Intermediate examination, irrespective of any division, was allowed to sit for the Melbourne Matriculation examination. Indian students desiring to undertake post-graduate work in Melbourne University should either be first class M.A.s or have post-graduate research work to their credit.

Mr. Banerjee urged students to devote themselves to studies so that when they went abroad they might give a good account of themselves, and thereby enhance the prestige of the University to which they belonged. It was for this reason, he added, that he was trying to raise the standard of the examinations."

The recent attempts at raising "the standards of the examinations," laudable though they might be in conception, have been ridiculous in the extreme in execution. It is useless to exhort students for further efforts if the teachers and professors are not efficient and if paper-setters and examiners are allowed to follow the crankiest of methods in the examinations.

The recent slaughters of the examinees in the Intermediate and the degree examinations in Arts and Sciences in Calcutta have made it clear that Mr. Banerjee's University has become a gambling machine so far as the students are concerned. The B.A. and B.Sc. examinations were those who had passed the difficult hurdles of I.A. and I.Sc. in 1949 and 1950. We refuse to believe that only a third of them had the brains or the application to pass the examination and that after they had passed their college tests.

Heaven help the University of Calcutta if the present regime with its ludicrous ideas of "standards" remain long in charge. The Vice-Chancellor would do well to devote a part of his time in overhauling the methods of teaching and the mental faculties of the examiners.

The Cambridge Examinations

The following letter appeared in the *Hindusthan Standard* of July 25. We agree in the main with the writer's contentions. But so long we have a gentleman at the head of the Education portfolio, who has neither knowledge about modern methods nor the capacity to gather correct advice, what else could we expect ?

"Sir,—A conference of representatives of part A, B and C States under the chairmanship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has passed a resolution that the examination conducted by the Cambridge Syndicate be gradually replaced by an Indian examination which

will retain its merits but will be more suited to Indian conditions and needs.

"I consider the above resolution to be very unfortunate. What are these 'Indian conditions and needs'? I think in the matter of education a good system is good for all. And what 'needs' can India talk of until she has become a great nation with much experience? The only change that I would suggest would be to divide the subject 'Religious Knowledge' into three sections, namely, Christian, Muslim and Hindu. The conference recognised the high standard of education provided by the Cambridge examination. If so, then why meddle with it? Is it for vanity? The conference was also resolved to see that the new examination should in no way be lower in standard. But why are the Matriculation examinations (which are really School Certificate examinations just as the Cambridge School Certificate examination is) lower in standard? Why not raise their standard? Why a new examination? And why not allow the Cambridge examination to be held side by side? It would not be for the good of India if the proposed new examination fails to maintain the standard and at the same time the Cambridge examination goes.—Yours, etc., Indra N. Borra, Delhi."

Danish Fisheries

Danish News published by the Royal Danish Legation from Bombay, tells a story of Indo-Danish trade relations under new conditions:

"Denmark has an extensive coastline, and as the surrounding waters are rich in fish she has always been a fishing nation. Proximity to great markets to the West and South was a prime factor in the development of the Danish fisheries into a leading export industry.

"The Danish seine also had a considerable share. This lenient implement increased the catch while maintaining the traditional Danish quality. Fishing grounds are being pushed farther and farther afield. This has made increasing demands on the quality of the fishing vessels. They must be able to stand up to all weathers, including violent storms when hundreds of miles out in open sea.

"Modern sea-going Danish cutters, mostly over 20 gross tons, are carvel-built, of oak and beech. They have very powerful engines. They are equipped with all the latest navigational devices, which, with radio telephone and telegraph, make life on board as comfortable as is possible in the limited space available. Some cutters carry freezing plants to enable fish to be processed and preserved on board while fresh. Danish fishing vessels and Danish marine diesel engines, like Danish fish, are known and marketed throughout the world. Interested import firms may contact the Royal Danish Legation, Commercial Section, Pallonji Mansion, New Cuffe Parade, Bombay 5."

Revised Definition of "Tea"

"Tea" shall be the leaves, leaf buds and stalk of *Thea Sinensis* and *Thea Cammellia* prepared by trade processes and shall not contain any foreign matter or any tea which has been in any measure deprived of its proper quality, strength or virtue.

The Calcutta High Court has held that stalks and stems from part of tea and their mixing with tea is no adulteration.

The Court allowed the appeal preferred by a tea merchants' firm here, set aside their conviction and sentences and acquitted them. The tea which was seized and forfeited was directed to be returned to the appellants.

The appellants were charged under the Calcutta Municipal Act for storing, exposing and offering for sale tea which on analysis had been found to be adulterated with foreign matter.

Delivering judgment in the case, the learned judges observed that the leaves and buds must inevitably be accompanied by some proportion of stalks and, in their view, the stalks were really part of the leaf and bud and could not be wholly divorced from the same and regarded as matter foreign to the tea.

Several other appeals including one by a leading tea firm against the Municipal Magistrate's decision, awarding sentences for similar offences, are still pending before the High Court.

How we, the consumers, will be affected by this High Court decision has yet to be seen. We fear that more stalk than leaf and bud will be the order of the day for the planters.

Prodigies and Mathematics

Recently there has been some publicity about the feats of mental mathematics by an Indian Prodigy—an young lady—abroad. The following extract from the London *Discovery* for April is interesting in that context. Of course, we are drawing no parallels between the young lady in question and the cases cited in the extract.

Remembering is a mysterious human activity without a moderate amount of which social life would be impossible. It is an activity familiar to all of us. Yet very little is known about it in a general way and there is even today, after a century or so of psychology, no satisfactory theory of memory. As the Oxford experimental psychologist, O. L. Zangwill, writes: "The cerebral basis of memory remains an enigma." One thing can be asserted, however, with some assurance: remembering has the attributes of a specific skill rather than of general mental ability. It can be considerably improved on specific activities by training. It can be independent of intelligence. Furthermore, the degree of natural untrained memory is in-born and not acquired during lifetime.

All these facts are brought out in a book just published, a book written by a modest author whose only care is to present within one book the known facts about numerous 'lightning calculators' and other prodigies—*Mental Prodigies*, by Fred Barlow (London, Hutchinson's Scientific and Technical Publications, 1951, 256, pp., 12s. 6d.).

The first chapter lists nineteen calculators and gives some details of their lives and achievements. Twenty-four miscellaneous examples in brief are then mentioned. Of the nineteen, five were known to be stupid. Jedediah Buxton (1702-72), for instance, had at maturity the mind of a child of ten. Yet when presented with the problem of calculating the number of cubic eighths of an inch in a body whose three dimensions were 23,145,789 yards, 5,642,732 yards, and 54,965 yards, he worked it all out accurately in his head. Even more remarkable is Oscar Verhaeghe, a Belgian. In 1943, he was referred to as an adolescent of seventeen with the mental age of a babe of two years. He was examined by a committee of savants, including mathematicians. He cubed 689 in six seconds, gave the fourth power of 1243 in ten seconds and raised 9,999,999 to the fifth power in a minute. Another five of the nineteen were uneducated. On the other hand, a number of the remaining nine were well-educated and achieved great things. There was Ampere, for example, and there was Gauss, who when not quite three years old followed mentally a calculation of his father's and detected a mistake in the answer. He entertained the court of the Duchy of Brunswick with his calculations when he was fourteen years old. Not intelligence or good birth or education or mature achievement was common to all the nineteen. What they had common was an interest in 'figures' and a prodigious memory. In the case of the unintelligent ones this specialised interest was helped by their ignorance of other matters. The fact that some of them were youthful prodigies and yet lost their powers is accounted for by the extension of their interests as they matured. In fact, the author contends that many a young fellow could attain to the eminence of some of these calculators if he would start young and concentrate on numbers. All that is required is the ability to count and a memory for numbers. The author, himself a considerable performer in feats of a calculating kind, even gives the short-cuts and dodges by means of which one can answer questions like: "What day of the week was 21 October, 1805?" (It was a Monday.)

Servants of India Society

The pattern of the Bharat Sevak Samaj (Servants of India Society) is that of an *ashram*. The object is

the Service of India, and the training of national "Servants" for that purpose. Naturally, therefore, the individuals who volunteer for that service are put to a most vigorous test. The vows to be taken at the time of initiation are given in a footnote on pages 107 and 108 of this book. Everyone who has the welfare of his country at heart would do well to go through the text once everyday, and continuously endeavour to put those vows in practice. All the clauses are important but some of them are worth quoting here as specially noteworthy:

(a) That the country shall always be the first in his thoughts and he will give to her service the best that is in him.

(b) That in serving the country he will seek no personal advantage for himself.

(c) That he will regard all Indians as brothers and work for the advancement of all without distinction of caste or creed.

(d) That he will be content with such provision for him and his family, as the Society may be able to make. He will devote no part of his energies to earning money for himself.

(e) That he will lead a pure personal life.

(f) That he will engage in no personal quarrel with anyone.

The vows quoted above indicate the principles which had animated the late G. K. Gokhale to start this Society of the Servants of India. When it was started many were the criticisms against Gokhale's belief that the connection was "providential." The critics forgot that in the *Ananda Math*, Bankim Chandra had said the same thing, expressed the same belief. He had expressed this belief through the "Physician" who had asked Satyananda not to mourn at the failure of his revolt. Before we could acquire Swaraj, we must have modern education and the modern spirit which would enable us to get over the fear of the white skin.

This history is given in details in the latest report of the Society (1951-52). Established in 1906, the Society has had record in social and political work that has been a privilege to participate in.

Mohit Lal Mazumdar

On the 19th July last death cut short the life of this poet and literary critic of Bengal. During the last years of his after retirement from the Dacca University as Reader of Bengali Literature, he revived the *Bangadarshan* started by Bankim Chandra Chatterji in 1872. That attempt failed. But his literary vocation occupied his time to the last day of his life.

Coming of a middle class family, the usual privations were his. This discipline had a healthy effect on the young poet. Our sympathy goes to his bereaved family.

SIX YEARS OF THE UNESCO

By DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London)

With the holding of its sixth annual General Conference at Paris in June, 1951, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation or the Unesco, the abbreviated name by which it has come to be popularly known, completed the fifth year of its existence. The Conference was attended by representatives of the fifty-nine member-nations and served to spotlight the activities of this very important adjunct to the UNO, its parent organisation. It would be useful to take stock of its achievements during the last six years of its operation.

It is one of the satellite bodies of the UNO or Specialised Agencies, as they are called, brought into existence by intergovernmental agreements negotiated by a standing committee of the Economic and Social Council, one of the principal organs of the UNO and approved by the Council and the General Assembly. The activities of all the Specialised Agencies are co-ordinated by the Social and Economic Council. The constitution of the Unesco was drawn up by a conference of delegates of the United Nations held in November, 1945, and actually came into force on November 4, 1946. This body along with the other Specialised Agencies and the Economic and Social Council of which they are the offshoots derive from the following clause in the Preamble regarding the aims of the UNO :

"To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom;

"To employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples;"

and the following extract from the Article I of the Charter embodying the purposes and principles of the Organisation :

"To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion; and to be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends."

This was further elaborated in Articles 55 to 60 of the Charter.

The authors of the United Nations were wiser than those of its predecessor, the League of Nations. They realised that a simple organisation for voluntary arbitration and conciliation of international disputes would not avert war as it did not in the past, that the deeper causes of war were as much social as political and economic. In order to banish war, we have to fight and eradicate these deeper causes of economic and social maladjustment, to fight poverty, hunger, disease, ignorance, fear and so on through international co-operation. The Economic and Social Council and the Specialised

Agencies like the Unesco, WHO, are based on this realisation. The Security Council deals with the immediate problem, the problem of keeping the *peace today* by resolving international disputes and tensions that have arisen, while the Unesco deals with the problem of *peace tomorrow* by means of long-range programme for removing the causes of such disputes and tensions and for creating conditions in which there would be no occasion for nations to resort to war to gain ends which they covet. The one is concerned with fighting the forces released by narrow and bigoted nationalism and the other with harnessing the resources of the ideals of internationalism and universal brotherhood to liquidate those forces at their origin. The Unesco of all the organs of the UNO spotlights the things that unite peoples, pointing to the innate and fundamental unity of mankind such as art, literature, science, ideals of truth, justice, freedom, etc., in short, things that make for *one world* instead of those that divide peoples epitomised in the spirit of narrow, misguided nationalism or chauvinism that has been responsible for the miseries of humanity and the crisis in human civilisation of the present century and that threatens *homo sapiens* with even total extinction. The Unesco brings to afflicted humanity sitting on the brink of a precipice a new message of hope and relief from all fear that besets it, if only it is allowed to function on the lines intended.

What we have said above will be evident if we analyse the constitution, functions, aims and purposes of the organisation as well as the programmes pursued by it during these years. Needless to say, attempt has been made to bring as many of the member-nations of the present organisation within its fold as possible, for its effectiveness would depend on its approach towards universality of membership as in the case of the parent body.

The purpose of the Unesco as defined in its constitution is to contribute to international peace and security and the common welfare of mankind by promoting "collaboration among nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms for all." To realise this purpose three distinct lines of activity are laid down for it :

1. "To collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understandings of peoples, through all means of mass communication," and in this connection it has the special duty of recommending such "international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image." This is directly related to preservation of peace, the foremost object of the UNO.

(2) "To give fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture," by three distinct methods, viz: (a) by collaborating with member-

States, at their request, in the development of educational activities; (b) by instituting collaboration among the nations to advance the ideal of equality of educational opportunity, without regard to race, sex or any distinctions, economic or social; (c) by suggesting educational methods best suited to prepare the children of the world for the responsibilities of freedom.

(3) "To maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge," again by three methods, *viz.*, (a) by assuring the conservation of the world's inheritance of books, works of art, and monuments of history and science and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions; (b) by encouraging co-operation among nations in all branches of intellectual activity; (c) by initiating methods of international co-operation calculated to give the people of all countries access to the printed and published materials produced by any of them.

The first General Conference of the Unesco, a body consisting of the representatives of all the member-nations and meeting annually to determine the policies and main lines of work of the organisation, held in Paris in 1946 adopted an extensive programme of work for the organisation. On its scrutiny with a view to determining priorities, a general plan for the activities of the organisation for 1947 was adopted, divided in three parts: (1) Overall projects, (2) sectional projects and (3) continuing projects. The first part included projects for, (a) Educational Reconstruction and Rehabilitation, (b) International Understanding, and (c) Fundamental Education. Its activities under Educational Reconstruction and Rehabilitation were directed to help rehabilitation of educational, scientific, and cultural institutions in war-devastated areas. Those under International Understanding covered, for instance, revision of text-books, formation of international study centres, etc. Those under Fundamental Education included such matters as primary education, work with adult illiterates, education for health, for economic and cultural development, international understanding, etc.

The second part, that is, sectional projects, included such activities as promotion of Libraries, Sciences, Arts and Letters and mass communication.

The third part, that is, continuing projects, included such matters as co-operation with governmental and non-governmental organisations, collection, analysis, and distribution of information essential to developing more effective communication between peoples in specific branches of educational, scientific and cultural knowledge and removal of barriers to such communication, preparation of lists of research-resources, establishment of clearing houses of information, etc. These offer quite an extensive field of activities and therefore a selection has to be made, out of it, of what can be practically attempted at a particular time. This was done subsequently by the General Conference of the organisation in 1950 held at Florence. In doing this the Conference found it useful to distinguish between the Unesco's basic programme on the one hand and the annual programme on the other. While the basic programme represents a long-range overall plan covering the policies and main

lines of work of the Organisation over a number of years, the annual programme varies from year to year adjusted to the needs of the situation. The programme is formulated and executed in close co-operation with the parent body, *viz.*, the United Nations and other Specialised Agencies, with the member-States and governmental and non-governmental organisations furthering the same ends. For instance, the member-States have undertaken "to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purpose of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of one another's lives." The member-States are required to co-ordinate the activities of their principal bodies interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters with those of the Unesco through their National Commissions on which these bodies are represented. Thus the basic programme of the Unesco is designed to guide and assist the activities of the member-States in their pursuit of its ends and purposes. At the same time the Unesco is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction so as to preserve the independence and diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the member-States. The basic programme therefore deals with those activities in the fields of education, culture and science which lend themselves to co-operative action on the international plane and in the present-day world with the advance of science such matters are daily on the increase. For instance, the universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the U. N. in December, 1948, has added to the objectives of the Unesco by proclaiming the right of everyone to education, and "freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits."

The principal planks in the programme set before itself by the Unesco are as follows:

(1) To eliminate illiteracy and encourage fundamental education;

(2) To obtain for each person an education conforming to his aptitudes and to the needs of society, including technological training and higher education;

(3) To promote through education respect for Human Rights throughout all nations;

(4) To overcome the obstacles to the free flow of persons, ideas and knowledge between the countries of the world;

(5) To promote the progress and utilization of science for mankind;

(6) To study the causes of tensions that may lead to war and to fight them through education;

(7) To demonstrate world cultural interdependence;

(8) To advance through the press, radio and motion pictures the cause of truth, freedom and peace;

(9) To bring about better understanding among the peoples of the world and to convince them of the necessity of co-operating loyally with one another in the framework of the United Nations;

(10) To render clearing-house and exchange services in all its fields of action, together with services in reconstruction and relief assistance. The basic programme as adopted by the Fifth General Conference at Florence in 1950 consists of a number of resolutions grouped under the following heads:

I. Education, II. Natural Sciences, III. Social Sciences, IV. Cultural Activities, V. Exchange of persons, VI. Mass Communication, VII. Relief Assistance Services.

Under each of these heads concrete proposals for furtherance of these objectives were set forth into which we need not go. It will be enough to note that in formulating them regard is had to the basic fact that they contribute directly or indirectly to the preservation and promotion of international peace and security, the *sine qua non* for the existence of the parent body, the UNO.

But even this programme for 1951 appeared to be too ambitious and the Executive Board of the UNESCO for the last session of the General Conference held in Paris in June, 1951 took up a more realistic attitude in recommending a much more modest and therefore more practical Draft programme for the consideration of the Conference. The programme was conceived not in academic terms of what fell theoretically within the jurisdiction of the organisation, but what could actually be achieved by it in the light of practical experience of past years and concentrated on a limited number of crying major problems in the field of education, culture and science facing the world of the present day having regard of course to their relevance to the cause of world peace and removal of tensions.

For instance, it is patent that ignorance and low-living standards are the potent causes of international tension and war. So a £20-million twelve-year project for a drive against ignorance and low standards of living was placed before the Conference. Similarly, care for the workers, children and women and schemes for their amelioration also figure prominently in the programme of the last Conference. The programme for 1951 adopted in the previous year at Florence contained as many as 294 resolutions, whereas the programme for 1952 has been scaled down to half the number rendering it much more businesslike and workable within the limitations of time and resources with greater emphasis on the urgent requirements of the moment.

From a study of the nature of programme of the work set to itself by the Unesco over the last six years it will be evident that although it has confined itself to non-political problems nonetheless these cannot but have deep political repercussion, touching as they do the very moral and spiritual basis of the fabric of civilisation. It is true that their effect measured in terms of influencing the course of international politics must necessarily be slow and therefore not so spectacular as perhaps the activities of the Security Council, but not the less valuable for that reason, if we consider them over a number of years. If the programme with suitable modifications necessitated by the efflux of time is worked in all seriousness and in the true spirit of the organisation there is no doubt that it will develop a habit of co-operative effort and a spirit of mutual accommodation and goodwill through it which in the long run will neutralise the spirit of mutual suspicion, distrust and ill-will that beset inter-

national relations today and is breeding tensions and creating fissures between the nations.

It stands to the credit of the authors of the United Nations Charter in contrast with their predecessors in the same field that, to use the words of its Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, in a message to India on the 15th of August, 1950, they "saw clearly that peace is not merely the absence of war, but a dynamic movement for economic progress and social justice. Never before had an international organisation laid such stress on the constructive tasks of peace as the United Nations has done in the last five years." Or again to quote from the address of Mr. J. D. Bodet, the Director-General of Unesco, given to the 11th Session of the Economic and Social Council in presenting the annual report of the Unesco for the year 1949-50 :

"Peace has been defined as unending creation. It is in the hours of difficulty that it is most important to remember this. It is then above all that humanity must be made to understand that agencies such as . . . the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation were not created to knock together a jerry-built world of tomorrow during an uneasy truce, but to *pave the way, despite tensions or even wars, for the dawn of the economic and social justice without which there is no truce.*" (Italics our own).

In this view of the matter it would not perhaps be wrong to say that in a sense the efficacy of the non-political bodies of the UNO like the Economic and Social Council and the Specialised Agencies, such as the Unesco, WHO, FAO, etc., is even greater than its political organ the Security Council in so far as they create those conditions of stability, well-being and progress by promoting higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and international co-operation in cultural and educational fields on which alone the foundations of lasting peace can be laid in the present-day world. Because permanent peace can never become a reality merely by temporising with international conflicts and disputes as and when they arise, without attacking their root causes and it is towards the latter objective that the Unesco in common with the other non-political bodies of the UNO have addressed themselves and it must also be admitted that their achievement so far in these fields where men's interests are more united than divided, are quite creditable of which the authors of the U.N. Charter can feel proud. It is these bodies that have reached the common man and woman all over the world and those who are economically and educationally backward and under-developed, offering them a helping hand for their material, moral and spiritual upliftment and it is these who will keep the peace of the world of tomorrow. We share the feelings of Moulana Azad that found expression in his speech before the last annual General Conference of the Unesco when he said that in the course of the last two years his hope in the Unesco and his apprehensions about U.N. had increased and further that the U.N. founded for the achievements of peace and unity had in fact resulted in the division of the world into two warring camps so unlike the Unesco.

TASKS BEFORE THE NEW PARLIAMENT

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

THE first democratic Parliament of Free India elected on adult franchise met in Delhi on the 15th of May. It was, indeed, an historic day in the annals of our glorious fight for freedom. It was a memorable day in the history of the world because the new Indian Parliament embarked on one of the greatest experiments in democracy in the history of mankind. Members of the new Parliament are, therefore, faced with heavy responsibilities and hazardous tasks. They can either make or mar the destinies of this ancient land towards which many countries of the world look with hope and expectation.

The first important task before the new Parliament is to prove worthy of the people who have elected it. It was feared that the illiterate and semi-naked masses of this country who had been suddenly conferred the precious right of franchise would be found unworthy of the task. But the sense of great discipline, civic responsibilities and robust commonsense evinced by the toiling millions of our country, and more especially the women-folk, clearly vindicates the faith of the Father of our Nation in the sound democratic traditions of the Indian people. It is now for their chosen representatives to prove by their day-to-day actions and the high level of discussions of national problems that they are worthy of their masters. The way in which some of the State Assemblies have opened their democratic life during the last few weeks has been rather disappointing. Let us earnestly hope that the new Parliament of India would succeed in setting up very high standards of democracy and co-operative endeavour.

India has now attained full political freedom. But she has yet to achieve economic and social freedom. This can be achieved either through a bloody revolution or through a non-violent and democratic process. It is incumbent on the new Parliament to demonstrate to the world that a socio-economic revolution can be brought about quickly through parliamentary democracy. Time is of the essence. The Indian people have been waiting patiently long enough; they cannot be expected to wait endlessly for their economic and social amelioration. They must soon feel that something good is being done for them by the new Government. This, therefore, is the second great task that faces the new Parliament. Unless a sense of urgency constantly inspires every member of the Parliament as well as the new Government, it may be extremely difficult to brave the gushing tide of violent upheaval in our country as in other countries of Asia and Europe.

The future economic structure of India must be such as would make the masses feel the "glow" of freedom and equality. It should be clear-cut and well-defined. It must promote the welfare of the masses who

have been so long exploited by the classes. I am afraid, a plan of "mixed economy" which attempts to please everybody ends by pleasing nobody. Our National Plan should give the highest priority to the problem of unemployment and, what is more, under-employment. Totalitarianism has tried to solve such problems by resorting to War-Economy, and Imperialism. In India, we must solve the unemployment question within the limits of national self-sufficiency and international harmony. These considerations inevitably lead us towards a decentralized and small-scale economy as visualised by Mahatma Gandhi. Without spreading a country-wide net-work of small-scale and cottage industries, which are labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive, and which provide subsidiary work to the agriculturists in their own villages, it will be impossible to improve the economic condition of the masses with speed and efficiency. Big and large-scale projects, with their centralized administration and highly mechanized structure, neither enthuse the millions nor solve their intrinsic problems. [The villagers desire that something concrete should be done for their welfare before their very eyes in their own locality or immediate neighbourhood. They are prepared to contribute their humble quota of money, materials or manual labour provided the schemes are executed within their purview. I hope the final shape of our Five-Year Plan would be more inspiring, bold and constructive from the villager's point of view. If it is not, it is the duty of the Parliament to make it so.]

The third urgent task that awaits the new Parliament is the problem of rooting out corruption and inefficiency in administration. My tour of more than a dozen countries of the world has convinced me that the people of a country with newly-won political freedom can tolerate many inevitable economic hardships while facing the tasks of national reconstruction. But they cannot, and should not, tolerate corruption and inefficiency in their own popular government. Unfortunately for us, everybody today believes that the existing administration has become more corrupt and inefficient after August 15, 1947. This is, indeed, a very serious matter and the new Parliament and the Government must resolve, almost religiously, to face this problem with boldness and firmness. Gorwala's Report on Public Administration is a valuable document and most of its recommendations ought to be implemented without undue delay. With a corrupt and inefficient administrative machinery all our National Plans, however inspiring they may be, would be sordid mud. Even the highest officials, including the Ministers, should not be spared from public trials and severest punishments if they are suspected and found to be guilty.

The fourth task that the new Parliament must face boldly is the question of revolutionizing Public Finance in this country. So far, our budgets have been setting in motion the forces that drain money from the villages to the cities. This process must be reversed now and money should flow from the cities to the rural areas. To begin with, our Budget should ensure that at least a substantial portion of the revenues raised from villages are spent for the economic welfare of the rural folk. For the last several years, our Budgets have been matter-of-fact and orthodox; they have cared more for the criticism of the industrialists than of the common people. Our new Budget must be recognised by the masses as a "People's Budget." It should promote economic equality and justice. Budgets of progressive nations can become very important sources of economic planning. I earnestly hope that the new Parliament will not be asked only to "ditto" the previous Interim Budget presented by the Finance Minister last March. Our Budget for the year 1952-53 ought to be, in the real sense of the word, a National Budget of Free India. It is needless to mention here the detailed implications of such a Budget.

Relating to our Public Expenditure, National Defence presents a very tough problem. About 50 per cent of the annual revenues are, at present, spent on the Armed Forces of the Indian Union. How could this enormous drain on our national economy be substantially reduced? Firstly, the strength of the standing army may be reduced to some extent by creating the second line of defence in the form of a bigger Territorial Force. For example, in Switzerland all adults are given Military training for some months every year. They are kept ready for national emergencies; but the strength of the Swiss Standing Army is not at all imposing. Secondly, the Indian Military could be harnessed to multifarious nation-building activities during peace time. It could be profitably employed for reclaiming waste lands, check-

ing soil erosion, sinking surface and tube-wells, improving minor irrigation works, buildings, roads, bridges, etc. The training that is imparted to the future soldiers and their officers should be such as would prepare them for undertaking all these constructive work items. These are some of the ways in which the burden of Military expenditure on Indian economy might be reduced at least to some extent.

Above all, the existing system of education in the country has to be radically overhauled if quick and lasting results in the work of national reconstruction are to be achieved. This, therefore, is the fifth main task that awaits the new Parliament of India. Although Education is not a Union subject, the Government of India can bring several kinds of healthy pressure on the State Governments in effecting far-reaching changes in the educational set-up. If the nation is to attain self-sufficiency in food, cloth and other necessities of life, our youngmen must be trained through hard and productive work. They should be fit, physically and mentally, to undertake nation-building activities after passing out of schools and colleges. This will be possible only if Gandhiji's system of Basic education, becomes the very basis of our educational structure throughout the country. It is not enough to have only a few experimental Basic schools in each State. All our educational institutions should be soon transformed, in accordance with the fundamental principles of Basic education.

These are some of the important tasks that the new Parliament will be required to face and solve. There is no time to be lost. Five years is a very long period in these fast-changing times. Substantial good must be done to the people within a year or two. May the new members have the requisite strength to be equal to the onerous tasks!

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INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

A Hotch-Potch of Worn-out Platitudes

By C. L. R. SASTRI

Under the chapter-heading, "Snakes in Iceland," Dr. Johnson writes: "There are no snakes in Iceland."—*A History of Iceland*.

THERE are some jokes that are no laughing matter. That is because they provoke more tears than smiles. They remind us that life is real and that life is earnest. One of these relates to our beloved Panditji's foreign policy. I have put it that way advisedly. India, as must be evident even to the babe unborn, has no foreign policy apart from his: for is he not by way of being our only acknowledged expert on foreign affairs? It is not, let me interpolate, that anyone has gone to the trouble of conferring that unique distinction on him. It would not have been so deplorable if that had been the case. What

makes it the heart-rending tragedy that it is, is that, doubtless with the best of intentions, he has conferred it on himself. He has long since convinced himself that he is the apex, apogee, and apotheosis of internationalism. One can imagine him saying to himself:

"Others abide our question: I am free."

AUTO-SUGGESTION

By intuition, as it were, he is aware of "what the Swede intends and what the French" more than anyone else in our hapless country. What is going to happen in Tunisia he knows, *instinctively*, before ever it happens

and on Korea he is as much certain, though he flaunts his "neutrality" in the face of everyone, of the North Korean aggression on the innocent and innocuous South as those vaunted "democrats," the Americans themselves. An extremist to the manner born he reads instructive, if infructuous, lectures on moderation and the golden mean to others less fortunately circumstanced. At a moment's notice he will discourse, at six-columns' length, equally illuminatingly (or otherwise) on the Anglo-Egyptian *impasse* and on the Arab-Jewish imbroglio. If (Heaven forbid!) India were, in any foreseeable future, to be deprived of his *expertise* on world problems there might be no one, search we never so diligently, to succeed him in the onerous portfolio that he has made so peculiarly his own. The more he ponders over this disheartening eventuality the more he becomes certain of the truth of the saying: *Après moi le deluge*. Who says that auto-suggestion has no value? More things are wrought by auto-suggestion, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy!

PASSING THE BUCK

The first thing, then, that the student of Indian politics will do well to learn if he wishes to be thorough in his subject is that it is a terminological inexactitude to talk of "*India's* foreign policy." Poor India has no hand in its foreign policy. Whatever foreign policy it can be said to possess is that of its Prime Minister-cum-Foreign Minister. *It is his and his alone*. It is as much his own as the "secularism" that he preaches to his countrymen and countrywomen day in and day out. Excogitating his theme he arrives at certain (inchoate) decisions and, with characteristic modesty, gives them the compendious title of "*India's* foreign policy." With a generosity all his own he lets the country take the blame for his "Himalayan blunders." It was remarked of Pitt (the Younger) that he used to drink the wine and that the Clerk of the House of Commons used to get the headache. This curious dichotomy is flourishing amidst us now. It is flourishing like the proverbial green bay tree. Pandit Nehru, in his capacity of Foreign Minister, has done things for which the countless millions of our thrice-wretched Motherland have had to pay very, very heavily, indeed. They have been paying heavily ever since he catapulted himself into power after the withdrawal of our alien rulers from the scene of their complex labours. Sensing with an unerring instinct how imperative it was for him to preside over our inscrutable destinies he has, from that evil moment, been enjoying himself hugely at their expense, giving full rein to every fad and fancy of his on the international plane. It would, however, be folly to believe that if it is madness there is no method in it. On the contrary, there is a good deal of method in it. The method lies in this—that, not to put too fine a point upon it, it is all to the greater glory of himself. He must hit the headlines as often as possible. Not to be able to do so would be to stagnate, ". . . to lie in cold

obstruction and to rot," as Claudio in *Measure for Measure* puts it beautifully.

ANALOGY WITH CLEOPATRA'S NOSE

Sometimes one is led to suspect that it is not so much the foreign policy (whatever that may happen to be) as the fact that *he* is expounding it that has counted with him. Nor have even his perfervid admirers (and they are as multitudinous as the sand on the seashore) ever ventured to assert that he does not love the sound of his own voice. Far from that being the case he appears to have no use for any other sound, in or out of Parliament. We know from what small acorns giant oaks grow; and we are in a position now to deduce from what trivial causes events of far-reaching importance can arise. It was Pascal who, if I remember rightly, first posed the question of how vastly different the fate of the world might have been if Cleopatra's nose had been slightly longer—or shorter. By the same token, India's foreign policy might well have been other than it is (and has been these several years) had our distinguished Prime Minister been less given to hearing himself speak from a thousand pulpits and platforms. For one thing India, then, might have had a share in its foreign policy. But the fates have decreed otherwise and its foreign policy has been, since the memorable August 15, 1947, anything but its own; it has evolved from, and revolved round, the personality of Pandit Nehru.

THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE

A few weeks ago there was an interesting debate in our Parliament on foreign affairs. I wonder whether I should be laying myself open to the heinous crime of *lese majeste* if I were to suggest that the interest of that debate would have been appreciably enhanced if we had been furnished with longer reports of the Opposition speeches of the two Mukherjees (Dr. Shyamaprasad and Prof. Hirendranath) and a shorter one of our Foreign Minister. This matter needs looking into a little. Even a "secular democracy" should not be merely "secular"; it should be democratic as well. If it were only "secular" and not democratic it would be like the Cheshire cat that was all grin and not enough of cat. The more redeeming feature of a "secular democracy" is its democratic, not its "secularistic," character. As things have transpired, however, while the latter has been stressed almost to tiresomeness the former has not been stressed at all. Certainly the spirit of democracy is nowhere to be discerned in the reportage of the speeches in Parliament. In any debate the Minister in charge of his portfolio replies to speeches of members of the Opposition. Those speeches are delivered first and the replies come only afterwards. But if one did not attend Parliament but read the speeches as reported in our estimable dailies one would arrive at a different conclusion: one would be inclined to think that the Minister concerned replied first and that the Opposition members made their complaints subsequently. It is a vicious practice and deserves to be censured ruthlessly.

It is not journalism: it is propaganda—and propaganda with a stamping iron heel. It might be better left for the Government's Information Bureau.

A DISCREPANCY

My other grievance relates to the discrepancy between the space allotted to Opposition speeches and the space earmarked for the speeches of our Prime Minister. No one is more cognisant than myself of the fact that our Prime Minister makes longer speeches than all the Opposition members put together. But, then, no one is more cognisant than myself of the equally important fact that his speeches, however long they may be, often contain less "meat" than those of the Opposition members. Their thought-content is hardly commensurate with their length. Their thought-content, in relation to their inordinate length, is comparable rather to Falstaff's celebrated "half-pennyworth of bread to an intolerable deal of sack." The public desires to know what the Opposition members had to say. What it gets, however, is what the Prime Minister said—perhaps for the umpteenth time. This is tantamount to stifling the voice of the Opposition. There has, to date, been remarkably little opposition to Pandit Nehru's myriad policies and programmes. If, in addition, a rigorous censorship even of that little is instituted the results (for democracy) can better be imagined than described. I was, for instance, astounded to find nearly a whole page of the Pandit's reply to the Opposition speeches of the two Mukherjees and just a couple of paragraphs apiece of those speeches; yet it cannot be denied that the latter provided far better reading matter than the former. I maintain that what the *intelligentsia* crave for is more discerning criticism of the Pandit's foreign policy than sickening justification of it by the Pandit at enormous length every other week. It is a pity that journalistic standards should have fallen so low after the advent of independence.

THE FROG AND THE BULL

As for the debate itself I shall touch on but two or three points. Now-a-days the Pandit takes infinite pains in the matter of soft-peddalling what for so long he has been pleased to call India's "neutrality" in international affairs. Public memory is notoriously short and it is perhaps possible to fool some of the people some of the time. But it cannot be that *all* of us have forgotten the hullabaloo that the Pandit had once been wont to make in regard to it. Doubtless, it is infinitely easier to be wiser after the event. But, surely, seasoned politicians—or those alleged to be seasoned—are expected to be wise even *before* the event. The Pandit should have known better at the very start. The trouble with him was that he wanted to loom large in the public eye and to strut the international scene in the manner of a proved veteran. In this case, however, it has been our poor country that has come to grief as a result of the Pandit's bloating himself to the dimensions of an international Colossus. Water, according to scientists, eventually finds its own level; and so, if I am not mistaken, do politicians.

But, meanwhile, the mischief done cannot be underrated. The Pandit's "neutrality" has had a severe shaking at the hands of fate. At long last he has awakened to the tragic realisation that, in international, no less than in other, affairs, the earthenware pot suffers a severe concussion on its head when it collides, by accident or by design, with an iron pot. India is not such a great country that it can really stand as a buffer between the two "blocs," the Eastern and the Western.

RINGING INTERMINABLE CHANGES

If, however, Pandit Nehru did indeed once lay the flattering unction to his soul that it was such a great country he should not have developed cold feet to the extent of succumbing to second thoughts on the subject as, of late, he has given ample evidence of doing. India is neutral or it is not. There is no sense—and less sensibility—in trying to ring interminable changes on that point. Adjectives affixed to that neutrality cannot, in the circumstances, be expected to alter its essential nature. A "dynamic" neutrality is still neutrality. A "divine" madness is still madness. A neutrality that impels India to vote for the Western bloc nearly seven times out of ten and not to vote for any bloc on the remaining occasions is not neutrality properly so called. What it amounts to, if the naked truth is to be told, is that India, *in practice*, has decided to cast its lot with one of the two blocs, however loudly it may protest to high heaven that it has not. It may be to its interest so to cast its lot. Opinion may well differ on that issue. *But where interest—enlightened or otherwise—comes in at the door neutrality flies out of the window.* Pandit Nehru has only lately begun to sense that the essential interests of India are bound up more with the Western bloc than with the Eastern. A man of his reputed profundity ought to have sensed it much earlier. He now finds it expedient to stress the historical and economic ties of India with Britain and, stemming from that age-long association, with the United States. A historian of his distinction should not, all this while, have been living in an "Alice in Wonderland" world. It is not as though his advertisement of his neutrality policy had been just a flash in the pan. It had gone on long enough to bring incalculable disaster to the country.

SEEING THE LIGHT

Pandit Nehru is in the position of a person who has at last seen the light. That being so he should learn to talk soberly and not to attempt to browbeat the other fellow. He appears to be a wiser, but not a sadder, man. The Western nations' treatment of the issues of Kashmir and of Korea, not to speak of their inexcusable bolstering up of outdated colonial regimes, has not, in any sense, predisposed me in their favour. On the contrary, it has induced in me a violent revulsion to them, and only Time, the great healer, can eradicate from my mind the memory of their heinous crimes in the plausible name of "containing" Communism. Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds, as Shakespeare so beautifully puts it, and "democracies" that go wrong can be far

worse than the Communistic regimes that they so vociferously condemn. I am, therefore, not to be understood as holding a candle, so to speak, to the Western bloc. Far from it. But I had never contrived to forget that historic association between Britain and India which, it would appear, has only recently come to the notice of our beloved Panditji.

HIS AMERICAN VISIT

It is necessary, in this connection, to recall his 1949 American visit. That was one of the high-lights of his eventful career. The red carpets (if one may employ that ominous adjective even to carpets in America) were liberally (nay, lavishly) spread for him. He was lionised by the American citizenry as, perhaps, no one from Asia had ever been lionised before. His every word was listened to with rapt attention. People literally hung on his lips. I am not suggesting that he should, on that account, have lost his head and lapped all that adulation up like milk. But there was a distinct danger the other way also; and that he did not even attempt to avoid. Wherever he was greeted he did not fail to "give notice" to his audience that India would never (oh, never) swerve from the path of neutrality that it had laid down for itself after great deliberation. That was the refrain of his song; that was the one thread that ran through all his discourses there. It must have irked his hearers to no small extent.

THE SEQUEL

In the sequel he tipped the fat into the fire. To be an American is not to be less human than others and the Americans got disgusted with him to a man. Some even went to the length of asking openly why red carpets were being spread for him, and why hosannas were being sung before him. But even these portentous winks were not noticed by the illustrious guest; and he blithely went on putting his foot in it whenever he opened his mouth. The result was that we did not get the promised gift of the two million tons of wheat. Later we had to go down before them on our bended knees for the same two million tons of wheat as a loan. Nor did that abject posture of ours melt the hearts of the Americans; and when they did agree to give the wheat to us as a loan they took their own time in doing so. That was one of the effects of the Pandit's incessant iteration of the charmed words which he has made so peculiarly his own. Mrs. Pandit deemed it her duty to come over to India to acquaint her distinguished brother of the irreparable harm he had done to the country by that parrot-like iteration. She was instructed to return to America and to assure its citizens that her brother, in effect, did not mean what he had said. By then, of course, the damage had become irreparable.

THOSE LOANS FROM AMERICA

Since the wheat loan we have been receiving other loans also from America; and the American Ambassador, Mr. Chester Bowles, has been going to his country every now and then to persuade the President to give some-

thing more to us. In the process he has been laying it on with a trowel as regards praise of India and of the Pandit is concerned. It ought to be evident even to the meanest intelligence that more is here than meets the eye. It cannot all have been unadulterated generosity. Mr. Bowles has been warning his countrymen that, if the financial aid he wishes them to give to India is not forthcoming, that greatest bastion of democracy in Asia, as he loves to call it, will be lost to Communism. He may, or may not, be right. That, however, is not the point. The point is that this financial aid is not completely disinterested: it is part of a global plan to "contain" Communism. No price, evidently, is too high to pay for it; and the Americans, it is notorious, can pay any price for anything. There is no question but that we require that financial aid; but, then, there is no question either that we had been in sore need of those two million tons of wheat gift, or loan, a couple of years ago. But that did not materialise until Pandit Nehru practically retracted what he said, in his unrestrained exuberance, while he was in America. That retraction started a new era in India's foreign policy; and with the innovation of that era we have, off and on, been receiving further American loans. The Americans must have some reason to feel convinced that India has now aligned itself with the Western bloc.

THE COMMONWEALTH LINK

Now I come to the Pandit's defence of India's retaining the link with the British Commonwealth. I am at the end of my space and shall, therefore, be very brief about it. The old Liberals always insisted that they would be perfectly content with dominion status; and, after the passing of the Statute of Westminster, dominion status lost whatever sting of inferiority it might originally have possessed. Congressmen, including our beloved Panditji, never lost any opportunity of flinging abuse at their devoted heads. They called them cowards and impotent politicians. They themselves (that is, Congressmen) would be satisfied with nothing less than *Purna Swaraj*. The point to be remarked in this connection is that if the Liberals had had their way they would have got dominion status for a united India. What Congressmen did (in especial, what a particular Congressman, named Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, did) was to obtain for our beloved Motherland dominion status in a partitioned India. For the retention of the link with the Commonwealth is nothing more, nor less, than dominion status. Both the partition and the retention of the link with the Commonwealth have been the Pandit's doing. He had, at one time, been loudest in his denunciation of the Liberals for what he was pleased to call their low political ambitions. But what his high political ambitions have brought for our country is the same dominion status which the poor old Liberals would have brought, too, in a partitioned India. Let him put that in his pipe and smoke it!

THE ROLE OF THE INDIAN SPEAKER

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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MR. SPEAKER MAVLANKAR has been reported¹ by the Parliamentary Correspondent of *The Statesman* at New Delhi to have stated in the House of the People on 15th May, 1952, that the British convention about the Speakership of the House of Commons "could not be imported into India in isolation"; that the Indians "had to evolve their own conventions, based on the background and genius of their national character, history and culture"; that "parliamentary democracy was new to India and required careful handling and nursing"; that "conditions in India were different"; that "it was not possible under the present circumstances of political life in this country, for the Speaker to remain in the same position as a Speaker of the House of Commons"; that "while the Indian Speaker must be a non-party man, in the sense that he must keep aloof from party deliberations and decisions, he did not cease to be a politician merely because he was a Speaker"; that "from this point of view and also in view of" his past associations, he could not "remain out of the great national organization, the Congress, which" he had had the opportunity of serving for the past 40 years; and that he would, therefore, "continue to be a Congressman"; and that, "though a Congressman," it would be his "duty to deal with all sections of the House with justice and impartiality and remain above all considerations of a party or political career."

With all due deference to Mr. Speaker Mavlankar, I am constrained to say, in the interest of the future of our Parliamentary Democracy which, to quote his own words, is "new to India" and, therefore, requires a "careful handling and nursing," that it would have been very well, indeed, if he had not made some of the statements referred to above. I am afraid that some of his views, as noted above, will not help to set up a very healthy precedent in our country. It seems to me highly desirable that our Speakership, both at the Centre and in the States, should be modelled upon the British Speakership; the outstanding qualities of which are its detachment from any party affiliation, independence, impartiality, and authority.² The office of Speaker in England has, indeed, become, to quote the words of a foreign observer like Professor Josef Redlich,³ a "synonym for

dignity and impartiality." Our Speakers should follow this British model. There is no special, convincing reason in India why they should not do so. On their election they should, like the Speaker in England, cease to belong to any political party. This price they should pay for their exalted office if they want to command the genuine respect and the unstinted confidence of their respective legislative bodies. If a Speaker in India does not, on his election, cease to belong to a political party, his impartiality may sometimes run the risk of being adversely commented upon, particularly when there occurs a "clash of wills and tempers" in his Legislature. "Confidence in the impartiality of the Speaker," rightly says Sir Erskine May⁴ in connexion with the British Speakership, "is an indispensable condition of the successful working of procedure, and many conventions exist which have as their object not only to ensure the impartiality of the Speaker but also to ensure that his impartiality is generally recognized." To my mind, one of these conventions is that the Speaker in England must cease to belong to any political party on his election to the Chair. The Speaker in England is, it is true, "chosen by a party because a majority means in England a party. But," says Bryce,⁵ "on his way from his place on the benches to the Chair he is expected to shake off and leave behind all party ties and sympathies. Once invested with the wig and gown of office he has no longer any political opinions." Even such a staunch party politician as the late Mr. V. J. Patel declared⁶ in 1925 on his first election as the President of the (Indian) Legislative Assembly:

"From this moment I cease to be a party man. I belong to no party. I belong to all parties."

In view of what has been stated above and also in view of what I have said before in this journal on the role of the Indian Speaker,⁷ I earnestly hope and trust that, as "the mouth or the representative" of the House of the People as a whole, Mr. Speaker Mavlankar will very kindly reconsider the position he has taken and cease to belong to the Indian National Congress so long as he continues to be the Speaker. Thus doffing off, altogether, his Party colours and wearing, instead, "the white flower of a neutral political life," he will set up a very good precedent for all our Speakers and others occupying a similar position in this country.

1. See *The Statesman*, Calcutta Edition, of 16th May, 1952.

2. See, in this connexion, my article entitled, "Should the Indian Speaker Follow the British or the American Model?", in *The Modern Review* for June, 1938. As I have dealt with this question in detail there, I do not propose to repeat my arguments here. In spite of the political changes in India since then, I adhere to my views expressed in my previous article, on the role of the Indian Speaker.

3. See his *Procedure of the House of Commons*, Vol. II, p. 131.

4. See his *Parliamentary Practice*, 14th Edition, 1946, p. 234.

5. See his *American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, 1928, p. 140.

6. See *Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol. VI, 1925, pp. 36-37.

7. See my article referred to in foot-note 2 above.

GETTING BACK TO THE GOLD STANDARD—IN EDUCATION

By ALFRED S. SCHENKMAN,

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STORY has it that a "help-wanted" advertisement in a New York newspaper stipulated "only Harvard graduate or equivalent need apply." One interested person asked, "Does this mean that two Yale men or one-half a Princeton student would be eligible?" The intending applicant amuses us; and that is good. He shows insight as well; that is even better. For does he not hit here on the very kernel of the "equivalence problem," that bane of educationists—and of society?

What are "equivalences"? Seldom do university students, or professors, have a chance to find out for themselves. They too seldom are able to meet their equivalents in other countries, or in other institutions. To be sure, several countries are doing something to enable students to be imported and temporarily to export themselves. The new International Association of Universities is now to help in bringing about further exchanges of professors. (If only the plan does not get bogged down by Yale saying that its professors are each equal to two Cambridge teachers!). But university people as a whole have relied on book definitions here, and not on experience.

In academic language, equivalences might be formally defined as standards or levels of attainment equal to other standards or levels. The problem of "determining equivalence" becomes the problem of finding out how an individual (or a group of individuals from one institution) "shows up" in comparison with the standard we use. So far so good.

But the equivalence is neither more nor less meaningful or significant than the standard chosen. University standards are by long tradition artificial. It is difficult to measure the truly important characteristics of the "educated man." University labels refer, therefore, to the more tangible, though somewhat inconsequential, "academic attainments."

The university world is a prestige-ridden world. University degrees have a market value, and the "learned ignoramus" sells himself in terms of the current market. There is profiteering and a "black market" in universities just as there is in financial circles. But isn't there "speculation" in "academic attainments"? Is there no way to get back to the gold standard in education? Must we continually concern ourselves with sham and superficialities and ignore underlying realities?

To be educated is more than a mere labelling process. For students who go to universities or colleges there is more to be absorbed than makes the degree. When professors are truly teachers they have more to give and to take than is involved in the salary transaction alone. Students and professors both, when they have a chance to visit their colleagues in other countries should observe and undergo education and not merely be over-awed by "requirements" or by the equivalence bug.

Let us probe beneath the academic surface. Some things are "more equivalent than others." There are significant movements going on in education today. Few people know about them because people don't read. Non-professionals are convinced that they already know everything there is to know about education. The professional workers, professors and teachers (of history and chemistry and so on) are just as certain that they are equally "experts" in education. So, though much is written about education, little is read.

One does not have to visit new places and see things at first hand to know what is going on. The written word is a good substitute—if it is read. What we have here is a report on an educational experiment. This was an experiment in so-called General Education. It is reported here in writing because there is something basic to be learned from it.

We know full well, however, that an experiment successfully carried out in one country or in one institution is not automatically transplanted with success to another country or to another institution. What works in the United States may have limited applicability to India or to Belgium; just as what succeeds in Harvard College may have limited relevance to the City College of New York. But despite differences in details, which may be great, there is an underlying relevance in all educational experience. Good teachers will be quick to see the similarity of problems, and will draw sustenance from any significant results anywhere. That is why this is reported here.

Now, writing about General Education is currently very popular in the United States. Many seem to have succumbed to the enthusiasm for a movement. We are not so much hypnotized by labels. But that the evils of specialization have to be counteracted—of this we have no doubt. Specialization,

though in large measure inevitable, is part of the reason for our having gone off the educational gold standard.

The movement towards General Education, at least the title, started in mass-produced fashion, in America. But the evils of specialization, once sufficiently noticed anywhere, were bound to be apparent everywhere. The disease is not one which can be kept endemic in any one country—or in any one continent.

For these reasons, India, as well as the United States and Sweden and Britain and Holland and other countries, has its own General Education movement. It is given status in the Radhakrishnan Report and elsewhere :

"The first of the objectives of higher education should be General Education."

For definition :

"A general education should open windows in many directions, so that most of the varied experiences of (a person's) life, and most elements of his environment shall have meaning and interest to him."

The University Education Commission clarifies further that

"It is the business of General Education to make available to the student, and to inspire him to master, wisely selected information as to facts and principles, so that he will have representative and useful data on which to base his thought, judgment and action, and will be aware of fields of interest and importance."

But in discussing these ideas the Radhakrishnan Commission stresses content too much and method not enough :

"The concept of all-round education requires rigorous and discriminating examination of the contents of every project, and of the course as a whole, to see that the more important elements are included and the less important eliminated. Such examination will radically change the contents of many courses now given in our universities, will eliminate some courses entirely, and will introduce others."

There is no question that this is so, in *all* countries and not only in India. There is no question too that

"In a live society that process of revision will never be complete. It is one of the most exacting in higher education and requires live interest, creative thinking, and much freedom of exploration."

And we underline that

"It is greatly handicapped by such regimentation of teaching as now exists in our universities."

Here too this state of affairs is unfortunately universal.

If only these same comments had been made about *methods of teaching* ! Regimentation of teaching involves method almost more than content. To be sure, there are some mild suggestions that lectures could be

improved. The Oxford-Cambridge tutorials are highly recommended, although it is recognized that an undiluted English tutorial is an impossibility at the moment. But the Radhakrishnan Report in actual fact brings little new to bear on the problems of teaching methods.

Yet "the universities as the makers of the future cannot persist in the old patterns, however valid they may have been in their own day. With the increasing complexity of society and its shifting pattern, universities have to change their objectives and methods, if they are to function effectively in our national life."

This excellent Report is written in a framework for the development of "a comprehensive positive policy within the limits of which there should be ample scope for *pioneering and experimentation*." (Italics ours).

THE EXPERIMENT

We come now to report on that experiment, on that experiment in General Education. It involved both content *and* method of teaching. The writer planned and organized a series of "Workshops" designed to supplement the usual lectures of a college "course." (He was until recently Teaching Fellow in General Education at Harvard College, and the course was "The Impact of Science on Modern Life." The main professor was Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, Retiring President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science—so that there was a guarantee that the lectures would be of high quality).

The methods and the accompanying experiences of the course will be described here rather than the content in too much detail. Just one quotation for the flavour.

The Catalogue description of this General Education course (Harvard, Social Sciences, Spring term) tells how the course is concerned with "the relations between the social and economic aspects of modern life and the increase in scientific knowledge and its technologic application . . . Included in the subject-matter will be a critical examination of the function of science in society and its implications for human welfare in the social transformation of the twentieth century." Certainly a novel college course !

There is not space for more about the contents.

The "workshop method" attempted to do something about the lecture "system." It was an attempt to remedy some of the serious faults about this system, some of the serious faults of "education" as usually "given" in colleges. For education is usually conceived to be something to be presented to students; and the state of *being educated* is ordinarily regarded (apparently) as a passive state.

We have already criticized the lecture system, by implication. Lectures very rarely permit active participation of students. But without this no matter how

good the lectures, no matter how many the "section meetings," is there real educational experience? We think not. As put by the great Dutch Professor of Education, M. J. Langeveld (Utrecht):

"No magic trick will help, no scientific explanation will mean anything unless sprung from the analysis of real experience with real community and in a real encounter with the child. (We read *student* here). For only in the real-life encounter we meet the child that *can* be educated and no artificial situation in the laboratory atmosphere can take the place of this encounter, which is a fundamental category of human existence."

President Conant of Harvard, in his *President's Report*, 1950-51, also writes with insight about the importance of meaningful experiences for students. (We are all students):

"Centuries of academic history have shown that it is not primarily through the curriculum that a student learns a worthwhile way of life. Tolerance, honesty, intellectual integrity, courage, friendliness are virtues not to be learned out of a printed volume but from the book of experience; and the content of this book for a youth is largely determined by the mode of his association with contemporaries. So, too, are those attitudes so essential for the survival of a modern democracy."

These Conant lists as "co-operation, humility, respect for the will of the majority, loyalty, and political leadership." It will be seen below that the workshops seem to meet the stipulations as regards the development of such attitudes.

The students themselves can describe these workshops.

"Groups of seven to fifteen students are given topics generally related to the course idea but not explicitly contained in the lecture material. Meeting for a two-hour period each week, the group has first to define and narrow the topic according to its own interests, then to plan a systematic attack on the problem. In the course of the early meetings the group elects its own chairman and parcels out work to its members. The faculty member present asserts himself no more than is necessary for moderately efficient operation of the meeting."

The quotation is taken from a report of the Committee on Education of the Harvard University Student Council. The official representatives of the Harvard students thought that what was going on here was important enough to investigate!

Actually the description is much over-simplified. The groups were small. They were "student-centered" or, perhaps better, "learner-centered." (That is the key to their success; the learners themselves decided what they were going to learn). But students were not *forced* to take these *workshops*, as the above description might imply.

The problem of assignments to workshops was not an easy one to solve. The writer attempted it by drawing inspiration from the organization of legislative committees. Congressmen after being assigned

to committees are expected to tackle subjects of which they may know nothing. Selection of Congressional members for committees is not made in any scientific manner. But because Congressmen have significant things to decide they generally go seriously about learning.

The learners in this course were assigned to workshops in a manner almost as haphazard and unscientific as the legislative maneuver. They had the option of doing their own independent work, to be sure. But it was hoped that just because they had (or could have) significant problems to tackle, that here too the committee members would assume their assignment with intelligence and enthusiasm. In the majority of cases the students were not experts (at the start) in their workshop topics; they were not even especially interested in these topics. But the members of the different groups had jointly to decide on how to use a good opportunity. They did not fail—because they would have had only themselves to blame for failure.

Bear in mind, then, that it was for the students themselves to decide how to go about arranging their business in their different groups. The writer was the Faculty "representative" but served more as an Executive Secretary than as a leader of the traditional type. This was almost inevitable, even ignoring philosophies of education, because one person could not be an expert in all of the workshop topics.

The philosophy behind this experiment, incidentally, is a modern educational philosophy. As C. R. Rogers has put it when discussing such attempts to apply "learner-centered procedures" to university courses, "It is very clear that such an approach can have extremely vital results. It means largely giving up the attempt to *teach*, and attempting instead to create conditions which facilitate *learning*." This is a very different thing. And as this well-known University of Chicago professor continues:

"When the leader is genuinely a catalyst and not a mentor the group shows remarkable capacity for coming to grips with the real issues, for self-initiated learning, for intellectual and emotional growth."

The workshop topics have not yet been named. We need not be complete in our listing but at Harvard there were such titles (over several years) as "The Impact of Science on the Health of the Nation," "Science and Propaganda," "The Role of the Scientist in Modern Society," and so on. For purposes of sampling, the Health groups in two years decided to narrow their topics to a consideration of the advisability of compulsory health insurance. An Underdeveloped Areas group in 1949 concentrated on India and China as examples of highly populated countries, and on Africa as a region that offered totally different types of problems. In 1950, the comparable group decided to concentrate more thoroughly on the Indian

sub-continent; the members of this group, girl students at Radcliffe College, were fortunate in having Indian students in Massachusetts as their main "source material" and they now probably know more about India than most American professors. The group working on "The Status of the Worker in Industry" took a field problem, the closing down of the Waltham Watch Factory (in Waltham, Massachusetts) and studied what this closing did to the workers of that town. And so forth.

But we need not worry now about the topics of any particular groups of the past. Each teacher, and each student almost, will have his own ideas as to suitable problems. Let the students, rather, pick out the *essence* of the workshops in their own words. That Committee on Education of the Harvard Student Council asked certain questions of all the students who were in the workshops, and here are some of the replies.

First, some short excerpts (in quick succession) will give an over-all idea of student reactions:

1. "The workshop is to me the highest form of educational practice. It cannot alone serve to present the facts; this is the function of the lectures. But as a vehicle for getting people to think through the problems confronting them, *i.e.*, problems raised by the facts presented, it is unsurpassed."

2. "An understanding of the knowledge is acquired without a conscious effort to learn."

3. "Through somewhat doubtful motives I found one of the most absorbing activities in Harvard College."

Second, criticisms of the current system are given in the following samples (of quotations from three more students):

1. "I dislike the constant emphasis on pure book-learning that permeates Harvard" (and every other university!, *Ed.*).

2. "The workshop allows us to investigate by ourselves. There are no yes or no type questions, no beaten paths to go through carrying with us a bored instructor."

3. "Instead of the instructor sitting at the head of the class and firing questions for a show of hands, students and instructors were able to get together on a common subject and do some real work. Furthermore, it provided for the first field-work in social sciences I have encountered in four years at Harvard."

It is obvious that even at the best universities students think that there is much to be criticized about the "education."

Third, we give some of the remarks which specifically point up good aspects of the workshops. These here stress the desirability of group work:

1. "Workshops are valuable because of the common project, each member participates in—apart from the course under consideration. Here the students feel the work is their own, the ideas are their own—and they are. So they work more, *think* more."

2. "Group work is a good idea. One gets familiar with the colleagues in his group, then together they go after information that interests them. Whenever one feels himself loafing, he gets the urge to put in a few hours extra work for the group—a spirit that, unfortunately, prevails only too little at Harvard, both on intellectual and other planes." (Here too, the criticism can be directed at more than one university).

3. "There is a closer relationship between student and instructor. The group has significance aside from the study."

4. "The workshop is a good method of learning and the main advantage it has over the conventional section meeting lies in the fact that discussion and debate are not directed at a stuffed-shirt instructor, but flows freely between members of the group, with the chairman of the group merely channeling the discussion and the workshop director serving primarily to prevent open bloodshed when debate gets too hot. Ideas are thrashed out, x-rayed, and rewardingly assimilated."

There are many comments which point up the value of visitors coming to the workshop "Hearings." The idea of having these was inspired by the legislative hearings. The similarities were there through the workshop members had to do their own work. (They had no paid staff—as do Congressional committee!)

Discussing these visiting experts, one student felt that "outside speakers are invaluable. They save a lot of time and serve to inspire the group. They provide attitudes and contrasts in attitudes that are almost impossible for a group to get from printed material." And another wrote of outside experts: "Great value; we had an opportunity to meet, listen to, and unreservedly question (and even 'put-on-the-spot') various well-known professors, professional men, public servants, etc., whom, under ordinary circumstances, we could only have become familiar with by attending a formal lecture or reading their publications. It's truly an enlightening experience to sit near a famous man, with his coat off and a cigar drooping from his mouth, while he calmly answers challenging questions."

On the questionnaire one of the questions was, "Do you feel that the workshop method is a good method of learning?" Space was left for the respondents to check Excellent, good, fair, or poor. A bright student gave the following answer, which summarizes much:

"Good (nothing is excellent).

"This method allows:

1. Chance for personal expression through discussion and projects.
2. Contact with present-day issues and problems in the flesh, rather than only on a given abstraction level.
3. Chance to develop a sense of teamwork and action on all levels. We can see for ourselves that a given attitude leads to a given policy, and vice versa.

4. Chance to see groups in action—your own workshop as well as others.
5. Chance to develop a sense of teamwork which is needed at this place."

But we cannot go on summarizing summaries. We shall end these student views by quoting one more which penetrates. Then we must see where they have brought us.

The question: "What is your reaction to the emphasis on *group work* and *group spirit*?"

The answer: "The best organizations—business or otherwise—are those in which ideas are permitted to flow upward and horizontally as well as downward through the hierarchy. That is a fact of the modern world—it is an integral part of democracy. Hence I think that more and more emphasis should be placed by colleges on teaching men how to adjust themselves into such work patterns."

(This particular bit of insight we shall return to later; but the fact that a new rather peculiar sense of social responsibility took over in a college "course" is due in no small measure, we think, to the *possibility* of ideas flowing upward and horizontally.)

WIDE APPLICABILITY

"All these comments are very good," some readers may be thinking, "but what relevance do they have for us?" We must take stock: Granted that some countries are rich and others poor; education does not depend solely on money. There are guiding *attitudes* which may be of equal or greater importance than finances. We claim that the workshop method is widely applicable, if these public attitudes could be changed.

To find "raised eye-brows" at this statement would not surprise us. University administrators and other educators will probably say, as say the non-professional "experts," "this workshop experiment may work as an *experiment* in a few rich American colleges. We just don't have the money or the manpower. In education, as in everything else, it pays to be realistic."

Our answer is first that we had better define realism and what it means for a nation. Second, that the adopting of new methods in universities is more strongly influenced by prejudices than by finances.

The lecture system does not help students to learn how to live together. Yet even if money were available, this system would be continued with its stranglehold because too many administrators and "people" can't conceive of any alternative. To too many people "lines of communication" in education *must* be downward. To too many people these lines must continue to be from old to young, or from the prestige of "labels" to the usual student status of next-to-nothingness because—"What was good enough for my father" (in education, if not in other areas) "is good enough for me."

It would be pointless to detail here the sad state of education, and the sad status of teachers, in practi-

cally every country on this earth. Deplorable conditions in schools, which waste so many lives and which ruin so many nations, stare directly at us. What do we do? We stare right back and mumble "Terrible," to be sure, but continue it with "where is the *money*, to improve the situation?"

We could use money. We are not averse as teachers, even as lecturers, to having decent salaries! But in the last analysis it is not the absence of money that holds back progress in education. It is rather the presence of parents steeped in educational prejudices ("The way I was taught at dear old X college is the way I want my boy to become a man"); and it is the power of children brewed and brewing in similar prejudices. (Despite their very recent "sweating out" of meaningless verbal examinations, yesterday's children can come out collectively today with veritable educantional gems: "We need more discipline in universities." "The *standards* are being lowered." "Our education meant something".)

If we could manage to extract from people all previously held educational prejudices and to instill into them the notion that a *group* has more wisdom than a single individual (no matter how wise)—then we would have made a real start on the road to improvement. We must specify that the very wise individual here is a *member* of the group, and that the lines of communication must be free and clear and upward and horizontal as well as downward. If we don't have free communication between members of a group, or the possibility of working for this, then we have a crowd or an artificial "class" rather than a true group.

We shall skip over here the difficult recipes for creating groups and group spirit. In the case of the workshops, students were given the chance to develop significant projects. This "freedom for being useful" is a most important ingredient. We make as our first recommendation the suggestion that university students must be freed from their curricular chains, and that they must be permitted the "luxury" of doing something almost immediately useful. Learning for the sake of learning alone or for the sake of passing examinations has no real appeal in the kind of world this has become.

Universities too long have been considered as some sort of playgrounds for the young, as playgrounds set apart from the fields of real life. It may be true that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton. But no artificial playground, no matter how stiff the "rules of the game" or how bare the fields themselves on which the youngsters are learning the "game," can be more than an artificial society. When we say that students should be given the conditions where they can almost immediately do something useful, we mean just this *almost immediately*. We are concentrating on the immediate short run because, as

Keynes has pointed out and also Shakespeare, in the long run we shall all be dead.

Our second recommendation, obviously related to the first and a requirement also for the short run, is that teachers and professors should be more humble in their teaching. Some teachers are very eminent experts; they should always consider themselves *when they teach* to be humble members of the groups to which they happen to belong. If they cannot do this, then all the money in the world will not help in providing "the conditions which facilitate learning."

A corollary to this commandment requires that teachers give up some of their power. Much less stress should be laid on examinations. Of course, to whisk away an ages-long tradition, bound by strong umbilical cords both to East and West, is an impossibility. But teachers' false ideas of the uses of their power are bolstered by this archaic labelling device.

That there would be problems raised by reducing the emphasis on competition we know full well. Yet we cannot afford to worry so much about how many Harvard students go to make a Princeton man, and similarly about Calcutta and Madras "equivalences." Because we cannot justify our emphasis on group spirit and quest for knowledge for its own sake if we go back on it when it comes to grading . . . The whole case for examinations should be re-opened and re-argued. In most of the Harvard workshops the groups were graded and not the individual members.

What might the picture be if these recommendations are put into operation . . . Let us assume a state of sensible compromise. The lecture system would make certain concessions to the "new methods." And the workshops would move in their development within the framework of the traditional "course."

We have the workshops. Astronomical numbers of students at hundreds of universities are given a chance to develop themselves and not merely their verbal and mathematical memories. The groups work moderately well. And the members are learning to feel a sense of responsibility for the welfare of their groups.

This we see in our mind's eye. Now we must look for some way of developing a sense of group responsibility which transcends the small committees and includes ever larger bodies. Why not have workshops report their findings to the parent class? This could be done through round-table discussion, with all or the greater number of the members of a group taking part. There could be inter-or intra-workshop debates. And other similar projects which would be effective in fostering a much-needed sense of belongingness, could also be carried out with not too great difficulty.

It is conceivable that many courses could be built around series of six or eight workshops. In the social sciences, where this system would be most

simply put into practice, the topics could be selected from many fields. Each student would enroll in a workshop. Each workshop would report to the entire class, using probably several of the hours now given over to lectures. And the lectures might be used to raise "outrageous hypotheses" or questions, but not necessarily in an attempt to cover the whole field or subject-matter.

Under such a plan the lecturer would spend perhaps three weeks at the beginning of the term shocking his students with startling and controversial facts and opinions. Then, say, each of the workshops would give preliminary reports to the entire class. These could be given as panel discussions, debates, formal reports, etc . . . The lecturer would have perhaps one lecture hour for each workshop topic. And the remaining weeks, except for the last two or so, would be used for final workshop reports and possibly for inter-workshop debates and other sessions of such nature.

This plan has advantages. We are assuming the state of compromise with the older and established teaching structure. Not only are the workshops operating here within the traditional course system. It is completely feasible for them to exist side by side with the most conventional of lectures—if (and it is a big if) some less conventional lecturers accept them.

In other words, if some professors can't change old ways, the workshops method can still be used by other teachers. The workshops idea can make a start, at least, under "conservative auspices." There is no question as to which system will win out in the end. The need today is to make that start.

We shall not give prescriptions here as to how to effect the necessary "change of heart" in professors and administrators. How much that change of attitude is needed is by now obvious. But in closing we can do no better than to paraphrase one of the comments which we have already quoted. This expresses succinctly the desires and hopes of wide-awake students everywhere.

The workshop method is a good method (nothing is excellent) because it allows for personal expression through discussion and projects. (If we do not have this, we do not have *education*, "leading out"). It also permits direct contact with issues and real-life problems. (This is more meaningful than the dilute contact usually found in universities). The workshop method makes it easier to see the relationship between thought and action on all levels. Last but not least, it offers a chance to students to learn *how* to live with others and encourages teamwork. This is needed more today than ever before. If only a few older persons would recognize that students are social beings! Not before this is recognized again will there be a getting back to the gold standard in Education—in India, just as in *every* country on this earth.

AGRICULTURAL COST

A Study in Its Methodological Approach

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THIS paper is in continuation of the author's contribution on the critical study of the methodological approach to agricultural cost analysis which appeared in *The Modern Review* of January, 1951. That paper sought to review the principles of agricultural cost analysis from the practical standpoint of cost-price relationship under conditions of increasing cost or diminishing return and varying elasticities of demand. In this said context was examined the problem as to which of the three types of cost, namely, the average, the representative (i.e., the modal value) or the marginal cost, should be taken as the basis for agricultural price-fixing. The conclusion arrived at was that in a competitive economy in which no control over the market supply or production was contemplated and production was left free to equate supply to demand under the interaction of the forces of demand and supply, marginal cost would be the appropriate basis for the price-fixing purpose. And this would be true particularly when the demand was more or less inelastic. The purpose of the present paper is to elucidate certain other problems as presented by the ordinary or popular way of studying cost-yield relationship which is peculiar to agricultural production and indicate tentatively a methodological procedure presumed to be more appropriate, to the study of the correlation as generally believed to exist between agricultural cost and yield. The subject has been treated under four different (but related) topics, namely, (1) Inflated nature of cost as obtained by the ordinary cost accounting method, (2) Relative significance of the different field operations, (3) Cost-yield relationship, and (4) Forecasting cost and yield. The cost-yield relationship is the central theme and the others are merely offshoots incidentally springing from it in course of exposition of the central theme.

The exposition begins with a critical examination of the main results obtained by the ordinary (or which for convenience may be termed 'traditional') way of calculating agricultural cost. The most important of these results is the inflated nature of the cost of cultivation which has been considered first and a substitute method for, and justifiability

of, eliminating this inflation from the usually calculated cost have also been discussed in this connection. Next in order has been taken up the relative significance of different field operations as well as the possible lines of effecting economy in them. The main theme—the cost-yield relationship—which has gradually unfolded itself in course of the above discussion, has been specifically treated at the third stage and a method of ascertaining the degree of correlation between cost and yield suggested in this connection. And last of all the problem of forecasting both cost and yield well in advance of the harvesting season has been taken up.

Before going straight to the subject proper it will be convenient, however, to get acquainted at the outset with the usual method of agricultural cost analysis and presentation of data along with the tentatively suggested substitute model thereof. An example is given below from common experience to illustrate the tentative model as suggested above side by side with the traditional practice. The data used here relate to the real human labour cost, instead of money cost, expressed in terms of man-days worked per bigha of jute land on three typical jute-growing farms situate in three different agricultural zones. Human labour is taken because it has been experienced that it alone accounts for more than 85 per cent of the total cost and is therefore the most determining factor in the cost of jute cultivation. Moreover, the advantage of taking physical labour in preference to money cost is that the latter is subject to wide fluctuation which is ascribable more to the unsteady character of the value of money than to any real difference in the intensiveness of cultivation. Real variations in cost of cultivation between different agricultural zones or years are better estimated from the physical labour actually consumed than from money cost. The unstable money obscures the difference in real cost and all that matters in cost-yield relationship. So, herein-after by cost will be meant only human labour expressed in terms of man-days worked and nothing else.

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Case—I. Traditional Method

Table 1

(Operation-wise distribution of man-days yield per sown bigha)

Operations	Farm No. 1				Farm No. 2				Farm No. 3			
	1st year		2nd year		1st year		2nd year		1st year		2nd year	
	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent
Ploughing	3.7	13.9	3.5	15.9	2.8	11.5	2.6	6.4	4.2	17.2	4.4	16.5
Manuring	0.6	2.2	0.9	4.1	1.6	6.6	1.4	3.5	1.2	4.9	1.8	6.8
Sowing	0.4	1.5	0.2	0.9	0.8	3.3	0.8	2.0	1.4	5.7	1.2	4.5
Inter-culture	9.3	34.8	9.1	41.4	11.6	47.7	16.4	40.6	9.0	36.9	10.0	37.6
Cutting	3.8	14.3	2.4	10.9	2.0	8.2	4.5	11.1	3.4	13.9	3.2	12.0
Steeping	2.9	10.9	2.0	9.1	1.9	7.8	4.8	11.9	0.6	2.5	1.2	4.5
Stripping	4.6	17.2	3.1	14.1	2.7	11.1	7.6	18.8	4.0	16.4	4.2	15.8
Drying	1.4	5.2	0.8	3.6	0.9	3.8	2.3	5.7	0.6	2.5	0.6	2.3
Total	26.7	100	22.0	100	24.3	100	40.4	100	24.4	100	26.6	100
Yield per bigha	2.9 mds.		2.0 mds.		2.0 mds.		4.4 mds.		2.9 mds.		3.0 mds.	

Case—II. Suggested Method

Table 2

(Operation-wise distribution of man-days per sown bigha)

Operations	Farm No. 1				Farm No. 2				Farm No. 3			
	1st year		2nd year		1st year		2nd year		1st year		2nd year	
	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent
Ploughing	3.7	26.4	3.5	25.5	2.8	16.7	2.6	12.3	4.2	26.6	4.4	25.3
Manuring	0.6	4.3	0.9	6.6	1.6	9.5	1.4	6.6	1.2	7.6	1.8	10.3
Sowing	0.4	2.9	0.2	1.5	0.8	4.8	0.8	3.8	1.4	8.8	1.2	6.9
Inter-culture	9.3	66.4	9.1	66.4	11.6	69.0	16.4	77.4	9.0	57.0	10.0	57.5
Total pre-harvest cost	14.0	100	13.7	100	16.8	100	21.2	100	15.8	100	17.4	100
Cutting	3.8	30.0	2.4	28.9	2.0	26.7	4.5	23.4	3.4	39.5	3.2	34.8
Steeping	2.9	22.9	2.0	24.1	1.9	25.3	4.8	25.0	0.6	7.0	1.2	13.0
Stripping	4.6	36.1	3.1	37.3	2.7	36.0	7.6	39.0	4.0	46.5	4.2	45.7
Drying	1.4	11.0	0.8	9.6	0.9	12.0	2.3	12.0	0.6	7.0	0.6	6.5
Post-harvest total cost	12.7	100	8.3	100	7.5	100	19.2	100	8.6	100	9.2	100

The data given in the above tables represent the operational costs. The facts about the data are : the average man-days per bigha of jute land and are presented in an operation-wise distribution. The averages have been calculated on the basis of the total cost actually incurred by each farm on its total jute-sown acreage. Case I demonstrates the traditional method and Case II the substitute model as suggested tentatively. Both the methods are almost same in so far as the distribution of absolute cost is concerned except for the fact that in the latter case two sub-totals have been struck—one for the pre-harvest group and another for the post-harvest group of field operations. The main distinction between the two is in respect of the way the proportions have been calculated in the two cases. In Case I the proportions are percentages to the overall total operational cost whereas in Case II these are related to their respective group-wise sub-totals of

(1) there has been a complete failure of crop on certain portions of the sown land on the first two farms, as it appears from the comparative yield figures in the two years, being 2.9 and 2.0 maunds in the first farm and 2.0 and 4.4 maunds in the second farm ;

(2) the operational stage at which the crop has been destroyed on the first farm is after the completion of all pre-harvest operations and on the second farm during the intercultural operations. This fact is borne out by the comparative pre-harvest cost figures in the two years, which are nearly equal in Farm No. 1 being 14.0 and 13.7 man-days and widely divergent in Farm No. 2 being 16.8 and 21.2 man-days. The comparative cost figures for intercultural operations in the two years in Farm No. 2 are 11.6 and 16.4 man-days and bear testimony to the fact that inter-cultural operations could not be finished in the first

year on all the sown land before the crop failed; (3) usual crop has been reaped in both the years on the third farm.

Now let us pass on to the main topics in the order as proposed above.

(1) INFLATED NATURE OF AGRICULTURAL COST

Agricultural production has its own peculiarities as distinguished from industrial production. Unlike the latter the former is full of risks of varied kinds and the cultivator's ability to face them is limited as they are largely beyond his control. Risks considered here are mainly crop hazards. Yields of crops are influenced by a variety of factors mostly meteorological in character, viz. shortage, excess or maldistribution of rains, hails, frosts and storms. Plant diseases and pests attack are also not insignificant sometimes in their adverse effects upon the crop. Mr. Thirumala Rao, Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture, stated in his address to the conference, held on the 15th April, 1952, at New Delhi, of State officers engaged on locust control and plant protection work that pests and plant diseases were causing a heavy damage to the extent of 10 per cent to our food and other valuable crops, such as cotton and jute (*P.T.I.'s* report published in the *Statesman* of 16th April, 1952). As a result the cultivator's lot is full of uncertainties and, as such, he does not know what will be the exact return in yield to his investment; far to speak of monetary returns. His expectations are often belied by events following investment. So, in order to support him in his distress a loud cry is often raised from sympathetic quarters to fix agricultural prices, especially when a downward trend is noticeable in the agricultural price series, at a level that may cover up all his costs. On the other hand, hue and cry is raised by consumers of agricultural commodities to fix the ceiling prices, when the price trend swings upward, at a level consistent with their safe profit margins. Signs of public recognition of these rival claims are also evident from the recent initiation of agricultural cost enquiries. From the cultivator's point of view, however, the issue is not quite clear whether he should be reimbursed through higher pricing of his crop for all the cost incurred by him on his total sown acreage irrespective of any damage to crop or for the cost incurred only on the land from which alone he could reap a harvest. If the former is intended then the price must have to be inflated and pegged at a much higher level than is justified by the market condition. The cost, too, becomes similarly inflated when calculated as a price-fixing base on the basis of the total cost as incurred on the total sown acreage and taking no notice of the destruction of crops. What exactly is wanted and how exactly the cost is to be calculated for the price-fixing purposes are controversial issues and, therefore, left for

discussion at a later stage after examining here the true nature of agricultural cost behaviour.

Agricultural cost, as usually calculated, is in this sense an inflated cost except of course when no damage occurs to crops. According to the general principles of costing, the cost of unit production is the quotient of the total cost divided by the total number of units of production. Apparently application of this principle in agriculture as in other fields of production would have been quite logical and appropriate had not the cultivator's expectations of return (in yield) to his investment been belied by subsequent crop hazards. This principle holds good in industrial costing. But in agricultural costing application of this principle renders the cost of unit production widely fluctuating in close correspondence with fluctuations in the yield rate. A thorough analysis of agricultural costing has revealed certain important aspects, an examination of which will help arrive at a fairly useful estimate of the effects on farm cost of applying this method in calculation of agricultural cost. Industrial cost at a certain stage of development of the industry is related to output, that is, the cost varies with the aggregate volume of output produced. Agricultural cost, though expected to have a similar bearing on output, does not, as a matter of fact, appear to be so related, at least in the manner in which it is taken to be in the cultivator's or popular way of agricultural cost accounting. The relationship that exists between agricultural cost and output is of a quite different order which is often missed to be grasped by investigators of agricultural cost as is evidenced from the traditional method of cost analysis as shown in Case I. The fundamental defect of this usual practice is that in this system the real relationship which exists between cost and yield is obscured on the one hand by the way in which the cost and yield data are presented and on the other by the way in which is taken into account the effect of interfering factors like climatic conditions, pests, etc., on the growth and development of the crop. Even if it be assumed that other disturbing factors are absent yet the traditional method of analysis and presentation of the data hides the real relationship rather than reveals it. For adequacy of the costing method it is necessary to bring out the exact relationship by an alteration of the traditional analytical procedure, as illustrated in Case II.

In industrial costing, all costs from the beginning to the end of the productive process, are added together in appropriate proportions to get at the total cost as against the total output produced. Similar methods in agricultural costing cannot be logically worked out, the reason being that after a certain stage of field operations the cost ceases to have any influence on yield; that is to say, the cost from the harvest stage onward has got nothing to do with the

growth of the crop and hence with the yield rate. Correlation between cost and yield ceases after the marginal dose of labour and capital is applied to land, and the marginal dose is not the last dose in point of time. Marshall has also stated the same thing in his exposition of the Law of Diminishing Return.

Any cost incurred in aiding the development and growth of the crop can be said to have a direct relation to yield. From the preparatory tillage right up to harvesting all pre-harvest operations are done to aid the growth and development of the standing crop and a statistically significant correlation may be expected between cost and yield up to this stage provided, of course, other factors affecting the yield remain constant. The operations from harvest down to storing have no such bearing upon the development of the crop. It is, therefore, necessary to divide the total cost structure into two segments, namely, the pre-harvest cost and the rest, i.e., the harvest and post-harvest cost, as shown in Case II, in order to study the effect of cost, or more accurately, the, pre-harvest cost, on yield. What is yield? Yield is the average quantity of the output reaped from a unit of land, say, a bigha (being equal to one-third of an acre). Similarly there is a corresponding average pre-harvest cost per unit of land. Yield and pre-harvest cost per bigha may be considered in relation to either sown or harvested land. There may be, and often is, some difference between the sown and the harvested acreage as it will appear from the Table 3 below, and crop failure is responsible for all this difference. When such a situation arises, that is, harvested acreage falls short of the sown acreage, both yield and cost per unit of land will be lower when calculated with reference to the sown acreage than when calculated on the basis of the harvested acreage. If the cost incurred on that portion of the land on which the crop has been destroyed be eliminated from the total pre-harvest cost and if account be taken of the cost incurred only on the land from which crop could be harvested, as shown in Table 5 below, then the pre-harvest cost per unit of harvested acreage will be higher and the yield calculated on this same basis much higher (i.e., more in proportion to the increase in cost) as corroborated by the figures in Table 5, than in the former method of calculation on the basis of sown acreage with the result that the pre-harvest part of the cost per unit production will be much less and cause reduction to the same extent in the final cost per unit production

as the second part of the cost per unit remains constant in both methods, (as illustrated in Tables 4 and 5 below). The extent of this reduction in cost per unit thus effected in Table 5 (i.e., by elimination of that portion of the pre-harvest cost which has been incurred on the portion of land the crop on which has been entirely destroyed) is the measure of the extent of inflation of the total cost per unit as calculated (in Table 4 below) on the basis of the actual cost incurred on the total sown acreage irrespective of the damage to crop. The results obtained by calculation in the process indicated are given below with relevant interpretations.

Table 3

Jute acreage and output damaged							
Farm No.	Year	Total acreage sown	Acreage damaged	Acreage harvested	Total output lost		
		(bigha)	bigha	p.c.	bigha	p.c.	Maunds p.c.
1.	2nd.	15	5	33.3	10	66.7	15 33.3
2.	1st.	12	6	50.0	6	50.0	24 50.0

The acreage damaged as shown in this table is taken to mean the portion of jute land from which no crop could be harvested. No account has, however, been taken of the slight damage done to the standing crop by plant diseases and pest attack. In the first farm 33.3 per cent of the sown acreage has been destroyed and in the second farm as much as 50 per cent destroyed. The total loss of output estimated on the basis of actual yield reaped per bigha of the harvested acreage is 15 maunds in the first and 24 maunds in the second farm. This shows that the total loss in terms of output is proportionate to the acreage damaged. This is of course true on the implied assumption that the average standard of the land, the crop on which is destroyed, is on par with the average quality of the land from which crop is harvested.

Table 4

(Cost and yield per bigha of sown acreage)

Farm No.	Year	Cost per bigha (man-days)			Yield per bigha	Cost per maund (man-days)		
		Pre-harvest	Post-harvest	Total		Pre-harvest	Post-harvest	Total
1.	2nd.	13.7	8.3	22.0	2.0	6.9	4.1	11.0
2.	1st.	16.8	7.5	24.3	2.0	8.4	3.8	12.2

Both cost and yield per bigha shown in the above table are calculated on the basis of the total sown acreage and the total cost incurred and no part of cost has been eliminated from the total cost on account of failure of crop.

Table 5

(Cost and yield per bigha as related to the harvested acreage)

Farm No.	Year	Cost per bigha (man-days)			Yield per bigha (maund)	Cost per unit production (man-days)			Inflation per unit (maund) Man-days p.c.
		Pre-harvest	Post-harvest	Total		Pre-harvest	Post-harvest	Total	
1.	2nd	13.7	12.4	26.1	3.0	4.6	4.1	8.7	2.3 26.4
2.	1st	21.8	15.2	37.0	4.0	5.5	3.8	10.3	1.9 18.4

In this table the average cost and yield per bigha have been calculated with reference to the harvested acreage only and the cost incurred on that part of the sown land which yielded no crop has been completely eliminated. This has been done in order to ascertain the degree to which the cost becomes inflated when calculated in the usual process shown in Table 4. Thus calculated the inflation of cost, as shown in Table 5, is 26.4 per cent or 2.3 man-days per unit production in Farm No. 1 with 33.3 per cent of the sown acreage destroyed as against 18.4 per cent or 1.9 man-days per maund in Farm No. 2 with 50 per cent destruction of the acreage. The reason for this anomaly (i.e., higher percentage of inflation of cost being associated with a lower percentage of acreage destroyed in Farm No. 1 and lower percentage of inflation of cost associated with higher percentage of acreage destruction in Farm No. 2) as explained above is that the crop was damaged in the former farm after the completion of the pre-harvest operations and in the latter during the intercultural operations and, therefore, the pre-harvest cost was greater in the former and lower in the latter farm as compared to their respective pre-harvest costs in the corresponding years. An important inference can, therefore, be drawn from this fact that the degree of inflation of agricultural cost calculated in the former method varies with the operational stages at which the crop is destroyed.

Now the question arises: What is the justification for such elimination of the pre-harvest cost on the land from which no crop could be harvested? Justification lies in the simple fact that the cost which ought to be written off as a mere loss should not be sought to be reimbursed, especially in a more or less planned economy, by higher pricing of the harvested crop on the illogical plea of increased cost of production. Loss should be accounted for separately from cost and the two should not be confused. If, for example, a jute manufacturing concern loses a huge quantity of its raw material due to an accidental fire, should it then seek to compensate itself for the loss thus suffered by raising the price of its manufactured goods on the plea of higher cost of production? Certainly not. (From the business point of view it may do so if the market in a competitive set-up justifies it, otherwise not. Even then it may not be a wise policy). This principle should also govern agricultural costing. How then to compensate for the crop failure? However, apart from artificial rise in price there are other more suitable and ingenious devices which may be adopted for the purpose. As in the U.S.A. an integrated scheme of crop insurance may be introduced into the agrarian economy of India with a price support programme as a safeguard against both crop hazards and price hazards.

As against this view it may be contended that the full inflationary effect of crop failure on cost cannot

be eliminated by crop insurance because of the fact that the annual premium will have to be included in the cost. Yes, the truth of this contention cannot be refuted. Even then it cannot be gainsaid that the cost situation will immensely improve by the introduction of crop insurance. (1) It will secure a great measure of stability in the cost as the incidence of crop failure will be spread over a longer period and the cost will not have to bear, therefore, the full impact of the failure. (2) The premium rate, which is a constituent element of cost, may not be too high if the occurrence of crop failure be not too frequent in the same region. (3) The nature of the risk, i.e., frequency and magnitude, will be studied with more care and, in consequence, there may be on foot efforts to control it with surer knowledge. (4) The crop insurance will smooth out the incidence of large annual variations in the effect of crop failure on the cost curve.

3. THE RELATIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF FIELD OPERATIONS, AND 4. COST-YIELD RELATIONSHIP

These two topics are inextricably intertwined as warp and weft and have, therefore, been treated together. They may be studied on either of the two bases, viz., (1) the total sown acreage and the total cost incurred irrespective of any destruction of the sown acreage as shown in the summarised Table 6 below or (2) the actually harvested acreage, in case of any considerable destruction of crop, and the expenses made in respect of the harvested acreage only as shown in Table 7. The results obtained in both these methods have been compared in Table 8 and are likely to be of absorbing interest both to the cost analyst and to the planner of agricultural economy.

The importance of presenting the cost in an operation-wise distribution with reference to the unit of land, a bigha (as in Case I, Table 1 above) is to assess the relative significance as well as its variation from year to year as indicated by the proportions of Table 1. But this variation in the relative significance can be correctly and conveniently assessed only in case of constancy in the total operational cost. But the total cost (per bigha) is essentially a variable quantity, depending as it does on non-compensating variable components—the pre-harvest part of the total cost being influenced by vagaries of nature and the post-harvest part by fluctuations in the yield rate. The vagaries of nature are at the root of all variations, no matter whether these be in respect of the pre-harvest cost or in respect of the yield rate. But the fluctuation in the yield rate in its turn brings about fluctuation in the post-harvest cost. One thing that needs be borne in mind is that vagaries of nature may affect only the yield rate without affecting the pre-harvest operations or for that matter the pre-harvest cost. Such a situation occurs, as in case of Farm No. 1, in the second year, only as a result of

crop failure after completion of all the pre-harvest operations.

It, therefore, appears from what have been said above that two factors are mainly operative and influence cost, one at a time, in two successive operational stages, resulting in variation in the total cost per bigha, and the total cost varying as a result of a change in any of the itemised operational costs means an automatic but disproportionate change in the proportions of all the items of operational cost, even though the absolute costs of some of the operations may not change at all. Take for instance, the case of Farm No. 1 as shown in Table 6 below in which the pre-harvest cost in the second year remaining almost unchanged there has occurred a great change in the post-harvest cost being brought about by a variation in yield. What has happened? The proportion of the unchanged pre-harvest cost has also greatly changed being 62.3 per cent in the 2nd year as against 52.4 per cent in the 1st year. In Farm No. 2, the cost of intercultural operation in the two years are 11.6 and 16.4 man-days which constitute respectively 47.7 per cent and 40.6 per cent of their respective total costs (Table 1). The point of interest in this comparison is to prove that the year-to-year changes in the same items of absolute costs do not reflect proportionately in the year-to-year variation in the distribution pattern of the operational costs as indicated by the proportions worked out in Table 1. This fact of disproportionate change in the proportions (if read without reference to the absolute costs) is apt to be misinterpreted as involving a fundamental change in the system of cultivation and in the distribution pattern of operational cost. In such a situation (that is, when the total cost is subject to change being under the influence of two factors operating exclusively one at a time) the individual proportions of the different operational costs to the total operational cost per bigha, as shown in Case I, provide us with an erroneous and confusing idea, instead of any logical basis of assessment, of their relative significance. As a result the relative significance of each operational cost in a particular year cannot be logically compared to that in another year and therefore loses its comparability and utility. Such an analysis and presentation of operational cost as shown in Case I consequently defeats its own purpose. So, in order to remove, partially at least, this anomaly and make useful this operation-wise distributional process of cost analysis on the basis of total sown acreage and total cost, the entire operational cost structure needs be bifurcated (as in Case II) into two segments, one comprising the pre-harvest operations and the other the harvest and post-harvest operations, on the basis of the two above-named factors influencing cost; and each item of cost should be studied in relation to its group cost. Such a study will give a fair picture of the

relative importance of the individual operations and make it easier to fix more directly the cause of variation in their relative significance; and from the standpoint of cost accounting, too, this will be more useful being both interpretative of the inherent characteristics of the data and suggestive of the possible lines of economy in the operation-wise distribution of the real labour cost.

The proportion of cost (i.e., man-days) per bigha for each individual operation to its group total as shown in Case II does not as a matter of fact fluctuate widely except under rare circumstances, and its year-to-year variation is not as much unrelated to the yearly variation in the corresponding absolute cost as it is in Case I. This is true, particularly of the second group of operational costs and, generally, under certain assumed conditions, also of the pre-harvest group of costs. The proportions in the post-harvest group as shown in Table 2 have varied between the two years only within very narrow limits in respect of all the farms though the corresponding variations in absolute costs are comparatively wide as between the two years. This point is highly significant in so far as it points to the fact that the post-harvest cost per unit production must have remained almost same in the two years, otherwise the proportions cannot remain fairly constant or within a very narrow range of variation. The pre-harvest cost is affected, as stated above, only if abnormal weather conditions intervene the successive pre-harvest operations, otherwise not under the prevailing circumstances. It has not been infrequently experienced that severe damage to crop occurs due to flood or pest attack only after all the pre-harvest operations are completed as in the case of Farm No. 1. This in effect means that with all the pre-harvest cost being incurred and the proportions of all the different operational items of cost within the group remaining constant there occurs a considerable reduction in the yield rate due to destruction of crops as in the case of Farm No. 1 in the second year (Table 2) and for that matter also in the post-harvest cost per bigha.

What is the function of harvest and post-harvest cost? Harvest and post-harvest cost is for processing the crop and, as such, has got nothing to do with the growth and development of the standing crop. So, land as a thing of reference is eliminated from the harvest stage of cost analysis. The unit of land as a thing of reference is necessary to study the correlation as commonly assumed to exist between cost and yield. But such a study should be made not for all the cost from the beginning to the end but for the cost incurred on the land only up to the pre-harvest stage for reasons already stated. It may, therefore, be concluded from the foregoing considerations (as substantiated by the corroborating evidence furnished by the data of the first two farms as shown in the summarised Table 6 below) that the total cost (i.e., man-days) per

bigha fluctuates between the two years within a comparatively narrow amplitude as in Farm No. 1 when the fluctuation in the first group of cost, which generally accounts for more than 60 per cent of the total cost, is nil even though in the second group of cost it closely follows fluctuations in the yield rate and may, for this reason, be very violent and wide because of the extreme uncertainty of the yield rate, than when the fluctuation in the pre-harvest cost being occasioned by interference of disturbing factors is great as in the case of Farm No. 2.

If the fluctuation in the pre-harvest cost be occasioned by better cultivation in one year than in another and the yield, uninterrupted by any of the destructive elements, responds favourably, though less than proportionately to the increase in pre-harvest cost (required for better cultivation) because of the operation of the Law of Diminishing Return, as illustrated by the cost and yield figures of Farm No. 3 in the second year, then both the post-harvest and the total costs will also vary, and that in the same direction—the former (the post-harvest cost) almost proportionately as explained above and the latter (the total cost), like (and because of) the pre-harvest cost, more than proportionately to the yield variation. Though this inference is not cent per cent corroborated yet its irresistibility is proved, by the evidence furnished by the percentage changes in the operational costs and in the yield rate in Farm No. 3, which are 10.1 per cent, 7.0 per cent, 9.0 per cent, and 3.4 per cent respectively for the pre-harvest, post-harvest and total costs and the yield rate.

These important facts are revealed candidly by the suggested method of presentation and obscured by the traditional or common method as illustrated in Case I (Table 1). In Case II (Table 2) the data are presented in their true functional relationship. The function of the pre-harvest cost is causative in the sense that pre-harvest operations help the crop to grow and develop whereas the second group of costs is the function of the yield rate, that is, in statistical terminology, the first group of cost per bigha is the independent and the yield the dependent variable, and the second group of cost the dependent and the yield the independent variable. This point goes unnoticed in the traditional method and, as a result, attempts are not infrequently made to discover the wrongly supposed correlation between the total cost per bigha as the independent variable and the yield as the dependent variable, which is quite illogical. The character of the variable must be known beforehand in order to interpret the correlation otherwise even the high degree of correlation loses all meaning and no inference can be drawn from it. In the study of a single correlation between yield and the total cost (man-days) per bigha the true character of the variables remains undisclosed and the correlation ratio

admits of no logical interpretation. So, a separate study should be made of the correlation either between the pre-harvest cost and the yield or between the post-harvest cost and the yield for drawing valid conclusions regarding cost-yield relationship. This analytical procedure is perfectly interpretative of the internal characteristics of the data and reflects withal the level to which the margin of cultivation has been pushed as a result of population pressure on land. It may be mentioned here that from a separate study of this kind as shown in Case II it has been found that no significant correlation can exist between the pre-harvest cost and the yield in a year marked by abnormal features either intervening, or occurring after, the pre-harvest operations, whereas a fairly good correlation is found between the second group of cost and yield. This is also corroborated by the like changes in both post-harvest cost and yield in all the three farms as shown in Table 6 above. This latter relationship cannot, however, be distorted to an appreciable extent by any disturbing factor; but it is of no great value from practical standpoint except, in so far as it has got a bearing on the question of forecasting of post-harvest cost, which has been discussed below in its relevant context.

A better picture of the relative significance as well as of the cost-yield relationship can be obtained if the study be confined to the harvested acreage only, as illustrated in Table 7, because in this case the yearly fluctuations in cost or yield are much less wide and more comparable as it will appear from the comparative fluctuation figures as extracted from Tables 6 and 7 and shown in Table 8 below.

(The percentage variations in cost and yield calculated as in Table 7 appear to be mutually related whereas those in Table 6 do not show such relationship.)

(4) FORECASTING OF COST AND YIELD

Cost enquiries to bear fruit should yield results that can be utilised to forecast both cost and yield within a reasonable margin of error and well in advance of the harvesting season. If the purpose underlying these cost enquiries be to support prices to keep on par with cost, the cost must be known beforehand. The major part (i.e., the pre-harvest part which generally accounts for 60 per cent) of the total cost is of course known at the time when the forecast needs be made, because the pre-harvest operations are completed by that time. So, the only estimate that requires to be made to forecast the total cost per bigha is of the post-harvest cost. As we have already seen in connection with the analysis of the cost-yield relationship, the post-harvest cost per bigha is essentially a function of the yield rate and, as such, dependent upon it; consequently the post-harvest cost per unit production cannot vary beyond a very small range of variation. Yield therefore requires to be forecast first

Table 6
Proportion of Pre-harvest and Post-harvest Group
Costs and Yield per sown bigha and cost per unit production. (Summary of Table 1)

Per sown bigha	Farm No. 1				Farm No. 2				Farm No. 3				
	1st year		2nd year		1st year		2nd year		1st year		2nd year		
	Man- days	p.c.	days	p.c.	Man- days	p.c.	days	p.c.	Man- days	p.c.	days	p.c.	
Pre-harvest	14.0	52.4	13.7	62.3	16.8	69.1	21.2	52.5	15.8	64.7	17.4	65.4	
Post-harvest	12.7	47.6	8.3	37.7	7.5	30.9	19.2	47.5	8.6	35.3	9.2	34.6	
Total cost	26.7	100	22.0	100	24.3	100	40.4	100	24.4	100	26.6	100	
Yield per sown bigha	2.9 mds.		2.0 mds.		2.0 mds.		4.4 mds.		2.9 mds.		3.0 mds.		
Pre-harvest	4.8		6.9		Cost per one maund		4.8		5.4		5.8		
Post-harvest	4.4		4.1		8.4		4.8		3.0		3.1		
Total	9.2		11.0		3.8		4.4		8.4		8.9		
					12.2		9.2						
					(-) 0.9	31.0	(-) 0.9	31.0	(+) 2.4	120.0	(+) 0.1	3.4	
					(+)	2.1	43.8	(+)	3.6	42.8	(+)	0.4	7.4
					(-)	0.3	7.0	(-)	0.6	15.8	(+)	0.1	3.3
					(+)	1.8	20.0	(-)	3.0	24.6	(+)	0.5	5.9

Table 7
Proportion of pre-harvest and post-harvest group costs and yield per bigha of harvested acreage

Cost per harvested bigha	Farm No. 1			Farm No. 2			Farm No. 3				
	1st year days	Man- p.c.	2nd year days	Variation Actual p.c.	1st year Man- p.c. days	2nd year Man- p.c. days	Variation Actual p.c.	1st year Man- p.c. days	2nd year Man- p.c. days	Variation Actual p.c.	
Pre-harvest	14.0	52.4	13.7	52.5	(-) 0.3	2.1	(-) 0.6	21.2	59.0	(-) 0.6	2.7
Post-harvest	12.7	47.6	12.4	47.5	(-) 0.3	2.4	(-) 0.6	15.2	41.0	(+) 4.0	26.3
Total	26.7	100	26.1	100	(-) 0.6	2.2	(+) 3.4	37.0	100	(+) 3.4	9.0
Per harvested bigha:											
Yield (mds.)	2.9 mds.		3.0 mds.		(+) 0.1	3.4	(+) 0.4	4.0 mds.		(+) 0.4	10.0
Cost per maund:											
Pre-harvest	4.8		4.6		(-) 0.2	4.2	(-) 0.7	5.5		(-) 0.7	12.4
Post harvest	4.4		4.1		(-) 0.3	7.0	(-) 0.6	3.8		(+) 0.6	15.8
Total	9.2		8.7		(-) 0.5	5.4	(-) 0.1	9.3		(-) 0.1	1.1

Table 8
Comparative variations between the two years in cost and yield per bigha and per unit production
(extracted from Tables 6 and 7)

Cost per bushel:	Farm No. 1 Variations			Farm No. 2 Variations		
	Table 6	Table 7	p.c.	Table 6	Table 7	p.c.
Pre-harvest	Man-days (-) 0.3	Man-days (-) 0.3	2.1	Man-days (+) 4.4	Man-days (-) 0.6	2.7
Post-harvest	(-) 4.4	(-) 0.3	34.6	(+) 11.7	(+) 4.0	26.3
Total	(-) 4.7	(-) 0.6	17.6	(+) 16.1	(+) 3.4	9.0
Per bushel:						
Yield (mds.)	(-) 0.9	(+) 0.1	31.0	(+) 2.4	(+) 0.4	10.0
Cost per 1 mound:						
Pre-harvest	(+) 2.1	(-) 0.2	43.8	(-) 3.6	(-) 0.7	12.4
Post-harvest	(-) 0.3	(-) 0.3	7.0	(+) 0.6	(+) 0.6	15.8
Total	(+) 1.8	(-) 0.5	20.0	(-) 0.3	(-) 0.1	1.1

and on the basis of this forecast a fair estimate of the post-harvest cost can easily be worked out with the help of the previous year's relevant ratio. Yield can be estimated independently of cost with a fair degree of reliability by the well-known method of crop-cutting experiments or by the use of the regression analysis of the crop-weather relations *if the climate be equable* otherwise not. Thus a fair estimate of the yield being made, estimation of the post-harvest cost is simply a step more in the calculation process. The small error that may creep into the estimate thus arrived at due to a slight variation in the ratio of the post-harvest cost to yield can be greatly reduced, if not completely eliminated, by introducing into the calculation process a measure of the 'condition factor' which is responsible for this variation. The actual pre-harvest cost and the estimated post-harvest cost being added together will give a highly reliable estimate of the total cost.

This method may be applied either in respect of the sown acreage when no part of it is destroyed or in respect of the harvested acreage in case the latter falls short of the former due to destruction of crop on some portion of the sown land. Thus calculated the estimates will be fairly reliable and free from the inflationary effects of the crop failure on cost as calculated in the traditional way.

The ratios with the help of which the estimates are to be made may be taken either in respect of one base year that can be regarded, to all intents and purposes, as normal, or in respect of each preceding year for estimation of cost in the year following; or it may be an average of the several years' ratios if the enquiry be continued for a number of years. The second one is likely to be more useful and convenient for estimation purposes because the variation in the 'condition factor' can be rightly ascertained by comparing its behaviour in the two consecutive years. Categorically speaking, the method, as suggested above, consists of three steps, namely, 1. The components in the ratio, i.e., cost and yield per bigha, should be related to the harvested acreage when it falls short

of the sown acreage; 2. Yield should be estimated by crop-cutting experiments independently of cost; 3. The estimates should be made on the basis of cost-yield relationships as obtained in each preceding year.

A question may, however, be asked as to whether it is not possible to forecast both cost and yield with the several relationships as discovered in course of the analysis of the behaviour of cost on yield and of yield on cost without going in for a crop-cutting experiment for yield estimation. Let us see if these relationships offer us any guidance in this direction. It has been noticed that under ordinary circumstances post-harvest and total costs stand in a particular relation to the pre-harvest cost and the yield to the total cost. If these relations can be expected to remain constant or near about that (which is very unlikely because of the variable 'condition factor') then these relations, as expressed in ratios (see Table 9) may be used to construct a rough and ready empirical formula to estimate the unknown variates, viz., the post-harvest cost, the total cost and the yield in other years. The pre-harvest cost in those years, of course, must be known already. The factors involved in this formula are therefore the actual pre-harvest cost of the year in which estimates are to be made, the ratios of the post-harvest cost to the pre-harvest cost, of the total cost to the pre-harvest cost and of the yield to the total cost of the base year chosen for the purpose. →

With the help of these three empirical formulae both cost and yield per bigha can be estimated without going in for a separate crop-cutting experiment, over and above cost enquiries. But one serious difficulty underlies this procedure which vitiates the results thus obtained. These equations hold good only so long as the ratios remain constant. This is a very hard condition and goes unfulfilled more often than not. They are subject to wide variation due to the 'condition factor' as it appears from Table 9 below.

← Exact mathematical procedure may be illustrated as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Post-harvest cost of the base year}}{\text{Pre-harvest cost of the base year}} \times \frac{\text{Actual Pre-harvest cost of the year in which estimates are to be made}}{\text{the estimated post-harvest cost}} = \text{the estimated post-harvest cost.} \quad (1)$$

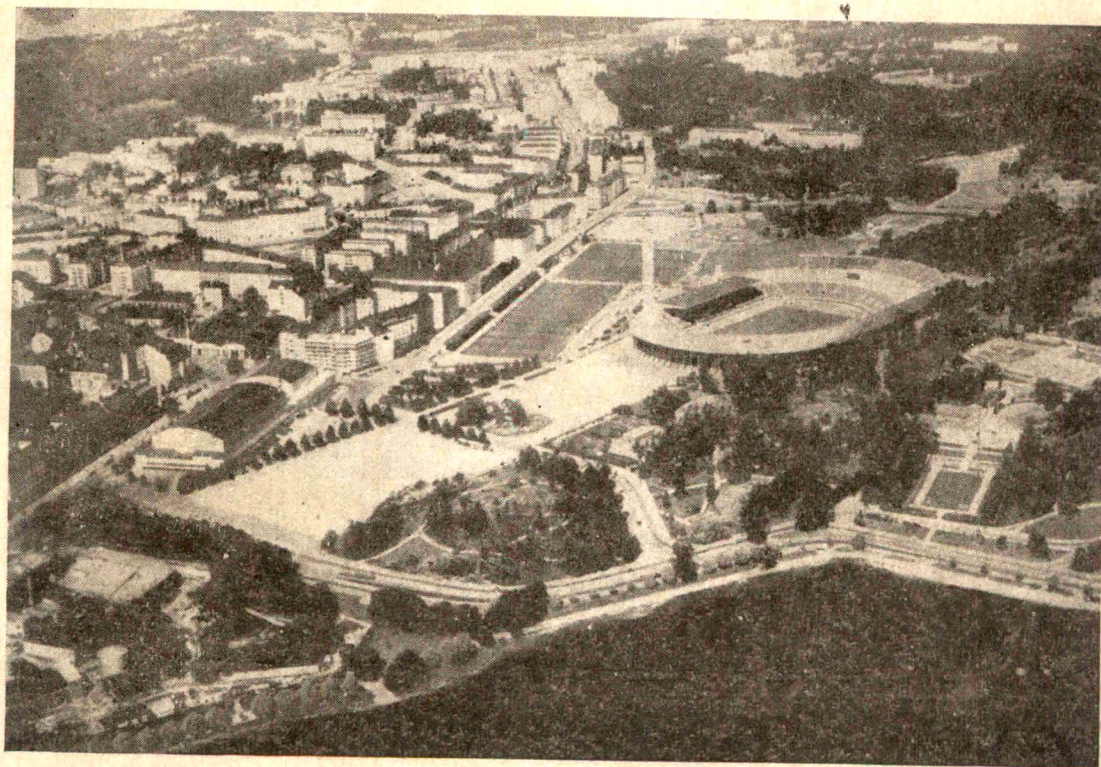
$$\text{The actual pre-harvest cost} + \text{the estimated post-harvest cost} = \text{the estimated total cost.} \quad (2)$$

$$\text{Or } \frac{\text{The total cost of the base year}}{\text{The pre-harvest cost of the base year}} \times \frac{\text{The actual pre-harvest cost of the year in which estimate is to be made}}{\text{the estimated total cost}} = \text{total cost} \quad (2a)$$

$$\frac{\text{The yield of the base year}}{\text{Total cost of the base year}} \times \frac{\text{The estimated total cost}}{\text{cost}} = \text{estimated yield} \quad (3)$$

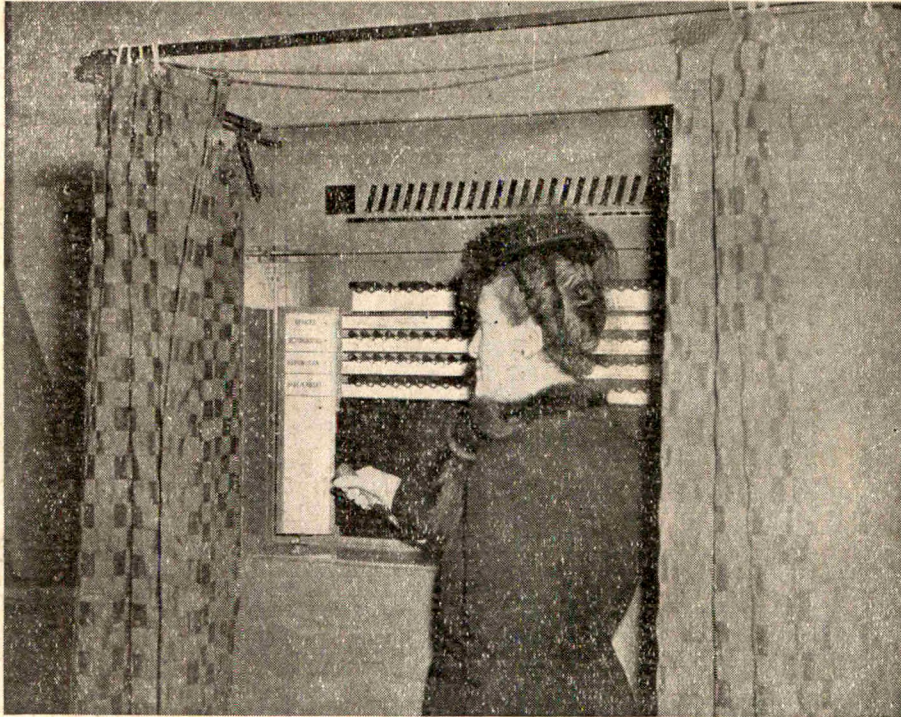


A general view of Helsinki, the sports-minded capital of Finland



The Helsinki Stadium where the 1952 Olympic Games are being played

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN THE U.S.A.



This voting machine is used for elections in many parts of the United States. It saves time in counting and eliminates errors in tabulation



A scene of the recent primary election in Ohio

Table 9

	Type of Ratio	
	Post-harvest cost	Yield
	Pre-harvest cost	Total cost
Farm No. 1:		
1st year	0.90716	0.10861
2nd year	0.60584	0.09091
Farm No. 2:		
1st year	0.4464	0.08230
2nd year	0.9057	0.10891
Farm No. 3:		
1st year	0.5443	0.11885
2nd year	0.5287	0.11278

So, any estimate made with the help of these ratios cannot be reliable and is often likely to be far from truth unless modified by some correction factor designed to eliminate the effects of the variable 'condition factor' upon these ratios. A suitable objective measure of this condition factor should then have to be evolved by a prolonged investigation into its behaviour over a number of years to provide the correction factor. Even then the formulae thus corrected may not yield results that can be accepted without suspicion about their reliability.

Moreover, the process will be a very cumbrous one and require investigation over a long period knowing not with what results and, as such, may not find favour with the authorities. This difficulty of unlimited variation in the ratios can be somewhat got rid of if the component factors in the ratios be taken in respect of the acreage actually harvested. The ratios thus calculated will remain within a very negligible range of variation, and the estimates made therewith may not deviate far from the true values. The ratios calculated

on this basis are given in Table 10 below. It will appear from this table that the ratios in the two years are fairly in the neighbourhood of each other. The slight variation that occurs will not materially vitiate the estimates.

Table 10

Type of Ratios	Ratio of post-harvest to pre-harvest cost and of yield to total cost.			
	Farm No. 1 Ratios		Farm No. 2 Ratios	
	1st yr.	2nd yr.	1st yr.	2nd yr.
Post-harvest	0.90716	0.90511	0.69725	0.9057
Pre-harvest				
Yield	0.10861	0.11494	0.10811	0.10891
Total cost				

In conclusion it should, however, be pointed out that this isolated approach to cost study of an individual crop separately from other crops grown on the farm may not be above criticism. The Indian system of farming still partakes of the nature of family farming, and as such, may be classed in the category of mixed farming or a joint-product industry. It may, therefore, be argued that farm cost should as well be regarded as joint cost and studied as such according to the principles laid down by the classical economists. Logically, of course, the advisability of this procedure cannot be refuted, rather it was advocated in the author's earlier contribution on the subject, but it is not practicable at present in India because of both organisational and financial difficulties. That is why the authorities are more in favour of investigation into the cost of individual crops separately.

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ANOTHER SHEAF OF BOOKS ON ART

By KAUNDINYA

SOMEWHAT lamentable indifference, at the centres of Indian learning, to many phases of Indian culture, particularly, the important subject of art-history, of which adequate provisions are made in all European and American Universities, has left a gaping void in our University studies, not even covered by the Radhakrishnan Report. This hiatus in the study of Indian Art in one of our Universities is the subject of a recent Resolution of the Indian Institute of Culture at Bangalore, in which it has been recommended that the University of Mysore should introduce the study of Indian Fine Arts as a subject of major study. Though directed against one of our Indian Universities, it easily provides the cap to fit, perhaps, all our Universities, except perhaps, the much-maligned

University of Calcutta. Anyhow this persistent boycott of this important branch of the Humanities has afforded important opportunities to European savants and critics to contribute richly to the recent literature on Indian art, which should make our Indian scholars pale with shame, if not, green with envy. The valuable finds of a rich load of documents of Rajasthani painting discovered by Dr. Goetz, curator of the Baroda Museum, have opened a new vista in the study of Rajput art, through which Dr. Goetz has looked at the history of this important school from a new angle of vision. In his excellently produced and richly illustrated monograph *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State* (published by Bruno Cassirer, Oxford, 1950, for the Government of Bikaner State, 10 colour

plates, and 95 half-tone illustrations, pp. 140, price Rs. 59), Dr. Goetz has been able to reveal the unique contributions of Bikaner in the development of Rajput art with an abundance of hitherto unknown data which have revolutionized our accepted view of the evolution of this unique phase of Indian culture. His monograph is of special value in emphasizing the individuality of the different schools of Rajputana art. "He has brought to bear on it the results of wide research on Indian art-history, a mind trained to art-criticism and an immense amount of knowledge based on many years of labour in different parts of India. Apart from its value as an interpretation of the art-traditions of Rajputana, the book also opens up many new fields and raises some major issues of Indian history on which further research may produce important results." The author has ably analysed the historical and political background of Rajasthan in order to present the data of art-history in their proper perspective. For without historical background any approach to art-history and appreciation is impossible. "As Rajput history has been over-shadowed by contemporary Indo-Muslim history, Rajput art, standing between traditional Hindu and Indo-Muslim art, has likewise been neglected." After sketching in firm outlines the political and culture-history of Bikaner State the author reveals the many processes through which the art of Bikaner reached its characteristic phases. At first this new Rajput art found expression in crude idols and a clumsy, rustic architecture but towards the end of the 14th century Rajput princes summoned architects and masons from Gujarat and during the first half of the 15th century a conscious Renaissance of high mediaeval art was in full swing. This reached its zenith in the immense building activities of Rana Kumbha, which show Chauhan and Gujarati Hindu-Jain motifs in religious, Hindu-Muslim in secular and Muslim with Hindu decorative motifs in military architecture; folk-Rajput and Jain types mixed in sculpture and Gujarati and Jain in painting. According to the author, this new Rajput art, beginning to develop in the middle of the 15th century, flourished through the whole of the 16th and part of the 17th century, when it was "absorbed" by the Mughal art to reappear after the middle of the 18th century. As a matter of fact this "absorption" by Mughal art meant not the destruction but a further enrichment of Rajput art. For Mughal art was able to "absorb" Rajput art, merely because it was itself half Rajput art. This is a brilliant thesis, though this is not clearly established by adequate confirmatory documents. For instance, it is not made quite clear, how the Deccani miniatures from Ahmadnagar (1565-69), represented by two wonderful illustrations of Raginis (plates II, IV) of astonishing primitive qualities in their awkward grace and sincerity, made any contribution to the building up of the Rajput style, nor is

the valuable data offered by the *Rasika-priya* illustration (Udaipur?) (Plate VII) related to the Bundela primitive Raginis cited by Coomaraswamy. The *Gita-govinda* is much more instructive in demonstrating the absorption of Mughal elements in Rajput painting not traceable in the 18th century miniatures. The so-called Amber (?) *Rasika-priya* (Plate IX) (end of 16th century) is very closely related to the well-known Ragini primitives in all details of technique and type. The *Dankila* (Figure 91) from a Bhagavata is another instructive document. The author presents in a very learned and critical manner the various phases of Bikaner school of painting in its "early Rajput," in its Indo-Muslim features, and under the "impact of Mughal art," late Rajput painting and the end of the Mughal school. In answering the query, if Rajput art was so much indebted to other styles with what justification and in what sense may we regard it as an individual national style? The author asserts that Rajput art though accepting all these elements from outside has always interpreted them independently and in its own spirit, selecting, changing, modifying, and intensifying all these elements to make it serve as an expression of an individual identical ideal of life and of beauty. Apart from the new materials for the history of Rajput painting the author has put forth many unique documents of early architecture and sculpture, which help us to visualize the steps which led to the development of Rajput architecture. Dr. Goetz has made a very valuable contribution to a valuable phase of Indian culture, which will challenge the researches of Indian scholars for some time to come. Another phase of Indian painting received an intensive and incisive analysis from a famous anthropologist, W. G. Archer (*Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Victoria Albert Museum, London, 1952, pp. 98, one colour plate, 70 half-tones, price 8s. 6d.), who brings under focus a large number of Pahari paintings, many not published before, classifying them in three sections, Guler, Jammu and Punch. The author puts forward accurate historical data to arrange his rich materials in a clear historical perspective, which will not only help towards a clear understanding of the mutual relations of the different Pahari schools, but a more precise presentation of the interesting stages of evolution of this last but brilliant phase of Indian painting, so justly prized for its beauty and charm. The author's researches to establish the basis of the style of painting in Jammu is the most original part of the study. As he points out, "For Jammu painting, keys to style are still entirely wanting and it is only by taxing our ingenuity to the utmost that we can hope to rehabilitate it as a school of art." His next important thesis is the discovery of the local "school" in Punch, north of Jammu, at the westernmost extremity of all the Punjab hills. Very strenuous effort has been made on inadequate materials "to isolate

the elements peculiar to Punch," but the recognition of a Punch school as a separate type of Pahari art has not been firmly established, though very valuable clues have been discovered and discussed. But in spite of the tentative results of this brilliant piece of research, the small treatise will be welcomed as a stimulating study which will surely fertilize new researches and enquiries. From another point of view, the inactivity of Indian scholars is assaulted by a sumptuous Album produced by a French savant, Raymond Burnier, who with the help of the Indian Archaeological Department has specialized in photographing the masterpieces of mediaeval Hindu sculpture in remarkable presentations of lights and shadows which reveal the astonishing beauty, and the profound spiritual expressions of Indian plastic art (*Hindu Mediaeval Sculpture*, reproducing 79 photographs in large-size Photogravure Plates executed by Bobigny, published in 1950 by La Palme, Rue Beaujon, Paris, with three pages of letterpress, price Rs. 90). The beauty and magnificence of the reproductions pay a valuable tribute to the peculiar creativeness of Indian mythical sculpture and the astounding originality of the treatment of form, the "uncreated possibilities" which constitute India's unique contribution to the plastic art of the world. That the examples chosen are confined to only two mediaeval temples (Khajuraho and Bhuvaneshwara), will help to correct the superstitions of our archaeological scholars, many of whom still believe that the art of Indian sculpture attained its perfection and zenith in the evolution of the Gupta Period. The fallacy was long ago pointed out by Havell in his famous little essay *The Zenith of Indian Art* (*Ostasiastische Zeitschrift*, Jahrg I, Heft. 1). The photographs taken by Burnier have been several times exhibited here and abroad and excited the admiration and envy of scholars and photographers and the secret of the process by which Burnier derives his exaggerated effects of lights and shadows has been the subject of keen controversy among professional photographers. Whatever may be the secret of the process Burnier has rendered signal service to the interpretation of Indian sculpture which has earned the admiration of art-lovers throughout the world. One is inclined to enquire why this task of photographically interpreting the beauties of India plastics could not be undertaken by our Department of Archaeology, exclusively confining itself to excavations of raw materials, coins, and inscriptions. It is to be

hoped that other Indian photographers and lovers of Indian art will turn to this valuable national duty to interpret in adequate forms of reproduction the many phases of the masterpieces of Indian art.

Two years ago the Central Ministry of Indian Education threatened to patronize the publication of typical masterpieces of old and modern Indian painting to stimulate the study of Indian art in Indian schools and colleges, through the collaboration of an expert committee of Indian connoisseurs. But apparently these projected aids to appreciation of Indian art appear to be beyond the responsibility of the Indian Education Department. On somewhat similar line as that of the excellent Burnier Album is a less ambitious Album produced by Madanjeet Singh with a subsidy from the Government of India and enriched by an illuminating and stimulating Introduction by Dr. G. Tucci, the famous Italian Indologist of encyclopaedic erudition (*Indian Sculpture in Bronze and Stone*, with 20 Photogravure Plates executed by Industrie Grafiche Amilcari Pizzi, Milan, Italy, price Rs. 30, obtainable from the Press and Publicity Service, 40 McLeod Street, Calcutta). Though less ambitious than the Burnier Album, this publication in 20 plates reproduces a few little-known masterpieces—Shiva (III), Sita (IV), Upasaka (XII), and Nartaki (XIX), which will excite the interest of connoisseurs and scholars. Some uninteresting and second-rate pieces (VII and VIII) should have been omitted to emphasize on the merits of the finest pieces. It is a pity that the photographer Mr. Singh did not invite the collaboration of a competent scholar to provide descriptive and iconographic notes on the plates. This is, however, very amply compensated by the brilliant introduction contributed by Dr. Tucci, an extract from which we cite here:

"On closest examination one discovers something more in these masterpieces of Indian sculpture: one notices a blending of exuberant feminine forms and masculine strength or the tempering of the sexual differences that are plastically expressed in Ardha-Narisvara's type which is significant of the compenetration of these two essential elements Saktiman and Sakti, possessor of power by means of which the rhythm of cosmic evolution is developed."

The example set by Sri Madanjeet Singh to explore the beauties of Indian national art deserves emulation by other Indian nationals.



DUKE OF RICHELIEU

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

THE Duke of Richelieu, a Marshal of France and scion of the French nobility, died on May 30, 1952, at the age of seventy-six. As a young man, the Duke, who was the last to bear his illustrious title, had been a great admirer of Swami Vivekananda, whom he had known rather intimately. He cherished his admiration for the Swamiji till the end of his life.

The full name of the Duke was Marie Odet Jean Armand de Chapelle de Jumilhac, Duc de Richelieu. The title was first conferred upon Cardinal Armand Jean du Plessis by Louis XIII. Before the Cardinal died he obtained permission to bequeath the title to his grand-nephew, Jean de Vignerot, an ancestor of the Marshal. Another of the Duke's ancestor served in the Russian army under Empress Catherine and founded the city of Odessa in the early nineteenth century, subsequently returning to France to serve as Premier under Louis XVIII.

The Duke of Richelieu, born in Paris, was the son of the second Duc Armand de Richelieu and the former Marie Alice Heine, who after her first husband's death married Prince Albert of Monaco. He studied at a Jesuit school in France and graduated from the University of Aix-en-Provence. In 1913, he married Miss Elinor Douglas Wise, of Baltimore. The ceremony was performed by the late Cardinal Gibbons, who gave the opening benediction at the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893. The Duchess, who studied voice in France, with Mme. Emma Eames, the noted American singer, gave many concerts for the benefit of tubercular French soldiers.

In 1930, the Duke presented his chateau and its park of more than one thousand acres, which originally belonged to Cardinal Richelieu, to the University of Paris as a place of rest for French professors and a guest-house for visiting foreign professors. The Duke travelled extensively in Europe and America and was regarded as an authority on eighteenth century English literature. He could speak fluently in several European languages and was brilliant in conversation. Even in casual talk, he was able to draw striking comparisons not only between modern writing and that of the past, but between historical developments of today and yesterday. The Duke was a keen student of politics. I spent many hours with him in political and cultural discussions and thoroughly enjoyed his penetrating wit. He never indulged in small or cheap talk.

I first met the Duke in 1934 when I was crossing over to France. Immediately after the ship had left the pier in New York, I was told by Princess Matchabelli

that the Duke of Richelieu earnestly wanted to speak to me. We met after dinner on the deck of the tourist class, by which I was travelling. He said to me that he had known Swami Vivekananda. They had met in Paris in 1900, at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Francis H. Leggett, devoted disciples of the Swamiji. It was the time of the Paris Exposition, in connection with which the late Sir J. C. Bose was the Indian representative at the Congress of Scientists. The Leggetts used to invite notables to their house and entertained them lavishly.

About Swami Vivekananda the Duke said that he was a singularly handsome man. At first he had taken the Swamiji for one of the Indian *yogis* known in Europe as performers of tricks. But soon he came under the spell of the Swamiji's personality and visited him regularly for several weeks. One day Swami Vivekananda said to the Duke that he was leaving for India the next day and wanted to know if the Duke would give up the world and become his disciple. The Duke asked what he would receive in return. "I shall give you the desire for death," the Swamiji replied. The Duke laughed, thinking that the Swamiji was being silly. He had just graduated from the University and was about to enter upon a career—what would he do with death? He asked the Swamiji to offer something more tempting. The Swamiji said, gravely, "If you become my disciple, I shall give you a state of mind such that when death comes you will laugh at it." The Duke thought that the Swamiji was teasing. The next day Swami Vivekananda left and they never met again.

The Duke of Richelieu told me that for thirty years he had completely forgotten Swami Vivekananda. Two years prior to our meeting, however, he had passed through a certain crisis and a great change had come over his life. Suddenly one day every word Swami Vivekananda had said to him came back to his mind, and he became very eager to know where the Swamiji was or what had become of him. He inquired about the Swamiji in Paris, New York, and London, but could obtain no information about him. When he saw my name on the passengers' list on board ship, he thought I might be able to tell him about Swami Vivekananda. We had ten delightful days together on the ship, holding stimulating conversations in the evening after dinner. The Duke gave me a letter of introduction to the President of the Sorbonne and said that we must meet again in New York. He told me that he had a house in New York City not very far from the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center.

We saw each other many times in New York. Both

the Duke and Duchess became fond of me and often invited me to their house for dinner or luncheon, where I met noted men in politics and public life. On several occasions the Duke and Duchess came to the Center for dinner. The last time I saw the Duke was in Miami, Florida, in April, 1952. We had lunch together and he discussed the present world tension from a philosophical standpoint. He looked very fragile. But as usual he was very animated and excited in conversation. After returning to New York he caught pneumonia, which proved fatal to him.

The Duke was full of respect for Swami Vivekananda and bore toward him sincere affection. In the Duke's opinion the Swamiji stressed the value of the individual as against the group. The individual can effectively influence the group by remaining distinct from it, and not, like a labor leader, by identifying himself with it. Further, the individual need not cut himself away from the group for his own benefit, as asserted by medieval Christianity. According to Swami Vivekananda, the Duke thought, the true worth of the individual lay in his being universal, and that of the universal in its being individual. He further said that in Vivekananda, the confusion of life was resolved into distinctness of consciousness, as in art the obscurity of sentiment and feeling is transformed into the lucidity of representation, because it itself creates the image—the unity of the image. The Duke learnt from the Swamiji that God is near Truth but is not Truth.

"After learning not to be disturbed by evil, we must learn not to be made happy by good. We must go beyond evil and good and see that both are necessary."

Swami Vivekananda said to the Duke that love is higher than work, *yoga*, and knowledge. In the Duke's opinion, man is not passive, but is an active agent; and history seemed to him to be the story not of man's evolution, but of his creation, of his conscious effort to bring

about change both in himself and in his surroundings.

On January 10, 1952, the Duke of Richelieu paid his last visit to the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, on the occasion of the unveiling of the alabaster bust of Sri Ramakrishna made by Malvina Hoffman. He had just come from the hospital. At my request he addressed the audience for a few minutes. Among other things, he said:

"I would just like to say one word, which came to me as I was coming here, and which may convey some idea to you, as you are Americans. The characteristic of the Constitution of this country has been to establish, affirm, and demand the physical independence of man—but merely the physical independence. It had to come from another land, from the land of the oldest civilization, that it was the moral independence, the spiritual independence, which was the important thing. And we see this irony of fate, that whereas the physical independence of man has led to wars, to subjugation, and to the most intolerable malfeasance, the moral independence—as has been shown by the example of Gandhi's non-resistance—has bred the greatest transformation that has occurred in the last three centuries."

During the past few years the Duke of Richelieu was in indifferent health. He knew that he was living on borrowed time. We saw his slight body wearing out day by day from an incurable illness. But his power of mind remained unimpaired till the very last. In conversation he often towered high over the intellects of others. Courtesy and culture radiated from every pore of his skin. Whenever he came to our Center for dinner, he would go to the kitchen, after the meal was over, to thank the cook and the maid personally for the food.

With the passing away of the Duke of Richelieu a link with the past has been severed. I felt highly honored when the Duchess requested me to be one of the honorary pall-bearers at his funeral.

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GLIMPSES OF BANKING LEGISLATION IN INDIA

By PROF. K. B. SAKSENA, M.Com.

DURING the last century no sincere attempt was made to frame a separate Banking Act for India, which could embody the consolidated provisions relating to banks and banking. During the British period, the Government of India did not care to realize the importance and necessity of creating a separate Banking Act. Legislative measures have been taken in the past in stray form by the passing of several Acts. Bills of Exchange Act, Indian Negotiable Instrument Act, etc., are a few instances. Indian Companies Act of 1860 accepted the principle of limited liability which gave a fillip to the growth of joint stock banks. The number of banks in the country was thin

up to the year 1906. There was no Act which could govern the activities and resources of banks as a whole. Hence, it was found necessary to insert a few provisions relating to banks in the Indian Companies Act, 1913. But the dose was not satisfactory, as the provisions in the Indian Companies Act, 1913, were mainly aimed at locating distinction between a banking company and an ordinary trading company.

Several banks which were dominated and governed by the Peoples' Bank of India and the Specie Bank, met the fate of liquidation. During the first world war, and, even in its aftermath, about 161 banks in India failed.

The gigantic failure of banks obviated the inadequacy of banking legislation, but proved its importance in persuading the Government to codify the Banking Act. Again appeared the ghost of world-wide economic depression which hit the banking machinery very hard. These repeated set-backs threatened the proper organisation of the banks in the country. Still the Government thought it fit to stick to its laissez faire policy as some foreign experts opined for modifications in the provisions relating to banks in the Indian Companies Act, 1913, instead of having a special Banking Act. They pleaded that special banking legislation was not a guarantee of safety and quoted the instances of U.S.A. where, they said, numerous banks failed in spite of a separate legislation. Hence, the Government of India and the Central legislature did not accede to the recommendations of the Central Committee for a special Banking Act, but agreed with the foreign experts and added a few provisions relating to banks in the Indian Companies Amendments Act, 1936. But these amendments could not balance the trouble, and the year 1938 witnessed a minor set-back in the field of banking and the Travancore National and the Quilon Bank Ltd. were closed.

Now the Reserve Bank stepped in, as due to the loopholes in the Indian Companies Act, 1913 as amended in 1936, a majority of non-scheduled banks neither sent the required returns nor they kept the required cash balance; and the Act did not provide for help to those banks which were in real difficulty. The Reserve Bank peeped into the problem of amendment of some of the provisions in the Indian Companies Act relating to banks which were very badly indulged in the war-operations, and submitted its proposals to the Government but did not take any material action.

The Government of India insisted to keep pending the question of banking legislation till the end of the war, and opined to pass in the meanwhile the most necessary interim measures. In 1942, the Government secured the approval of the legislature to amend the Indian Companies Act and Section 277F was added providing that every banking company must use the word 'bank,' 'banker' or 'banking' as a part of its name. In 1950 there were 31 companies whose names did not contain these words and hence they were advised to conform to the requirements.

A little later, the Government realized the urgency of banking legislation and consequently a Banking Bill was drafted in the year 1944. The main object of this Bill was to introduce a more rigid control than was proposed in 1939 by the Reserve Bank. This Bill of 1944 was introduced in the Legislative Assembly in the month of November, 1944, which was referred to a Select Committee, but alas, it died in embryo owing to the dissolution of the Legislature. Sir Archibald Rowlands, the then Finance Member, reintroduced the Bill in March, 1946. This bill was fully revised and was sent to a Select Committee on 11th April, 1946, which finished its work on

8th February, 1947. But still it was postponed, and in this way the long-desired need again faced a blow.

During this period three main banking measures were enacted which may be held responsible for the postponement of the consideration of the 1946 bill. A large number of anomalies crept into the banking system, the mania of branch expansion became the order of the day. A bill for the licensing of branches of banking companies was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on 4th November, 1946. The Bill was approved by the legislature under the style the Banking Companies (Restriction of Branches) Act, 1946, which received the assent of the Governor-General on 22nd November, 1946, and came into force immediately. The main point in this Act was the prohibition of opening a new branch or change the location of an existing branch without obtaining prior written permission of the Reserve Bank of India. The following table shows the number of applications received by the Reserve Bank together with the number allowed :

Applications for New Branches

Year	Requested	Allowed
1947	292	184
1948	204	131
1949	126	80
1950	120	91

The third important banking measure of 1946 was the Banking Companies Inspection Ordinance empowering the Reserve Bank, with the previous approval of the Central Government, to make an inspection of the books of account of any bank whose working soundness was doubted. It was later suggested that the inspection of banks by the Reserve Bank should not be confined to only those institutions which were suspected to be working on unsound principles, but it should be extended to all banks. The following table indicates, according to areas, the number of banking companies inspected by the Reserve Bank during the year 1950 :

No. of Banking Companies Inspected by Reserve Bank

	Bombay	Calcutta	Delhi	Kanpur	Madras	Total
Scheduled Banks	2	12	2	..	1	17
Non-scheduled Banks	10	15	5	4	10	44
Total	12	27	7	4	11	61

The catastrophic partition of the country in the year 1947 compelled many banks, especially middle-sized and small-sized banks to transfer their offices from Western Pakistan to Indian Union. Almost all such banks transferred their offices chiefly either to Delhi or East Punjab, but they could not bring their assets, while they retained with them their own liabilities. They were held in a fix how to arrange for meeting the immediate calls. In majority of cases, the records were also left in Pakistan. To assist these migrated banks, and to avoid the disaster to the banking system itself, an Ordinance known as Banking Companies (East Punjab and Delhi) Ordinance, 1947, was promulgated by

the Government of India on 27th September, 1947. In accordance with this Ordinance, the migrated banks in East Punjab and Delhi were required to make payments to their depositors of amounts, not exceeding 10 per cent of the total amount of the current and fixed deposits at each branch in India or Rs. 250, whichever was less. The banks were also prohibited from accepting fresh deposits for a period of three months and from disposing of their assets. This Ordinance lasted up to 27th March, 1948.

In order to give powers to the Reserve Bank to regulate the banking system in the country Banking Companies (Control) Ordinance, 1948 was passed which contained some of the provisions of the Banking Bill which was at the anvil of the Select Committee. It provided for qualitative control as well as quantitative control on banking operations. The Reserve Bank was also empowered to call for periodic returns from the banks. Under this Ordinance the Reserve Bank was allowed to provide the banks with advances in emergency against such securities as it considered fit.

The Indian Banking Companies Bill which was introduced in March, 1948, was referred to a Select Committee on Aug. 9, 1948, and was passed by the Indian Parliament on February 17, 1949. This Act came into force from 16th March, 1949. This Act attempts to consolidate, with certain modifications, the relevant provisions concerning banking companies contained in the Indian Companies Act, 1913, and various *ad hoc* measures like the Banking Companies (Inspection) Ordinance, 1946, the Banking Companies (Restriction of Branches) Ordinance, 1946, and the Banking Companies (Control) Ordinance, 1948, which were subsequently repealed. In addition to this, the new Act also embodies several new provisions for banking regulation.

Besides giving a comprehensive definition of 'banking,' the new Act prohibits the non-banking companies to accept deposits payable on demand and thus safeguards the position of the depositors. To avoid the mushroom growth of banks with inadequate capital, the Act has introduced different capital standards to suit the conditions and has also provided for the licensing of the banks and their branches. To strengthen the working of the banks, provisions have been inserted for limitation of dividends, and also for forbidding the banking companies from undertaking trading business thereby impairing the non-banking risk. The Act prohibits the inter-locking of

directors among companies in order to make their services of some substantial use for the banks. It restricts the employment of managing agents. The Imperial Bank of India has not escaped from the purview of the Act. To strengthen the controlling power, the Reserve Bank has been empowered to call for periodical returns and it can inspect the books of account of any bank at any time whenever it feels it necessary. To rescue the banking companies in emergency, the powers of the Reserve Bank have been widened so as to include the power of controlling the entire machinery of joint stock banking in the Indian Union.

This Act was not to be applicable for a period of six months to all the banking companies in the Indian Union with a view to give a sufficient margin of time to make proper adjustments.

Necessity for the amendment in the Indian Banking Act, 1949, was felt within one year from the passing of the Act. Consequently the Banking Companies (Amendment) Bill 1949, was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on 20th December, 1949, and which was referred to a Select Committee on 23rd December, 1949. The Bill was passed by the Parliament on 10th March, 1950 and it came into operation from 18th March, 1950. Its main provisions are related to the amalgamation and winding up of banking companies. By virtue of this Act, Reserve Bank was also empowered to regulate the opening of branches by Indian banks in foreign countries.

Even after the amendments in the Act there still remain some weak points. Indigenous bankers and banks having their capital and reserve less than 5 lakhs of rupees have altogether escaped from the span of the Act. Importance of such bankers may be seen as they fulfil about 75 per cent of the need of our country and meet approximately 90 per cent of our rural credit needs. Hence, even in the presence of the existing amendments one important part of the Indian money market has not been controlled. Prof. K. T. Shah has also criticised the Act due to the absence of clauses to secure socialisation of banking business.

On the whole, the Banking Companies Act of 1949 and subsequent amendments are the outcome of a long and detailed consideration by several expert committees. Our most urgent needs have been met and it is expected to strengthen the Indian banking system by its support. It is the foundation on which the whole Indian banking system is to be built.



TREATY-MAKING POWERS IN INDIA

A Critical Commentary

PROF. N. B. DE, M.A.

A treaty is an agreement between two or more sovereign States and the treaty-making power of a country is one of the final expressions of its sovereign status as a political unit in the international community.

Item (3) of the Federal Legislative list of the Seventh schedule of the Government of India Act, 1935 was as follows: "Implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries." In the executive sphere this power would be construed as belonging to the province of "external affairs" and consequently this power was to be exercised by the Governor-General in his discretion. Such a system was undoubtedly undemocratic in nature. But for the implementation of such treaties entered into by the Governor-General in his discretion, it was constitutionally necessary that laws were to be passed by the Federal Legislature under section 106. The effect of this particular section of the Government of India Act, 1935 was that while it would be perfectly competent for the Federal Legislature to enact legislation to implement obligations undertaken by the Indian Federation, under treaties or agreements entered into by it with other countries, so long as such legislation related to a topic or topics within the federal power, it would be necessary for Federal Legislature to secure the previous consent of the Governor or the Ruler of the Federated State before it could validly enact legislation which trench upon the legislative field of the province or federated state.

"But this provision might well prevent uniformity of legislation upon matters which are of vital importance to the country as a whole, if any of the units prove refractory in the matter of the adoption of uniform laws."¹

This section was necessitated by the federal structure of the 1935 constitution to prevent the imposition of any unilateral action by the Federal Government upon the constituent units without their prior consent. Section 106 of the Government of India Act, 1935 might be compared with section 132 of the British North America Act, 1867, the interpretation of which came up before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *re The Regulation and Control of Aeronautics in Canada* and in *re Regulation and Control of Radio Communication in Canada*.

In *Attorney General for Canada vs Attorney General for Ontario* and others it was observed by Lord Atkin that regarding a treaty:

"It will be essential to keep in mind the distinction between (1) the formation and (2) the performance of the obligations constituted by a treaty."

1. Ramaswamy: *The Law of the Indian Constitution*, p. 230.

In the Constitution of India treaty-making is a Union power (item 14 in the Union List of the Seventh Schedule). This item is: "Entering into treaties and agreements with foreign countries and implementing of treaties, agreements and conventions with foreign countries." It is evident from the study of the Constitution of India that India has followed the British practice, namely, that the making of a treaty is an executive act while the performance of its obligations if they entail alteration of the existing domestic law, requires legislative action. So far as England is concerned:

"There is no doubt that the Crown has full power to negotiate and conclude treaties with foreign states and that the making of a treaty being an 'Act of State,' treaty obligations cannot be enforced in a municipal court."²

But the Crown cannot legislate and it cannot tax without the concurrence of Parliament.

"Much must be brought under the cognizance of Parliament even when no legal powers are necessary. Secret treaties, for instance, can be made. But there are limits to the effective powers of the government. It is well settled that important treaties must be laid before Parliament."³

"It is worth noting that", says Laski, "the most successful of our foreign secretaries in modern times, Mr. Henderson, decided to submit all treaties for approval of the House of Commons."⁴

"It must not be thought, however, that Parliamentary control weakens the Government. The Government that desires to make its policy open and secures the support of the elected representatives of the people is strengthened in the international arena."⁵

Reference to the performance of treaty obligations in India at present is mentioned in Article 51 and it is considered to be one of the Directive Principles of State Policy, but the actual performance of treaty obligations is governed by Article 253 which runs as follows:

"Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this chapter, Parliament has power to make any law for the whole or any part of the territory of India implementing any treaty, agreement, or convention with any other country or countries or any decision made at any international conference, association or other body."

Indian Constitution is more unitary than federal or it is "quasi-federal" (K. C. Wheare). Hence this provision

2. Keir and Lawson: *Cases in Constitutional Law*, p. 298.

3. W. I. Jennings: *Cabinet Government*, p. 373.

4. Laski: *The American Democracy*, p. 89.

5. W. I. Jennings: *Cabinet Government*, p. 374.

has given unfettered legislative power to Parliament to legislate for the purpose of implementing treaty provisions, not only on subjects mentioned in the Union List and Concurrent List and residuary subjects but also on subjects mentioned in the State List and within the exclusive legislative competence of the states. This is a fine contrast with Section 106 of the old Government of India Act, 1935. Under Article 253 of the present constitution, no previous consent of the constituent states is necessary for enacting legislations on subjects enumerated in the State List by the Parliament for implementing treaty provisions, whereas under the old Act such previous consent was essential. This eliminates the weakness of the old Act as well as establishes legislative uniformity throughout the territory of India. But this provision seeks to encroach upon the exclusive legislative competence of the component states as enunciated in the State List of the Seventh schedule.

It has been laid down by Article II, Section 2 (2) of the Constitution of the United States of America that

"He (President) shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."

Thus two separate powers with respect to treaties were established: the President being given the right to initiate and conduct the negotiations, while the ultimate fate of these negotiations was made dependent upon the willingness of the Senate to approve them by two-thirds vote.

"A treaty when duly approved and ratified becomes the law of the land, and the judges in every state are bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."⁶

No State may make a treaty or enforce any law which contravenes a treaty made by the national government. The national government, on the other hand, may conclude treaties concerning matters on which Congress would have now power to pass laws. A wise President will not go ahead and conclude the terms of an important treaty without feeling out his ground. He will keep in touch with the leaders of the Senate. If he does not do so, he runs the risk of having the Senate reject his work, as it did with the Peace treaty which President Wilson submitted to it in 1919. Such "legislative examination of executive decisions"⁷

has been recommended by implication by Laski even for England. Similar recommendations may be put forward for its application in India in view of the possibility that, subsequent to the executive act of entering into treaty, there may crop up divergence of opinion between the Executive on the one hand and Parliament on the other on the point of passing new laws or granting money to the Executive which are within the normal legislative and financial competence of Parliament.

Article 51 of the Constitution of India must not be overlooked. It runs as follows:

- "The State shall endeavour—
- (a) to promote international peace and security;
 - (b) to maintain just and honourable relations between nations;
 - (c) to foster respect of international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another; and
 - (d) to encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration."

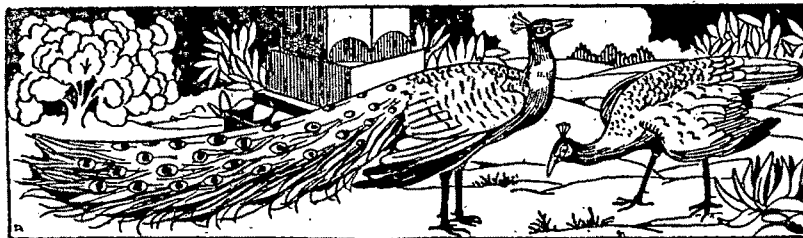
These directive principles have possibly been incorporated in the Constitution of India for showing India's respect for the obligations undertaken by her in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Thus Articles 51(a) and 51(b) of the Indian Constitution broadly correspond to Articles 1 (1) and 1 (2) respectively of Chapter I of the U.N. Charter. Similarly Articles 51 (c) and 51 (d) of the Constitution of India are in broad consonance with the Preamble as well as with Articles 2 (3), Chapter I, Article 33, Chapter VI respectively of the said Charter. Incidentally, almost similar provisions are incorporated in Article 29 of the Constitution of Eire, 1937 and in the Preamble to the French Constitution of 1946.

It may be worth observing that since these provisions have been incorporated in the Chapter on "Directive Principles of State Policy" they are recommendatory in nature rather than mandatory. In spite of the recommendatory nature of the aforesaid provisions, it is expected that courts in India will generally follow the British and American precedents regarding the interpretation of treaties and international law, namely, that the international law will be treated as embodied in the domestic law of the land, so far as it is not inconsistent with the domestic law of the realm.⁸

6. Munro : *The Government of the United States*, p. 293.

7. Laski : *The American Democracy*, p. 88.

8. D. D. Basu : *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, p. 239.



HISTORY OF ASSAM

A Study

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THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

ASSAM is pre-eminently the gift of the Brahmaputra. This magnificent river flowing between the eastern portion of the Himalayas on the north and Assam Range on the south has created the alluvial plain known as Assam. On the east Assam is bounded by the Patkoi Range and the Lushai hills. None of these mountains is forbiddingly inaccessible and as a matter of fact they are penetrated by many passes, some of which are not difficult to negotiate. On the west the valley is open and is not separated from the mainland of India by any natural boundary like a great river or a mountain. Through this open land as well as through the numerous passes that connect the Brahmaputra valley with Tibet on the north, Burma on the east, Bengal on the south and through Bengal with Bihar on the west, men have come to Assam in all ages. Thus came the Austric people who are still represented by tribes like the Khasis. Thus also came tribes of Mongolian as well as of Dravidian origin who are represented today by the various tribal peoples like the Nagas, the Mikirs, the Daflas, the Chutiya, the Mishmis, the Miris, and the Kacharis—in fact by a large proportion of the Bodo-speaking group of the peoples of modern Assam. Thus also came from the west the Aryans who brought with them their language and culture and thus also came the Ahoms from the east from across the Burma frontier and probably gave to the province the name by which it is now known. All these different peoples have contributed to make up the modern population of Assam which is as composite as that of India.

The valley was called in early times Pragjyotisa and Kamrupa. The Muhammadans called it Kamrud and it was some time after the coming of the Ahoms that the older names Pragjyotisa and Kamrupa gave place to the modern name of Assam.

DIVISION INTO FOUR PERIODS

For the convenience of study the history of Assam may be divided into four periods, viz., the legendary period, the early period, the Ahom period and the modern period. The legendary period extends up to the middle of the 4th century A.D. when the early period begins. This early period may be said to have continued till the middle of the 13th century when Assam began to be invaded from the west by the Muhammadans and from the east by the Ahoms. The Muhammadan invasions were resisted and practically speaking there is no Muslim period in the history of Assam. The Ahoms, however, conquered the country which they ruled for about six hundred years at the end of which Assam was annexed to the British Indian empire in 1824. It was there that the modern period

began in the history of Assam. This article is confined mainly to a study of the legendary and early periods.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Our sources of information about these four periods are varied and different in quality. For the legendary period tradition is our only source. It is preserved in the Epics, in the Puranas, in the *Harivamsa* and in greater details, in the *Kalika Purana* and the *Yogini Tantra*. All these are later works, and the *Kalika Purana* and the *Yogini Tantra* which are generally most frequently cited as sources, are definitely very late compositions. The *Kalika Purana* was written in the beginning of the 12th century A.D. and the *Yogini Tantra* in the sixteenth century. The knowledge derived from these sources is not corroborated by the evidence of contemporary coins, inscriptions or monuments because none has come down to modern times, nor by the testimony of any foreign traveller for none is known to have visited the country before Hiuen-Tsang came in the middle of the seventh century. In these circumstances tradition as preserved in such literature as has been mentioned above has to be very carefully handled. *Mother Goddess Kamakhya* by Dr. B. K. Kakati is a very learned effort at rationalising the history of the legendary period.

Further, as we pass from the legendary to the early period our knowledge grows more definite. It is now based on the evidence of inscriptions which have been left by the kings of this period. These inscriptions are in Sanskrit and they are generally very dependable. Ten of these were edited by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharya, formerly Professor of Sanskrit, Cotton College, Gauhati, in his *Kamarupa-Sasanavali*. The original texts of the inscriptions are printed in Devanagari script while the translations and the annotations are in Bengali. It is a noble evidence of the contribution of the scholarship of Bengal to the unravelling of the history of Assam. Several other inscriptions have been found since the publication of *Kamarupa-Sasanavali* in 1932, and these have been published in journals. All these inscriptions are primarily land-grants and political events are mentioned there only casually. With one exception they are not also dated according to any known era. Further, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang visited Kamarupa early in this period and his *Travels and Life* throw a flood of welcome light on the history of the time. Lastly, it was also during this period that Kamarupa came in contact with Harshavardhan of Kanauj and the *Harsha-charita* written by Bana also sheds illuminating light on the period. The information that can be derived from these sources

is, however, still very meagre. Coins, monuments and contemporary indigenous histories are as well lacking for this period as for the earlier legendary period. Yet the political history of this period was pieced together from these scanty sources by the late K. L. Barua in his *Early History of Kamarupa*, and Dr. B. K. Barua in his recently published *Cultural History of Assam (Early Period)* has given an account of the administrative system, economic and social condition, of art and architecture, in short, of the cultural life of Assam during the early period.

For the next or Ahom period our sources are plentiful and much more definite. The Ahom kings had the very healthy and laudable practice of keeping written accounts of their activities. Such accounts are called *Buranjies* and they are generally very accurate both in the matters of dating and details. Further, there are the *Vamsavalis* of the kings of Cooch Behar and Derang, the histories written by Muhammadan historians beginning with Minhaj-ud-din Siraj and accounts left by Englishmen who began to visit Assam in an ever-increasing number in the eighteenth century. Sir Edward Gait's *History of Assam* is based on a study of all these sources and still continues to be the most authoritative account of the history of Assam during the Ahom period.

For the modern period the sources of information are still more numerous and consist of official accounts, reports, gazetteers, newspapers and prose and poetical works written by the children of the soil. Dr. S. K. Bhuiyan's *Anglo-Assamese Relations* is the latest book on the subject.

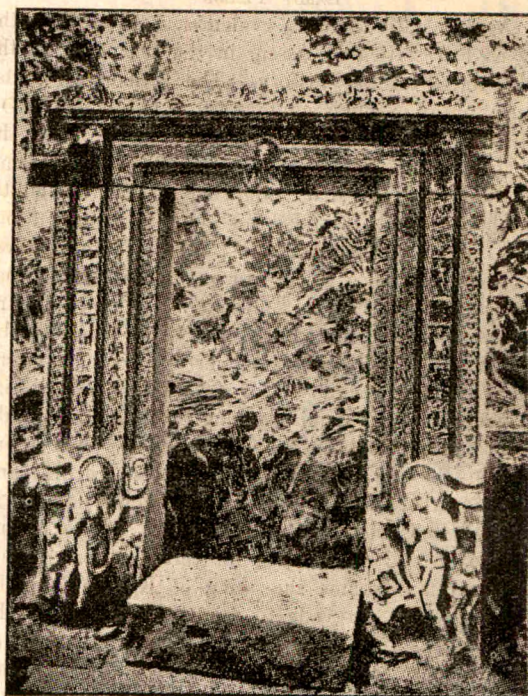
SUMMARY OF HISTORY

The history of Assam from the legendary period to the beginning of the modern age may be briefly summarised.

LEGENDARY PERIOD

In the legendary period Assam was called, as stated above, Pragjyotisa or Kamarupa. According to tradition, Pragjyotisa was at first ruled by a dynasty of Danava kings founded by Mahiranga Danava. He was succeeded by Hatakasura, Sambarasura, Ratnasura and Ghatakasura. The last was deposed by Naraka who is also called an *asura* but who is declared to have been the son of god Vishnu himself born on the mother Earth. He is said to have been found by King Janaka of Mithila lying with his head on a human skull and was accordingly named Naraka. He was reared up by king Janaka till he attained his youth when fearing that his life was endangered he dived into the waters of the Ganges in Mithila and within a few minutes he appeared in Pragjyotisa or Assam. He was accompanied by his mother Earth and also by his father Vishnu with whose help he killed Ghataka, subdued the indigenous people called the Kiratas and became

the king. For some years after his accession Naraka ruled well; he brought Brahmins from Mithila and settled them in his new kingdom; he rendered dutiful worship to the goddess Kamakhya and was respectful to the gods and the Brahmins. But he soon struck up a friendship with the neighbouring *asura* king Bana whose capital was Sonitapur or modern Tejpur. As a result Naraka became irreligious and presumptuous so much so that Vishnu himself had again to intervene and kill his own son Naraka. Vishnu then placed on the throne of Pragjyotisa Naraka's son, Bhagadatta, who, according to the Mahabharata, played a heroic part in the battle of Kurukshetra and fell fighting there on behalf of Duryodhana and in protest against the divinity of



Door-frame found near Tejpur (circa 600 A.D.)

the cowherd boy Krishna. The successors of Bhagadatta ruled in Pragjyotisa, according to one account, for nineteen generations, according to the Nidhanpur grant, for three thousand years and, according to Hiuen Tsang, for one thousand generations. All these are legendary tradition and cannot be accepted as facts of history. Two circumstances, however, have to be remembered. When Naraka was ruling in Pragjyotisa or Kamarupa King Bana was ruling in a neighbouring kingdom of which the capital was Sonitapura or Tejpur. Assam thus was divided into at least two kingdoms in those days. Secondly, Bhagadatta's support was sought for by the Kurus and the Pandavas alike and was ultimately secured

by the Kurus. That shows that Bhagadatta, the king of Pragjyotisa, was considered quite a respectable king whose alliance on equal terms was solicited and prized by the Aryan kings of Indraprastha. Naraka himself is said to have come from the Aryan land of Mithila to Assam where he later on settled Aryan Brahmins. Thus Aryanisation of Assam began, according to the Mahabharata, before the age of the battle of Kurukshetra. This is rather significant. No king of Bengal is known to have taken part in the Bharata war. The Aryanisation of Assam, therefore, began before the Aryanisation of Bengal. There is nothing to be astonished at this conclusion, for a look at a map will show how easy it is to pass over on foot from Mithila into Kamarupa or Lower Assam.

EARLY PERIOD

At any rate there is evidence to show that the Aryans had settled in Assam in the beginning of the early period of her history. The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta (330 A.D. to 375 A.D.) states that the king of Kamarupa, along with the two contemporary rulers of the Bengal kingdoms, Samatata and Davaka, submitted to Samudragupta, paid him tribute, attended his court and carried out all his imperious commands. This is the earliest epigraphic reference to Kamarupa and it shows that Kamarupa was then a sufficiently civilised country whose submission was considered worth recording by the Indian Napoleon in the list of his conquests. The Allahabad inscription, however, does not record the name of the vanquished king of Kamarupa. Light on this point has been sought from the Nidhanpur grant of Bhaskaravarman which is the earliest and best known of the Sanskrit inscriptions found in Assam. It tells us that the dynasty of Naraka having come to an end after ruling for three thousand years Pushyavarman became the king of Kamarupa. The inscription then proceeds to relate the names of the ten successors of Pushyavarman. Susthitavarman or Mriganka was the eleventh king who had by his queen Shyama two sons, Supratisthitavarman and Bhaskaravarman. Supratisthitavarman, the elder of the two brothers, first got the throne but he died after a short reign of how many years is unknown. He was succeeded by Bhaskaravarman. The inscription bears no date and from the evidence of this inscription alone it is impossible to find out the date of Bhaskaravarman. But it was in his reign that the Chinese pilgrim visited Kamarupa, enjoyed the king's hospitality and proceeded in the company of Bhaskaravarman to meet king Harshavardhan of Kanouj. Bana, the court poet of Harshavardhan also states in his *Harshacharita* or Biography of Harsha that Bhaskaravarman, the king of Kamarupa, sent to Harshavardhan an envoy named Hamsavega and sought the alliance of the king of Kanouj. Thus it is clear that Bhaskaravarman, the king of Kamarupa, was a contemporary of

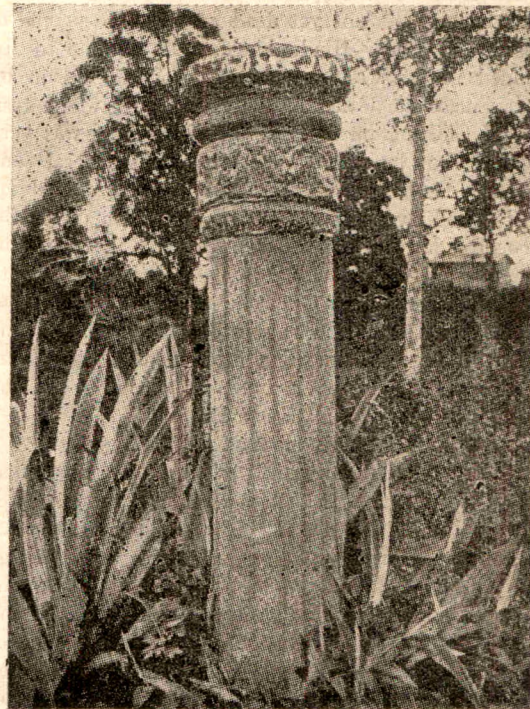
Harshavardhan of Kanouj. The latter ruled from 605-647 A.D. Bhaskaravarman's date may therefore be safely taken to have been the first half of the seventh century of the Christian era.

According to the Nidhanpur and Doobi inscriptions, twelve kings preceded Bhaskaravarman. Thus two facts stand out, viz., Bhaskaravarman ruled in the first half of the seventh century and twelve kings (making however eleven generations) had preceded him on the throne of Kamarupa. An attempt has been based on these two facts to find out by a process of back calculation, the date of Pushyavarman, the founder of the dynasty to which Bhaskaravarman belonged. M.M. Padmanath Bhattacharya would allot twenty-five years to each of the preceding twelve kings and thus place Pushyavarman three hundred years earlier, that is to say, in the middle of the fourth century and thus make him a contemporary of Samudragupta. Sir Edward Gait would, however, allot only sixteen years to each reign and would place Pushyavarman a hundred years later, that is to say, in the fifth century. In view of the fact that the earliest epigraphic reference to Kamarupa has been made by Samudragupta in his Allahabad pillar inscription the effort to find out the name of the king of Kamarupa whose submission has thus been recorded, is natural and understandable. But the result has been more or less a guess-work and to my mind a century either way does not matter much. What, however, is really of significance is that, as the inscriptions tell us, of the twelve predecessors of Bhaskaravarman on the throne of Kamarupa as many as three performed the *asvamedha* sacrifice. These three were the sixth king Mahendrarvarman, the eighth king Mahabhutivarman and the tenth king Sthitavarman. Mahendrarvarman and Sthitavarman are said to have celebrated it twice. Thus the *asvamedha* sacrifice was performed five times in the course of five generations. It may not be that these frequent performances of the *asvamedha* sacrifice signified the acquisition by the kings of Kamarupa of imperial powers, but if they meant anything they certainly signified the end of Gupta supremacy over Kamarupa and the resurgence of Kamarupa as an independent kingdom.

Inscriptions also show that these kings were warlike and wars with Gauda or Bengal were frequent and very probably both Susthitavarman and Supratisthitavarman, the eleventh and the twelfth kings of the dynasty, lost their lives in such wars. Then came the reign of Maharajadhiraja Bhaskaravarman. Friend and ally of Emperor Harshavardhan, the enlightened patron of the Chinese pilgrim who differed from him in religion, the one ruler of Kamarupa who is definitely known to have extended his victorious arms to Bengal and pitched his camp of victory at Karnasuvarna which has been identified with Rangamati in the district of Murshidabad in Bengal and issued land-grants

from that camp, Maharajadhiraja Bhaskaravarman is the greatest of the early kings of Kamarupa. He ruled for about fifty years but nothing is known about his successors nor is anything known as to how their rule came to an end. It, however, appears that soon after the death of Bhaskaravarman in the middle of the seventh century A.D. a new dynasty was founded by Salastambha with his capital at Haruppesvara on the bank of the Brahmaputra. It is believed that Haruppesvara was situated somewhere near modern Tejpur. The dynasty of Salastambha had twenty-one kings of whom the names of only fourteen have so far been found recorded in different inscriptions. One at least of these twenty-one kings had relations with kings and kingdoms outside Assam. This was Harsa or Sri Harisa. He is believed to be identical with king Harsadeva who, according to a Nepal inscription, was the lord of Gauda (Bengal), Odra (Orissa) and Kosala (Uttara Pradesh), who gave his daughter, Rajyamati, in marriage to a king of Nepal but who was ultimately defeated by king Yasovarman. In the latter part of the tenth century the Salastambha dynasty became extinct on the death of the last king Tyaga-Singh and the people (*prakritayas*) made one Brahmapala, the king of Kamarupa. Brahmapala is said to have been a *Bhauma*, i.e., a descendant of Naraka and his choice as the king was mainly due to his connection with the dynasty of Naraka. Thus Brahmapala started in Kamarupa a third and new dynasty—the Palas of Kamarupa who must be distinguished from the Palas who ruled about the same time in Bengal. The dynasty of Brahmapala ruled in Kamarupa till the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. when the Kamarupa king Jayapala was overthrown by the Bengal king Ramapala who established in Kamarupa a vassal king named Tingyadeva. He, however, soon afterwards rebelled against the king of Bengal but was subdued by Vaidyadeva, a general of the Bengal king Kumarpala. But before long Vaidyadeva too set himself up as an independent king in Kamarupa. Evidently this was a period of confusion in Kamarupa and it lasted for about a century. During this period a Sena king of Bengal might have defeated one or other of the Kamarupa kings. But the Sena dynasty of Bengal was itself overthrown by Bakhtiyar Khilji who led the first Muhammadan invasion into Bengal in 1198 A.D. and who after his conquest of Bengal led an expedition into Kamarupa. A two-lined Sanskrit inscription on a boulder in the village of Kanai-barsi-ber on the north bank of the Brahmaputra just opposite to Gauhati records that in Saka 1127 (1205 A.D.) on the 13th day of the month of Chaitra (March-April) the Turks who had invaded Kamarupa were destroyed. Bakhtiyar Khilji is known to have led his expedition into Kamarupa in 1205-1206 A.D. and the Muhammadan expedition the defeat of which is recorded in the Kanai-barsi-ber inscription, was probably led by him. But

the tragedy of the circumstances lies in the fact that there is no record which can tell us definitely of the name and ancestry of the national hero of Kamarupa who had the honour of having repulsed the first Muhammadan invasion. This gap in our knowledge is due to the fact that darkness began to descend on Kamarupa in the thirteenth century. If the Muhammadans invaded it from the west in 1205 A.D. the Ahoms invaded it from the east in 1228 A.D. Under the pressure of these two invading hosts the unity and integrity of the Kamarupa kingdom was broken and Assam became divided into a number of states. The



Sixteen-sided ornamental pillar found near Tejpur
(circa 1000 A.D.)

tract from the Karatoya to the Sankosh passed under the rule of a dynasty of kings who had their capital at Kamtapur on the left bank of the Dharla, not very far from the modern city of Cooch Behar. The land from the Sankosh to the Barnadi continued to form the kingdom of Kamarupa. The country to the east of the Barnadi up to the Subanasiri was ruled by a number of petty chiefs called Bhuiyans, or Bara Bhuiyans (Twelve Landlords). East of the Subanasiri the country on the north bank of the Brahmaputra now formed a kingdom ruled by the Chutiyas while the opposite region on the south bank of the Brahmaputra and east of the Kallong formed a kingdom of the Kacharis. To the south-west of it lay the Jaintia kingdom. This division of the country into so many small states facilitated its conquest by the invading

Muhammadans and the Ahoms who came practically simultaneously from the west and the east. In the west the kings of Kamarupa and Kamtapura held back the Muhammadans till 1498 when Hussain Shah of Bengal defeated Nilambar, the king of Kamtapur, made him a prisoner and captured his capital and kingdom. During the next two or three years Hussain Shah pushed on his conquests upto the Bar-nadi and established his son at Hajo as the governor of the newly conquered country. Thus by the beginning of the sixteenth century the kingdom of Kamarupa and Kamtapur both appear to have passed under Muhammadan rule. But the spirit of adventure and love of independence was not yet dead amongst the people of Assam, and a new Hindu kingdom soon came to be founded in the western part of modern Assam by Bisva Singh, the leader of the Koches. He was a resident of Chikangram in Goalpara district; he was very low-born, but he was evidently a great general and organiser. He began his career of conquest by subduing the Bara Bhuiyans who ruled in the region up to the Bar-nadi and then extended his conquests up to the Karatoya on the west. He transferred his capital to Cooch Behar not very far from the old city of Kamtapur in about 1515 A.D. This new kingdom waged long wars with the Muhammadan invaders who came from Bengal, but was at last obliged to make peace by accepting Muslim protection (1596).

ESTABLISHMENT OF AHOM SOVEREIGNTY

In the meantime during the three centuries that passed between the first Muhammadan invasion of Kamarupa in 1205 A.D. and the establishment of the Koch kingdom by Bisva Singh in 1515 a great change had come over the eastern part of Assam. The Ahoms had begun their raids and in 1253 the first Ahom king Sukapha established himself firmly on the soil of Assam. He built a city at Cheraideo, not very far from modern Sibsagar and thus started the Ahoms on their long career of conquest and sovereignty in Assam. The Ahoms ruled in Assam for 596 years at the end of which Assam was conquered by the British and annexed to the British Indian Empire in 1824. The story of the rise and growth of Ahom rule in Assam is very interesting; but it must be left for a subsequent disquisition. Here it may just be mentioned that the Ahoms gradually spread their arms westward, resisted numerous Muhammadan invasions into upper Assam and extended their rule up to the Manash river in the west. The modern district of Goalpara thus lay outside the Ahom kingdom. The Kachari and the Jaintia kingdoms also long maintained their independence. It was not till 1708 that these two states were subdued by the Ahom king Rudra Singh. Even he did not feel himself strong enough to annex outright these two states to his own dominions and he had to remain satisfied with the acknowledgment of his suzerainty by the defeated rulers whom he restored to

their thrones. But the Ahom hold on these two kingdoms was never very strong and before the eighteenth century was over these two states sought for and received protection from the British Indian government.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HISTORY OF ASSAM

The preceding brief account of the history of Assam shows the interesting characteristics of the history of Assam.

First, politically Assam was seldom a part of the Indian empire until its annexation in 1824. It is not cited amongst the sixteen important states (Sodasa-mahajanapadas) of ancient India; the Mauryas do not appear to have ruled over it; the hegemony of the Guptas, though acknowledged for a time, did not last long; Harshavardhan was an honoured ally and the Gurjara-Pratiharas who succeeded to his imperial dignity had nothing to do with Assam; and lastly, the Muhammadans never conquered the whole of the province and never succeeded in bringing Assam within the Indo-Islamic empire of Delhi. It was only after 1824 that Assam became united with the Indian empire and has since continued to be its part and parcel.

Secondly, the whole of Assam rarely formed one united kingdom. In the legendary period Naraka shared the province with Bana at least. In the early period the boundary of the kingdom no doubt extended in the west up to the Karatoya, but its extent eastward is not equally definitely known. Hiuen Tsang of course says that "On the east this country is bounded by a line of hills . . . The frontiers are contiguous to the barbarians of south-west China." This certainly suggests that the Patkoi range formed the eastern boundary of Kamarupa when Maharajadhiraja Bhaskaravarman, the patron and host of Hiuen Tsang, was on its throne. But the fact that no record of the early kings of Kamarupa has so far been discovered in any part of Assam east of the district of Nowgong suggests that, in spite of the Chinese pilgrim's testimony to the contrary, the eastern part of modern Assam lay outside the kingdom of Kamarupa in the early period. In later times neither the Muhammadans nor the Ahoms conquered the whole of Assam. The furthest limit of the extension of the Muhammadan power in Assam was achieved by Mir Jumla in 1663 when he reached and occupied the Ahom capital Garhgaon and forced the reigning king Jayadvaja Singh to make peace by ceding to the Delhi Emperor the part of Assam lying to the west of the Bharali and the Kallong, i.e. the western part of Assam including the districts of Kamarupa, Darrang and Goalpara. But within eight years the Ahoms recovered the districts of Kamarupa and Darrang. The Ahoms however who thus stemmed the tide of Muslim conquest, had not conquered Lower Assam much earlier. It was just a couple of years before Mir Jumla's invasion that king

Jayadhvaja Singh had brought Lower Assam along with Gauhati under Ahom control, but the district of Goalpara always remained outside the Ahom sovereignty. Further, as stated above, all this time the Kachari and Jaintia kingdoms maintained their separate independent existence and it was not till 1708 that these states were subdued by king Rudra Singh. Thus Ahom rule also never embraced the whole of Assam. Unity came only with the British annexation to India.

Thirdly, the historical period of Assam begins very late, indeed much later than in any other province of northern India. But when we first come to get a definite account of her kings of the dynasty of Pushyavarman (circa 350 A.D. to 650 A.D.) we find her in possession of a fully developed civilisation. The records were kept in Sanskrit and even writers of land-grants composed fine poetry as is clear from the Nidhanpur and Doobi grants of Bhaskaravarman. Hiuen Tsang who visited Kamarupa in the reign of Bhaskaravarman also states that there were in Kamarupa many *deva* temples, that the king and the people alike were fond of learning and that men of high talents from outside visited the country. Bana in his *Harsacharita* describes the articles that were presented to Harsavardhana by Bhaskaravarman's envoy Hamsavega when the latter had his first audience of the king of Kanauj. The presents included not only nature's gifts like ourang-outangs, talking-birds, musk-deers, betel-nuts, nut-megs, sandal-wood, aguru and other aromatics but also manufactured goods like a white umbrella richly decorated with gold and gems, gold chains, necklaces, woven silk-bags for keeping musks, cages made of cane decorated with gold and corals, ivory and ivory goods, sweet and fragrant wines, distilling vessels and other richly painted utensils, paintings, painting boards and brushes and dyes, jewelleryes, leather shields, cane seats, learned manuscripts with covers made of the bark of the sweet-scented *aguru* tree, silk textiles which rivalled in their colour the light of the, autumnal moon and cloth soft to the touch and smelling of jasmine flowers (*jatipattika*). Indeed Kamarupa's fame for manufacturing and weaving silk textiles was known even in the days of Kautilya (circa 3rd century B.C.) who in his *Arthashastra* admires the textiles of Kamarupa for their rich colour which was like that of the morning sun (*valarka*) and for their softness which was like that of gems (*manisnigdha*). Kautilya also admires the sandalwood and other aromatics produced in Kamarupa.

The production of the goods mentioned above certainly suggests that Kamarupa was highly civilised when it first appears in history in the first half of the seventh century of the Christian era. Such a civilisation could not have been developed all on a sudden. Centuries of human activities must have preceded before this height was reached in the reign of Maha-

rajadhiraja Bhaskaravarman. Unfortunately we have with our present knowledge no means for tracing the origin and development of this civilisation. It is shrouded in complete darkness which will be lifted, it is expected, by the coming generation of scholars to be produced by Gauhati University which, it is hoped, will found sooner or later a Professorship of the History of Assam.



An Ahom temple

Fourthly, Hinduism in Assam has been all through her history a living, unifying and civilising force. It assimilated and civilised all the older indigenous peoples like the Kacharis and Chutiyas. Its greatest triumph was, however, won over the Ahoms who came to Assam as proud conquerors with their own priests and their own religious ideas but were ere long converted and assimilated to the Hindu religion and culture. This triumph began to be achieved within 150 years of the Ahom conquest with the accession of king Sudangpha in 1389 who first appointed Brahmins to high offices, and may be said to have been completely attained in the reign of the seventeenth king Sussengpha (1603-1641) who was the first Ahom king to have adopted a purely Sanskritised name (Pratap Singh). From him onwards every one of the succeeding twenty-three Ahom kings bore a Sanskritised Hindu name, was crowned according to the traditional Hindu rites and were devoted to the worship of Hindu deities. Indeed this triumph of Hinduism was achieved in Assam when Hinduism appeared to

have spent up all its assimilating capacity and proselytising zeal in northern India. Here the conquering Muhammadans remained unassimilated, but in north-eastern India the victorious Ahoms were vanquished. This was the last, and, should I not say, the greatest triumph of Hinduism as a missionary force and from a study of the process by which this magnificent triumph was secured our secular Government may find the solution of the tribal problem that has already begun to raise its head in some parts of the country.

Fifthly, while it is a fact that politically Assam was seldom connected with the rest of India culturally she had very close ties with Hindu India. Her oldest traditions are drawn from the Great Epics of India; her official language, the language of the inscriptions of the early Kamarupa kings which are the oldest official records of Assam, is Sanskrit, the language of the rest of Hindu India; her religion is the religion of the rest of India; her script is derived from the Devanagari script; and her art and architecture were based and fashioned on Hindu ideas. But it will be a mistake to consider that Assam always borrowed from the composite culture which is known as Hinduism and never contributed anything to its stock. Of course, our knowledge on the subject is still very inadequate and much is not known about the true extent and nature of the contribution of Assam to the Hindu culture. The cult of Sakti of which the goddess Kamakhya in Kamarupa has long been recognised as a very important centre, was largely developed, if not originated, in Assam. A later development of the Sakti cult which got somehow mixed up with Buddhism is known as Tantricism and Assam has always been recognised as the home of Tantricism with its offshoots like the Vajrayana and the Sahajiya cults. If Tantricism led to abuses, bloody sacrifices and mischievous practices it was again in Assam that a most effective protest was made. It was in Assam that Sankaradeva preached a pure form of Vaishnavism which reclaimed men's hearts to the cult of Bhakti and taught men to discard as useless the bloody and obscene practices that have come to be identified with a degraded form of Tantricism.

Sixthly, Hiuen Tsang's statement that there were in Kamarupa hundreds of *deva* temples when he visited the country in the first half of the seventh century, shows that Assam was rich in art and architecture. All her ancient art and architectural wealth is now lost, but the few traces of them that have survived the ravages of time and elements and lie scattered in the midst of ruins as are to be found in the neighbourhood of Tejpur, show that in this sphere of human activity also Assam did not lag behind. The architectural monuments that have come down from the Ahom kings and which are still to be found at Sibsagar have extorted the admiration of all visitors. These are proofs of what Assam was capable of in the realm of architecture.

Seventhly, the system of government in Assam has always been monarchical. There is no evidence to show that democracy ever functioned in any part of Assam before Assam became a part of republican India. The inscriptions of the early kings of Assam refer to some of the officers and functionaries of the time—*Mantrin*, *Sachiva*, *Amatya*, *Samanta*, *Mahsamanta*, *Nyaya-karanika*, etc. The Kamauli grant even refers to the *Sachiva-samaja* or Council of Ministers who assisted the king on important matters. It is true that in the Baragaon copper plate grant of Ratnapala it is stated that on the extinction of the Salastambha dynasty with the death of the twenty-first king Tyaga Singha, the subjects (*prakriti*) chose Brahmapala to be the king of Kamarupa. But none of the inscriptions of later kings of the dynasty like Indrapala and Dharmapala refers to the fact of the selection of Brahmapala as the king by the subjects though Brahmapala is mentioned with due respect. It will be thus hardly justifiable to hold that in the second half of the tenth century A.D. the people of Assam enjoyed the right to elect their king. Indeed hereditary monarchy was the prevailing system of government in Assam in the early period and continued to be so all through the Ahom period. On this system of hereditary monarchy the Ahoms foisted a sort of feudalism and all the high offices like those of Bar-Gohain, Bura-Gohain, Barpatra Gohain, etc., which involved military service, were confined to fifteen aristocratic Ahom families who sometimes intervened in the matter of regulating the succession. It was only to the lower posts that the higher classes of the conquered people of Assam were admitted. The people as such had no voice and the government was autocratic. Prices, however, were very cheap. Thus in 1739 one maund of rice cost 2 1/5 annas, of milk 2 1/2 annas, of oil 4 1/2 annas and of *gur* 1 1/2 annas. But cheap prices did not mean an easy time and easy lives. The economic condition of the people was indeed very miserable. Men became slaves if they could not pay their debts and slaves were openly sold at very cheap prices. An adult male slave of good caste cost twenty rupees only while a low caste girl slave could be purchased for no more than three rupees. Further, the distinction between the aristocrat and the commoner was rigid and humiliating to the latter. Thus, for example, none but the highest nobles had a right to wear shoes, or to carry umbrellas, or to travel in palanquins. The common people were not allowed to build houses of masonry and the Doms who caught fish and the Haris who acted as sweepers were obliged to bear distinguishing marks having a fish or a broom respectively tattooed on their foreheads.

That was feudalism and medievalism with a vengeance and it was the degrading economic and social condition of the mass of the people that must have facilitated the Burmese conquest in 1819 and the annexation of Assam to British India in 1824.

DR. MARIA MONTESSORI

By SHEFALI NANDY, M.A.

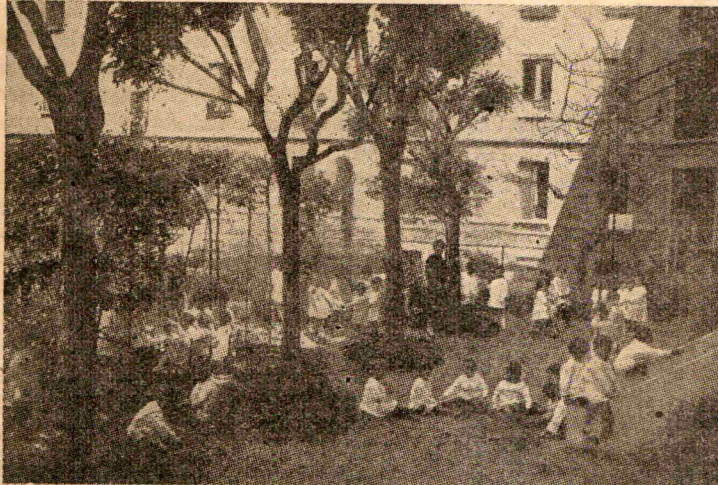
CHILD-EDUCATIONISTS of today are grateful to the year 1893, when Maria Montessori took the Degree in Medicine from the University of Rome and set an example for the future lady students of Italy in that line. Born in Chiaravalle, Ancona, she was the only daughter of Cavalier Alexander Montessori. When a girl of eleven she decided to be an engineer, and took up Mathematics as her subject. But the facilities for girls in Italy being too meagre she

Edward Seguin, some fifty years ago. Her methods applied to the deficient children had a great success which made her believe that normal children could gain even more by them. For carrying on with this experiment she felt the necessity of psychological knowledge and she went back to the University for a four-year course in Philosophy. She pursued her anthropological studies by various investigations amongst school-children and simultaneously continued her study on Seguin. She translated Seguin and Itard from the original into Italian. As a result of her anthropological studies she was appointed a Lecturer in the University of Rome.

In 1907 Doctor Montessori was invited to form the first *Casa Dei Bambini* (Children's Houses) in the poorest quarter of Rome near Saint Lorenzo Gate which made a new epoch in the history of education.

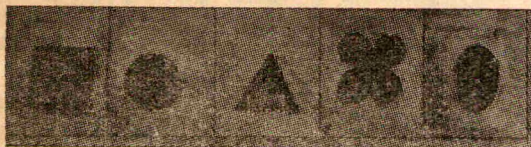
By that time she was quite ready to adopt her methods of freeing the personality and latent energy of the child and helping his self-education through materials and methods scientifically adapted to his individual needs. The quarter at St. Lorenzo suffered from collapse of buildings. The *Beni Stabili Association* started to rebuild

them and thought of establishing some children's houses. The various *Casa dei Bambini* that followed the first in the quarter are the centre of Dr. Montessori's ideas and activities which witnessed a great success.



Casa del Bambini, Rome

went to the boys' school where she was separated by the authorities from her classmates and looked after with special attention. Later on, she took up the course of Medicine and had to be isolated again in the University even in the anatomical laboratories. But she was a person not to be disheartened. Her ambition led her to the goal and she graduated herself overcoming all the difficulties. Had she been chosen to be a teacher, the only vocation for the women of Italy of the day, the world might have lost "Dottorosa Montessori"—the favourite and the most beloved educationist of today.



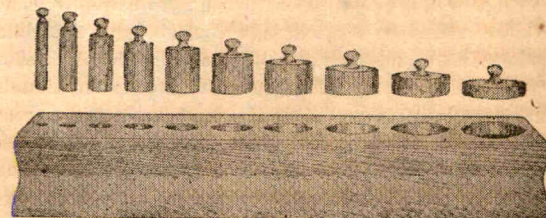
Geometric metal insets

Her first medical practice was in the University Psychiatric Clinic where in the course of her duties she became interested in the feeble-minded children. Dealing with them she found out that the mentally deficient children need a pedagogue rather than a doctor. She tried the specially devised methods of treatment tried by



Geometric metal insets

The Montessori system of education is so different from other methods and yet so similar that it would not be improper to give a simple resume here.



Wooden cylinder

When a child starts to learn, the first lesson which comes to him is the alphabet; the teacher does not care whether he is ready to accept the lesson, because it is evident that he should learn by heart and follow his forerunners' example. If his movements are analysed, it is found that he uses his two senses out of the five in this attempt—the auditory and the visual, he sees the letter, hears the sound and then pronounces as told. If these senses be previously trained, the task becomes much easier and a good deal of pain is saved for future fight. Montessori apparatus is used to train these senses and hence it makes life easier for the children as well as for the teachers.



Maria Montessori, M.D. (Rome), Hon. D.Litt.
(Durham)

For example, to learn an alphabet, the child ordinarily uses his eye and ear in the stereotyped method, but according to the new method he uses his fingers too. A letter written on cut-out sand-paper pasted on a board or card is presented to him. The teacher who helps him feels it sitting by his side with her two fingers carefully using the correct movement used in writing it, and the child watches. In the next stage, with the help of the teacher he feels and hears the name. In the third stage he himself feels it and utters the name spontaneously. His fingers which are so sensitive and trained beforehand feel the shape which appeals to his mind, and he never forgets it. If he does, it is only because the psychological moment for the presentation of that particular object is not yet reached. He can repeat over and over if he likes or go on with other practices.

Sensorial apparatus is used to train senses which are essential to grasp anything in the future world. Handling the cylinders, pink tower, broad stair, red rods, etc., he learns to use his eye and visual memory—he gains an idea of length, breadth, dimension, even perception of colour.

Touch-boards are used to improve his touch sense. The sensitive fingers of a child feel the rough and smooth board, prepared with rough sand-paper and smooth plain paper consequently. His feeling might be disturbed, so a blindfold is used. After some exercises he is so trained that he takes away the blindfold—goes on feeling his school mates, dresses, books, slates, black boards, anything he can find, feeling and uttering at the same time rough-smooth, rough-smooth. This is the psychological moment to present letters. Now he is ready to accept the forms of the alphabet in his memory.

To teach writing, the muscular training to hold a pencil comes first. Geometric wooden and metal insets are provided for this purpose—figures cut out in metal and wood with centrally placed knobs for handling and fitting into square frames. The child uses one at a time, leads his crayon on its edges—the order of doing the figures is at his discretion. Afterwards he puts the figure exactly to fit it and draws new lines with another crayon outside it. Removing the figure a second time he shades the whole of the drawing with a third colour. His skill increases as he repeats the exercise and becomes ready to write the letters of the alphabet which are nothing but lines. The purpose of presenting geometric insets is to create a field for geometrical instructions.



A boy learning with the help of wooden sets

Over and above the apparatus, the most important point of a Montessori school is to provide the child with a suitable environment.

"The school should become the place where the child may live in freedom, and this freedom must not be solely the intimate spiritual liberty of internal growth. The entire organism of the child from his psychological, vegetative part to his motor activity,

ought to find in school the best conditions for development."

The motto of the schools should be to create such "best conditions for development". Children like to handle their chairs and tables which must be according to their measurement. Sitting on a chair specially made for him and using a table of his size he feels the utmost satisfaction in finding himself in a world of his own. Montessori schools very often use metal furniture which are very light and plainly painted and supposed to create

popular amongst children who use it according to their choice. Doctor Montessori warned the teachers not to interfere with their work, though it is very difficult for an ordinary teacher not to impose her ideas upon children. A teacher in a Montessori school is an older friend, she observes and by that observation she attains perfection day by day. Prize and punishment are equally abolished as no real achievement can be attained by them. Environment, apparatus, teacher friend and student friends—these are the only factors for a modern school.



Montessori Training College, Surrey, U. K.

more noise. But it has been proved that an untrained child when he comes to the school sometimes creates noise but he is reproached by his classmates with a look of contempt and very quickly he adapts himself to the new environment. He serves his own dinner without breaking china, because he knows how to move, and his muscles are trained to hold the plate correctly. It is by using these things with trained muscles that he makes progress to perfection, achieves perfect co-ordination of his voluntary movements.

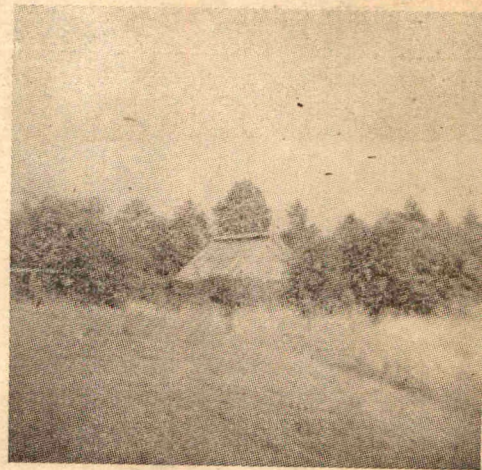
One of the essential points of a Montessori school is 'free' activity which does not mean freedom without limitations. Complete freedom does not help development as it is rather boring. The best way is to put the child in a suitable environment so that he can choose for himself. The needs of a tadpole are different from those of a frog but yet the tadpole is a frog in-the-making. The child needs "co-ordination of psycho-muscular organism." Activities like washing, dusting, sweeping, cleaning, etc., help him to train his muscles and co-ordinate their movements. The objects he works with should be suitable for his size and strength. In such an environment he "works himself" while the teacher watches his activities and helps him to carry out his mission.

The few points quoted are some of the basic principles of the Montessori method. The apparatus is extremely



Mrs. Nandy and Montessori School students, London

Reformation in education is not a new idea. From days immemorial, Socrates, Plato, Locke, Pereira, Rousseau,



The garden of the M. T. College.

Itard, Seguin, Pestalozzi, Froebel and others contributed something to it, to which Dr. Montessori added some more. But her method being based upon practical experience and actual experiments, brings a new life to it. Itard and Seguin

are her preceptors. She said that her thoughts were the results of the study of Itard, Seguin and herself. Working with the children she discovered more and more and put them in her works. During the periods from 1909-48 she wrote a good many books on this subject in Italian, Spanish and French. Excepting a few, almost all of them are translated in many languages, specially English,—*Pedagogical Anthropology*, *The Montessori Method*, *The Montessori Advanced Method*, Vols. I & II, *Discovery of the Child*, *The Absorbent Mind*, *To Educate the Human Potential*, *The Secret of Childhood*, *The Child in the Home*, *Psicogeometria*, *Psicoaritmética*, etc. Some of her books were published in India while she was staying there.

She spent all her life in finding out the proper method to educate children. The means she devised for them are now world-famous. There are schools almost in every corner of the world. She travelled widely observing, lecturing and demonstrating. Teachers' Training Colleges were opened in Italy, England, America and India. She acted as Govern-

ment Inspectress of Schools of Italy. Her work being hampered by 1939-45 War, she went to India and for a time was interned as an Allied enemy, but was free to carry on with her work. The country has been benefited by her new method, and schools have been established in Madras, Gwalior, Jaipur, Bengal, etc. Her last centre of activities was Holland where she lived with her adopted son Mr. Montessori and breathed her last. The Laren School, Holland, was established and run under her direct guidance.

Many International Congresses on her methods were held, of which the most recent one was in England in 1951. She was planning for coming down to England for a visit on 18th January, 1953, but her end came suddenly on May 6, 1952, at the age of 81 when she was full of plans for future activities, such as visiting Africa, Brazil, etc. Her work has to be followed and furthered by the students and teachers, and that will be the best homage to her memory.

AN EXHIBITION OF INDIAN BOOKS IN FINLAND

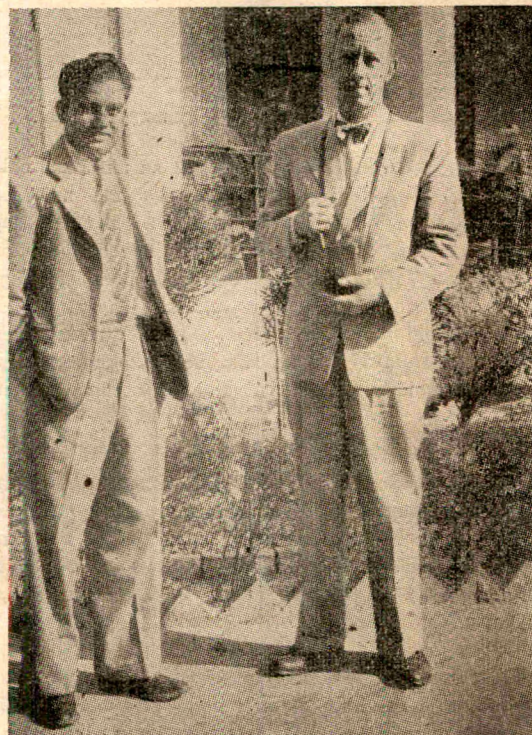
By K.

An Exhibition of books about India was recently held in Helsinki under the auspices of the Friends of India

Society in Finland. The Society took great pains in collecting a large number of books with the assistance of



Srimati Rajan Nehru and one of the manequins



Mr. Arvo Polonen, a member of the Friends of India Society in Finland, is seen with Mr. K. Choudhury during his visit to India to study the possibility of developing Pre-fabricated Timber Houses Industry in India

numerous publishers in India, U.K., France, Germany and other European countries.

After several months' preparation a large selection of books about the history, politics, culture, biography and autobiography of prominent people, architecture, dance, music, sculpture, painting, education, literature, philosophy,

Mr. Kalinen, formerly Defence Minister of Finland, came to Calcutta to attend the Pacifist Conference at Santiniketan during 1949 Christmas.

It will be wrong to judge the Friends of India Society by its age as would be evident from a study of its achievements during its small span of life.

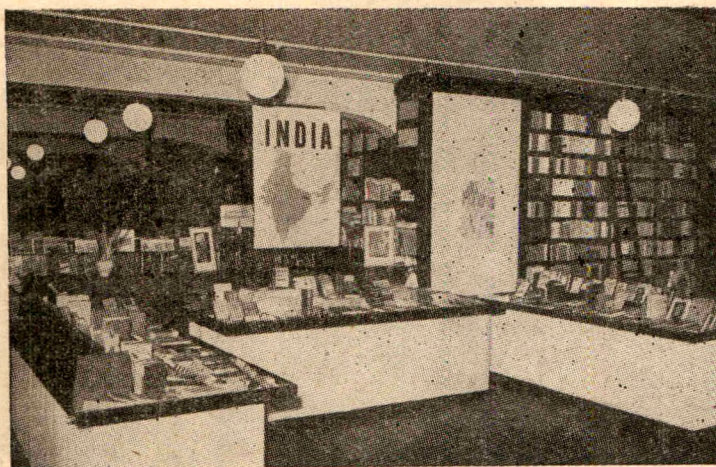
The Society strives to make Indian culture better known to the Finnish people and with this object in view, the Society—

(a) arranges for its members evening entertainments which give useful information on India and holds meetings,

(b) spreads knowledge about India outside the circle of the Society members through articles published in newspapers, speeches delivered, and eventually by its own publications,

(c) endeavours to foster and maintain connection with the representatives of cultural life in India.

At the meetings, the members have many opportunities to hear interesting lectures on the various aspects of Indian culture, as well as excellent music of

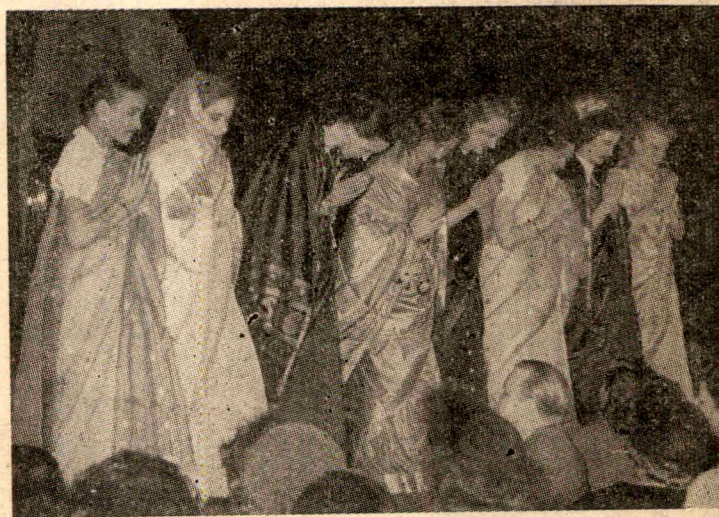


A general view of the Exhibition of Books about India, arranged by the Friends of India Society in Finland at the Academic Library in Helsinki

religion, yoga, and physical exercises, economics and industry, reference, travel and languages of India was gathered.

The Exhibition was attended by most prominent citizens of Finland, and got prominence in the Finnish Press.

Interest about India in Finland is not of recent origin and for many years Poet Tagore's works, Bhagavat Gita, Dhammapada and a number of other Indian books had been available in Finnish language. For the last two decades a group of Indologists in Finland have been striving for better understanding of Indian culture in Finland. This group formally formed into a society under the name and style of 'Friends of India in Finland' on June 2, 1949 under the presidency of Mr. Juho Savio, a great scholar, philosopher and a very important businessman of



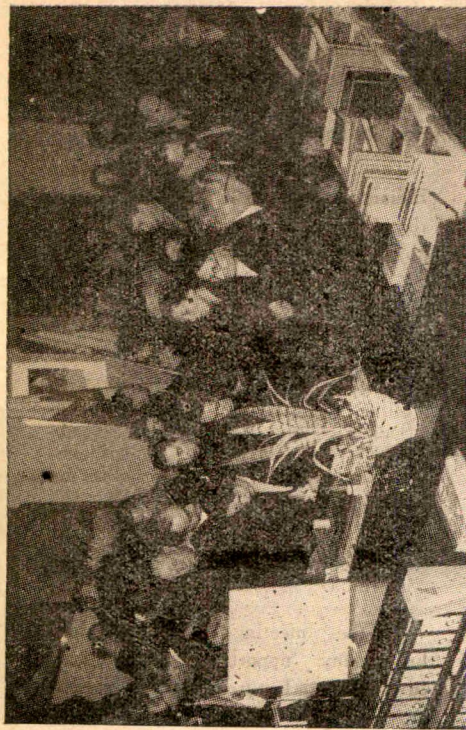
Manequin show at the Restaurant Fennia, Helsinki

Mr. Savio along with Mr. Arvo Polonen came to India during the latter part of 1949 and toured around the country when they had the occasion of developing personal contacts with a large number of Indians from all walks of life. During the same period, another prominent Finn,

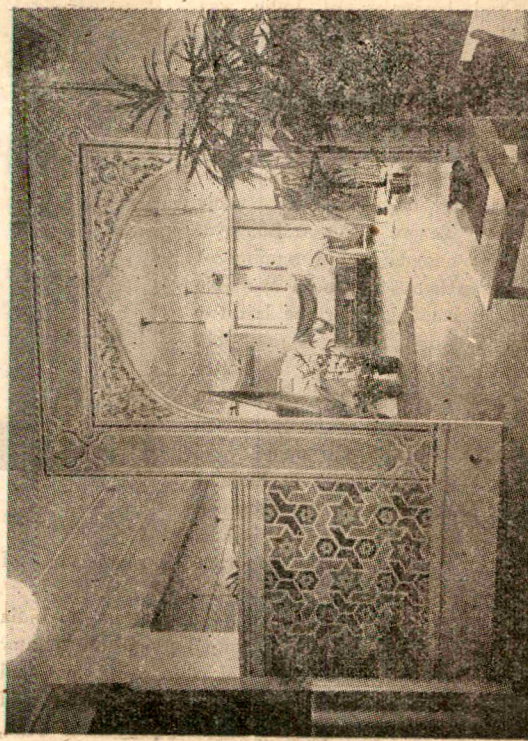
businessman of Indian and European composers; presentation of films about India and other parts of the evenings' programmes have also tended to increase knowledge about India. Quite often the Society has had the pleasure of seeing Indian guests at its meetings, and the deep interest evinced in the ancient culture of India has been a pleasant surprise to them.



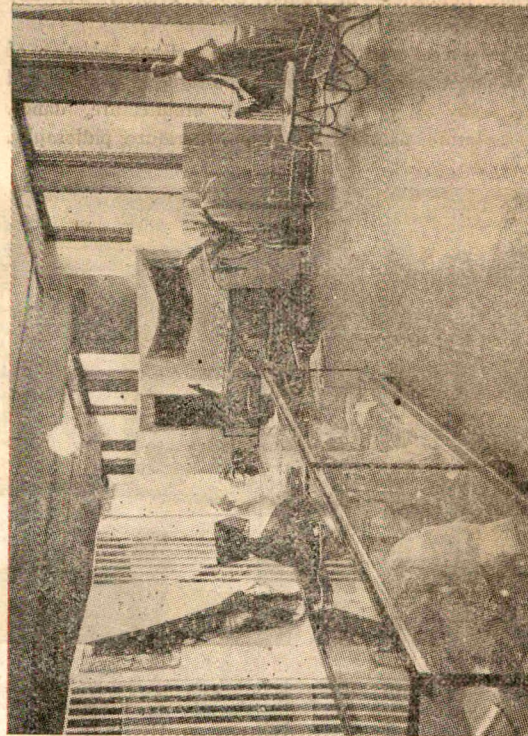
At the opening ceremony of the Exhibition. (From left to right) His Excellency Mr. Sakari Tuomioja, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Madame Tuomioja; Mr. Juho Savio, President of the Friends of India Society in Finland; Minister Bruno Kivikoski; and Minister Eino Valikangas, Sanskrit scholar and expert in Indian literature



The Finnish public and press have shown a great interest in the Exhibition. The Finnish Broadcasting Company arranged a special Broadcast from the Exhibition



Exhibition of Indian textiles and handicrafts in Helsinki



Interior view of the Exhibition

The Society also organises lectures and film presentations for the public on important occasions. Mrs. Rajan Nehru, wife of our former Ambassador to Sweden and Finland, Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Dr. Hannah Rydh, the Swedish Archaeologist who is connected with various archaeological researches in India, have on occasions addressed the meetings of the Society.

On the occasion of Gandhiji's birthday the Society organises film shows on India and lectures on the life of the Mahatma. The Society also arranges with the Finnish Broadcasting Company to broadcast Indian Folk Song on the occasion. The Society has also accomplished an exchange of musical programme between All India Radio and the Finnish Radio.

During last year's Republic Day, a largely attended meeting was organised where speeches were delivered about the Indian Flag and the State Emblem which was followed by a lecture on Lord Buddha by Dr. Pentti Aalto. Mr. Kurt Wallden, one of Finland's best pianist, was playing compositions of Chopin, Weber and Debussy. Miss. Llona

Koivisto entertained the audience by singing airs of the famous Finnish composer Jean Sibelius.

A grand Exhibition of Indian Textiles and Handicrafts was organised by the Society in Helsinki during last summer, which was preceded by an Indian Mannequin Show. Finnish beauties clad in bright Indian Sarees were really an interesting sight. The Exhibition was opened by H. E. Mr. Ake Gartz, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Finland. Films taken on the occasion were shown all over Finland through the network of Picture Theaters.

Apart from these activities the Society is regularly translating Indian books in Finnish language. Only recently we had the occasion of seeing a copy of *The Upanishad* translated into Finnish by Mr. Savio, the President of the Society.

Through the efforts of the Society, Messrs. Puutalo Oy, one of the world's largest timber pre-fabricated house exporters, have arranged for training of two Calcutta young men in higher wood technology in one of their member mills in Finland.

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RELATION BETWEEN A MINISTER, HIS PERMANENT SECRETARY AND THE DEPARTMENTAL HEAD ✓

By PROF. G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., D.P.A., D.F.A. & D.

THE relation of the Minister with his Permanent Secretary and the Departmental Head raises a question which is most vital in the consideration of the nature of parliamentary government. Upon a satisfactory determination of this relation depends the success of that form of government. The question of the relation between the Popular and the Permanent Head of the Department is really the core of the problem of modern administration but in the parliamentary system of Government the importance of this relation cannot be over-emphasized.

In India, the difference between the Secretary and the Head of the Department is that the former is in charge of the Department in the Secretariat but the latter is the Head of the Department outside it, although he works under the Secretary and the Minister of that Department. In U. P., several departments have separate heads. For example, the Department of Education is headed by a Director; the Department of Police has an Inspector-General and the Department of Forests has the Conservator of Forests at its head. In the Union Government also there are Heads of Departments like the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs and the Director-General of Civil Aviation. They generally come from the ranks of the permanent services of the Department, although in the past members of the Indian Civil Service were often appointed to these posts. Formerly Secretaries of De-

partments used to be invariably members of the Indian Civil Service but now one or two senior members of the provincial service who have been promoted to the I.A.S. have been appointed as Secretaries in the State Secretariats.¹

Under the parliamentary system the government is formed by the leader of the majority party in the legislature. The Government enjoys the confidence of the majority of members of the legislature and is drawn from among those members. In the U.S.A., there is a separation of the executive and the legislature with the result that the executive is not drawn from the legislature but in England and all those countries which have adopted her system of Government the executive is drawn from the legislature which means that every member of the legislature is a potential minister. But it is also true that any qualified voter who satisfies the conditions for standing as a candidate for the membership of the legislature can be elected as its member provided he wields sufficient influence in the locality from which he contests his seat. It is not necessary that he should be the ablest candidate or that he should possess the highest academic qualifications. No such qualifications are prescribed for the membership of any legislative chamber throughout the world. In fact, under the

1. In U.P., a promoted I.A.S. officer was recently appointed as Secretary of the Local Self-Government Department.

democratic system of government the first-rate man generally does not offer himself as a candidate because the system not only encourages demagoguery but many undesirable vote-catching devices also. Truly, is democracy a government by mediocres.² The Gresham's Law which holds good in the field of economics is specially applicable to politics. When applied in this field it means that the bad politician drives the good politician out of circulation.

From the above it is clear that under the parliamentary system of government the popular Head of the Department is always an amateur because he occupies his post not by virtue of his ability but because of his popularity. But he is put in charge of a department which has a complex structure and performs manifold duties. As the work of government is not only daily increasing in volume and proportion but is also becoming increasingly complex and complicated, it is beyond the mental grasp of a lay man and only an expert in the art of administration can perform it successfully. Due to this fact the modern governments employ a large army of public servants—the experts who supply what the parliamentary head lacks, viz., administrative experience. In the words of Dr. Herman Finer, government involves two elements, viz., contest and service.³ What he means is that the government consists of a popular as well as a bureaucratic element. Walter Bagehot⁴ is of opinion that government is a combination of special and non-special minds, the civil service forming the first and the ministers forming the second element.

The service element is really very important as without it the work of government cannot be carried on. The civil service performs four important functions in the modern system of Government. In the first place, it helps in the formulation of executive policy on the basis of its expert knowledge of the working of the institutions of Government. When the time for putting that policy into practice comes the advice of the civil servant carries very great weight. Sometimes his advice is sought on the consequences of a new line of policy chalked out by an enthusiastic minister which is discarded on his pointing out that it was tried before and found unworkable or even worthless. The civil servant may tender his advice when it is sought by the minister or he may do it of his own accord when he feels that the policy of the minister is likely to land the Government in difficulties. The ministers also find it very difficult to redeem

their wild promises made at the time of elections. It is at such a difficult moment that the civil servant comes to their rescue. He tells them politely that some of the items of their programme are fantastic and, consequently, unworkable while others involve extravagant expenditure. The result of this is that only some items of the party programme enunciated in the election manifesto are actually carried out. But the final responsibility for the formulation of policy rests on the shoulders of the minister who alone has to bear the brunt of popular criticism. If his policy is not accepted by the legislature, he may even have to resign. In this way the credit as well as the discredit is taken by the minister on himself and the civil service enjoys protection due to its anonymity.

The second function of the civil service is to ensure continuity of administrative policy which is very necessary in view of the fact that the ministers are birds of passage. They come and go with the elections and new ministers try to implement new policies. If, therefore, the salutary effect exercised by a permanent civil service is removed the administration would become a mess of pottage.

The third function of the civil service is departmental legislation. In modern times the legislature has neither the time nor the capacity for detailed legislation on complicated problems of Government. The result is that the legislature passes only skeleton laws and the lacunæ are filled by the permanent civil service. The fourth function of a modern civil service is the execution of departmental policies and the issuing of administrative orders. This function also is very important as it tests the efficiency and integrity of the civil service. In India, for example, complaints were made that the civil service did not loyally carry out the policy of the popular ministers under the diarchical system of Government. This complaint, however, was not general but related to only a few administrative officers. The result of the non-cooperation of the civil service was that the system of responsible government adumbrated in the Act of 1919 failed to bear fruits.

But the variety and importance of the functions of the civil service does not mean that it should be assigned pride of place in the system of Government because the government by the civil service also has its drawbacks. The civil servant is capable of acting as a good servant but he turns out to be a very bad master. For an illustration we have not to go very far. The Government of this country till the year 1919 was mainly run by the Indian Civil Service with disastrous consequences for the country. The partition of Bengal in the year 1905 was the result of such administration. One advantage of civil service rule, no doubt, is efficiency in government but mere mechanical efficiency is worse than useless when the system of government is wooden and inelastic. As Sir William Harcourt

2. Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, in the course of an address to the concluding session of the UNESCO symposium on the Concept of Man and the Philosophy of Education in East and West, at New Delhi on December 20, 1951, remarked that under modern democratic methods of adult suffrage and propaganda the quality of men selected to govern is gradually deteriorating (Vide Leader, dated December 22, 1951).

3. *The British Civil Service*, p. 25.

4. *The English Constitution*, p. 194.

pointed out, the permanent officials would govern extremely well for twelve or eighteen months and then the public would hang all the civil servants to the nearest lamp-post.⁵ Therefore, it is extremely necessary that there should be some provision for public control.

As both the popular and the bureaucratic elements are complementary and not contradictory, political science has invented a system of Government in which we have the advantages of both the elements. (The civil servant supplies expert knowledge but he lacks a breadth of vision and elasticity of mind characteristic of a popular representative. But parliamentary government implies that the civil service should work in subordination to the popular ministers and the legislatures. If that is so, there would be no administrative despotism although some fears have been expressed in this direction by highly-placed persons like Lord Hewart of Newbury in his book *New Despotism*.)

In fact, this is the only device through which we can make parliamentary government a success⁶ because the problem before all modern governments is that of efficiency versus democracy. The latter is a very inefficient system of government. The fact is that nobody likes democracy because it is a very desirable form of government but it is liked as it is the least objectionable form of government. Due to this reason the authoritarian systems of government are found far more efficient in times of emergency or national crisis such as war. That is why on such occasions only a pretence of democratic institutions is maintained but

actually the government assumes very large powers over the people. As for example, England has invented the institution of war cabinets. In India also the constitution devotes one whole chapter to the emergency powers of the President which he would utilise when the occasion so demands.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that it is a superfluity to have a separate Head of the Department when there is a Secretary of the Department who works under the Minister. It may, therefore, be suggested that the Head of the Department should act as the ex-officio Secretary of the Department. Moreover, the discretion of the Head of the Department should not be unnecessarily restricted by the absence of direct contact between him and the Minister of the Department which is due to the existence of an intermediary between the two. It may also be suggested that the Heads of Departments should have more power to spend money. In fact, it is a sheer waste of time to seek the approval of every item of expenditure after it has been sanctioned by the legislature. In regard to the relation of the minister with his departmental secretary it must be pointed out that parliamentary government can only work satisfactorily if the relations of the two are harmonious. This means that the minister should no doubt act as the Head of the Department but he should learn to trust his subordinates. A minister who interferes too much in the detailed working of his department cannot be successful. He should provide only broad outlines of policy and see to it that that policy is not thwarted in any way by the permanent officials in the department. In this connection it must be pointed out that there is a tendency on the part of our ministers to interfere in administration on behalf of partymen, friends and relations. The permanent officials resent this interference in their heart of hearts and become indifferent and lukewarm in their execution of laws and departmental orders. But let us hope that with the growth and development of proper traditions such interference will gradually disappear.

5. Ivor Jennings : *Cabinet Government*, p. 108.

6. Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Indian Ambassador to China, rightly pointed out in his inaugural address to the fourteenth session of the Indian Political Science Conference at Hyderabad (Deccan) that one of the major difficulties facing democracy was how to utilise in the higher sphere of government the services of experts so necessary in the handling of complicated problems, without at the same time weakening the essential principle of political leadership in government. (*Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 13).





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

FORT WILLIAM-INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE (Public series, Vol. V, 1767-69); Edited by Dr. Narendra K. Sinha. *Government of India Publications, Delhi, 1949. Sixteen illustrations. Pp. xvi + 34 + 670.*

The Indian Records Series, after many years of suspension and revolutionary political changes, has been at last revived by the State Archives Department of Delhi. This volume, giving the letters received and sent out between the Governor of Bengal and the Directors in London, with some other material, has been very nicely printed and edited with scholarship and care by Prof. Sinha, whose long work among the early British records in Bengal has made him easily the greatest authority on this subject here. His notes are equally learned, helpful and free from verbosity. No better selection of an editor could have been made.

The period covered is one when Bengal was in the doldrums. It was the uneventful age between Clive's departure and Hastings' coming. Governor Verelst's unhappy tenure is typical of the character of the times. We get some information about the revenue collection of which the English had gained the lawful charge by the Diwani *sanad* of 1765, but the volume mostly "chronicles small beer," personal affairs of the factors, etc. In view of the paper scarcity it would be wiser if in the future volumes of the series, the matter is ruthlessly pruned and all commonplace or even secondary letters and paragraphs cut out.

J. SARKAR

CHANAKYA AND CHANDRAGUPTA: By A. S. P. Ayyar. Published by V. Ramaswamy Sastri and Sons, Madras. Pp. 433. Price Rs. 4.

In this well-written historical novel the author has taken for his theme one of the most glorious episodes in the history of free India of the past, viz., the life-history of the founder of India's first and greatest historical empire and of his reputed mentor whose name has passed into a proverb for brilliant, if unscrupulous, statecraft. The period of Chandragupta Maurya and Chanakya was a time "when India came first into contact with the greatest and most civilised nation in Europe then, the Greeks, and in their train, with the four greatest and most civilised nations of Asia and Africa, the Persians, the Phoenicians, the Jews and the Egyptians." There is therefore a peculiar aptness in depicting the story of this time "in the present glorious period of India's renaissance and regaining of her independence, when Eastern and

Western ideals are stirring the people into various kinds of poetic, artistic and religious expressions, peculiarly their own." (Introduction p. 40). In the present work the author has sought with great skill and success to weave almost all known traditions and tales bearing on his subject (including the plot of the *Mudra-rakshasa* drama) into the texture of his narrative. He has also by a fine piece of imaginative reconstruction drawn vivid pictures of contemporary life and manners, as notably in his description of the *darbar* at Boukephala (Ch. x) and of the convocation of the University of Takshasila (Ch. xxii). Throughout his work the interest of his story never flags, while his characters are as varied as they are instinct with life. It is not possible for the reviewer to agree with some of the author's historical judgments in his Introduction, such as those relating to Alexander's influence upon Chandragupta's empire and administration (p. 18), the descent of Chandragupta (p. 28), the case for the date and authorship of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (p. 31), and last but not the least, "the west-coast Tamilian" ancestry of Chanakya (p. 33). The reviewer again has noticed a number of anachronisms in the author's narrative, such as the references to the Pasupatinatha temple in Nepal and the Amaranatha shrine in Kashmir (pp. 238, 242), to the Mahakala temple at Ujjayini and the Kamakhya shrine in Kamarupa (pp. 246, 247), to the readings of the *Virataparvan* (p. 387) as well as the worship of Rama, Krishna and Siva (pp. 237, 247, 424, 427, etc.), not to speak of the Hanuman Ghat at Kasi (p. 41). Nevertheless, he has no hesitation in warmly congratulating the author on his performance of a fine piece of work which should be widely read by our educated public in these great days of our newly won independence. Two maps and two text illustrations are a welcome addition to this work.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE STAKES OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA: By H. J. Van Mook. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 15s. net.

South-east Asia, which comprises Siam, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya, the Philippines and, according to some, Ceylon as well, was in the backwater of world-politics till World War II. This vast region, rich in natural resources, was a happy hunting ground of Western imperialism—American, English, French, Dutch and Spanish—for many years. But a new South-east Asia has been born in the crucible of the war, one that is in no mood to submit tamely to the alien rule.

All the seven countries mentioned above have much in common. Ceylon excepted, they were all overrun by Japan during the war. Siam excepted, "they are all struggling through the formative years of nationhood." Their importance to the world as an important source of essential raw materials, such as rubber, tin, quinine and spices and of food-stuffs, can hardly be over-estimated.

Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and the Philippines have regained their independence after the last war. Siam, however, has always remained an independent country. But her independence was political and not factual. A grim struggle is going on in Indo-China for the liquidation of French colonialism there and communism alone is held responsible for it. But that perhaps is not the whole truth. An armed struggle is on in Malaya against the English rulers of the country. The powers-that-be seek to explain away the situation as the creation of 3,000—or is it 5,000?—bandits. The fact however remains that the concentration of a considerable portion of Britain's armed forces aided by native and Gurkha police; soldiers and auxiliaries, an expenditure running into astronomical figures and the existence of a three-year-old emergency in the peninsula notwithstanding, the 'bandits' have yet to be crushed.

The book under review tries and with considerable success at that to give an account of South-east Asia and to analyse the situation prevailing there today. The account correct and the analysis rational on the whole, are marred at places by anti-national, reactionary statements not borne out by facts. This is

not in the least unnatural for the author, a Dutch colonial and the Acting Governor-General of Indonesia (formerly Dutch East Indies) from October, 1945, to November, 1948. Thus, while welcoming the liberation of South-east Asia, he is afraid of the minorities and backward groups being denied justice and freedom at the hands of the majorities, who have stepped into the shoes of the erstwhile alien masters. We, in this part of Asia, have seen enough of crocodile's tears shed for our minorities and comparatively backward communities.

Three major problems confront today the recently liberated peoples of South-east Asia. They are—economic and administrative rehabilitation, national and political integration and last but not least, the suppression of widely prevalent lawlessness, this last being a direct legacy of the war. The well-wishers of these nations instead of using the problems as arguments against their case for freedom should rather help them to set their houses in order and to nurse the sapling of independence to maturity.

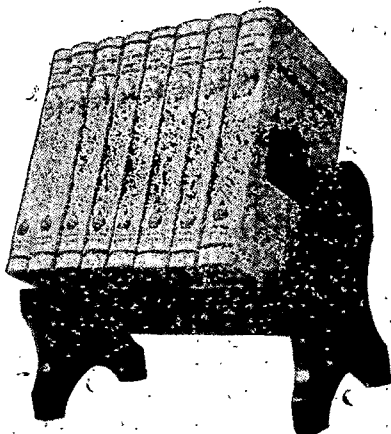
The author bitterly complains that Dutch Imperialism in Indonesia was led down in its hour of need by England and America, Holland's war-time allies. He is obsessed with the fear of a possible victory of Communism in South-east Asia and suggests that the 'free' world must pool its resources, to prevent this catastrophe.

It should be borne in mind that economic and social betterment of the masses is the ultimate weapon against Communism. If, therefore, South-east Asia is to be prevented from going Red, an earnest effort

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must be made to make life worth living for the masses.

Mr. Van Mook must be congratulated for telling some home truths which his friends of the West will do well to note carefully. In the chapter tracing the birth of nationalism in South-east Asia, for example, he aptly points out, that all genuine revolutions are "always directed against the power and prestige of an exclusive group" and that a realisation of the collective subordination of one people to another is among the most potent causes of revolutions. The author must be a very bold man to assert that "The West suffers from a bad conscience; it has not yet found its altitude towards the reversal of values that confronts it in Asia." He explodes the myth of 'white-man's burden' by pointing out that this much publicised 'burden' is due to a muddled thinking which co-relates lack of business capacity to deficiency in humanity. Had all these been realised in time, our planet might have been spared much of its current sufferings.

We should point out in this connection that Burma did not become independent on January 1, 1948, as the author would have us believe. The date is January 4, 1948. His verdict on Thakin Nu, the Burmese Premier, as lacking the political ability of the late Aung San seems to be premature and may not be wholly true.

The Stakes of Democracy in South-east Asia, however, is on the whole, an informative, well-written and very readable book which amply repays a perusal.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

THE COMMERCE CLAUSE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES: By M. Ramaswamy, B.A., B.L. Published by Orient Longmans, Ltd., Calcutta. Demy 8-vo. Pages 648 + xxiv. Price Rs. 25.

Perhaps in no other contribution of the world occur so few words to endow the Central authority with such vast powers for the control of trade, commerce and industry as the Commerce Clause in the American constitution. It runs to only twenty words, and the draftsmen of the American constitution did never foresee that these twenty words would profoundly exert their influence to shape the future destiny of the American nation. Briefly speaking this clause was impregnated with vast potentialities for directing the allocation of power over economic activities between the States and the nation. At the time of its composition as also in the hundred years following it, American economy was a simple one and it was generally free from inter-State competition. During this period the clause was rather in a dormant state, but in the period following 1887 the need arose for the application of this clause to the regulation of inter-State railroad communication and control of the activities of vast trusts and combines which were operating in restraint of trade and commerce among the States. The Inter-State Commerce Act of 1887 and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 were the results thereof. Since then it has become a constitutional warrant for many federal regulatory bodies and administrative agencies, affording at the same time the constitutional justification for the enactment of many of the major controls lately exercised by the Federal Government over matters once controlled by the States.

There is already a vast corpus of literature on the economic interpretation of the United States Constitution. The question may, therefore, irresistibly spring

up to one's lips as to why another book is being added and that too by a foreigner? The answer to this question is afforded by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson of the Supreme Court of the United States who has contributed a Foreword to this work. He states that for a study of American experience, the viewpoint of an outsider has definite advantages. It is to be candidly confessed that Mr. Ramaswamy has executed his task too well,—to which he brings exceptional qualifications. As a critical student of constitutional law he has already won high fame by production of such works as the *Law of the Indian Constitution*, *Distribution of Legislative Powers in the Future Indian Federation*, *Fundamental Rights* and so forth. Though in the writing of this work he is primarily concerned with the study of Commerce Clause, yet he has rightly thought it advisable to examine all other provisions in the Constitution of the United States which bear upon the subject of Commerce. In the background of its dormancy during the first hundred years of its existence, he examines threadbare the dynamic role played by the Commerce Clause in endowing the federal authority with immense power for exercising central control over the nation's economic activity by prevention and elimination of inter-State competition and so forth. He brings under his analysis all important pieces of legislation and cases relating to the regulation of the Agencies of Transport and Communication engaged in foreign or inter-State commerce, regulation of trusts and combines operating in foreign or inter-State commerce, and the federal control exercised over unfair or deceptive methods of competition in such commerce, and the enactment by Congress under its commerce power of legislative measures which are akin to State police regulations in exercising its control over foreign and inter-State commerce. It further traces the evolutionary process by which the Supreme Court has been enabled to maintain a reasonable equilibrium between the centrifugal and centripetal forces in American society in so far as they affect its commerce, industry and transportation.

Today the United States of America forms the greatest single free market in the world, where local productions can move throughout the length and breadth of the country unhampered by State lines. But this should not leave the impression in one's mind that no restraints whatsoever exist to impede the flow of goods and services across State frontiers in that country. Internal barriers to the free flow of commerce there are still, but they are but exceptions which prove the general rule. Even making due allowance for the existence of such restraints, few will cavil at the generalization that freedom of internal commerce largely prevails in the United States. But for the existence of conditions conducive to the free exchange of products throughout the length and breadth of the Union, neither its specialized agriculture nor its mammoth industrial plants could have been successfully established and operated. It is no doubt true that the United States is one of the most highly protectionist countries of the world. But inside its tariff palisades the laws of free trade operate in all their vigour. And the benefits accruing to the country as a whole from a free market of such dimensions can hardly be exaggerated. Mr. Ramaswamy's survey demonstrates clearly how immeasurably invaluable has been the service rendered by the Commerce Clause in promoting this economic prosperity of the United States.

A. K. SUR

SANSKRIT LITERATURE : By K. Chandrashekhharan, M.A., B.L., and Brahmasri V. H. Subrahmanya Sastri. Published for the P. E. N. All-India Centre, Aryasangha, Malabar Hill, Bombay 6, by the International Book House, Ltd., Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay 1. Price Rs. 6.

The P. E. N. All-India Centre is doing laudable work in giving publicity to the literary activities and movements in various languages of India by regularly publishing accounts of them in its monthly organ for about twenty years. It has published short sketches about the literatures in some of these languages in its publication *The Indian Literatures of Today*. And it proposes to bring out sixteen separate brochures, one each for sixteen principal languages, of which five including the one under review, have so far been published. It may be noted here that more than twenty years back five books were issued in the Heritage of India series apparently under a similar scheme. And it is gratifying to notice recent attempts of this type in some of the modern Indian languages.

The book under review aims at giving a short popular account of Sanskrit literature in its numerous phases covering a period of several thousands of years. This is indeed a hard task difficult to be executed. And the treatment of the different topics has been disproportionate. Very scrappy accounts have been given of the Vedas, the Puranas and the different systems of philosophy, called here the *sastras*, in separate sections. It is quite in the fitness of things that provision has been made for more elaborate treatment of Kavya and Drama. It is a matter of regret that other branches of the literature had to be dispensed with evidently for want of space. At least a partial remedy would have been possible with more judicious and even handling. As a matter of fact, economy could easily be effected in some chapters to make room for comparatively more important materials. As regards works and authors mentioned in the book a number of well-known names are found to have been left out. Of modern writers those of the South have been referred to 'as the authors of this brochure are familiar only with their works.' I am not sure if the excuse will be acceptable to and satisfy the readers. It is true that Sanskrit literature produced in different parts of the country in more or less recent times has not been properly studied. But it suffices to point out that the current is still flowing and Sanskrit is the medium of communication among old-type scholars all over the country.

Of statements of doubtful accuracy of which there are quite a number mention may be made of the following : Sanskrit grammar has earned another appellation to describe it : *Sabda-Brahma Vada* (p. 59); Rupagosvamin in his *Uddhava Duta* (140); Tulsidasa's *Ramayana* is written in Avanti, a variation of Prakrita (150); *Rupaka* . . . takes its origin in the fact of its being gazed at by people (152).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

JIVANA-JALA-TARANGA : By Rampada Mukhopadhyay. Published by Kamala Publishing House, 8/1 A, Hari Pal Lane, Calcutta 6. Price Rs. 4.

Rampada Mukherji is a novelist and short-story-writer of repute, *Jivana-jala-taranga* or the *Waves of*

Life is not a novel of love and sentiment, nor is it concerned with what is termed as the psychological interpretation of life. It has a message of its own and is distinct from other novels. It is a novel written at a time when our freedom-struggle has attained its highest intensity and hence bears the characteristic of the period which marks the closing years of the Gandhian movement. The hero of the novel is Purandar, an educated young man and patriot, who does not belong to any of the so-called high castes of our society. He is a man of the people. He is a sincere follower of Mahatma Gandhi and has chosen his native village as his field of work. This particular village is a sort of a sleepy hollow. Movements have come and gone but have not brought any change in the minds of its people. It is almost untouched by the intense agitation of the great non-co-operation movement that shakes the whole of India. Purandar, because of his sincerity and readiness to serve his village in any capacity, is respected though not loved by all. He organises the young men of the lower castes and tries his best to instil in their minds the teachings of the Mahatma and the message of truth and non-violence. But as usual though they hold their leader in high esteem they cannot follow his high principle. The story moves not so much through action as through the resurgence of the mass mind. Purandar is an idealist and he pays the penalty of being unswervingly loyal to his ideal. He suffers but he does not lose heart. The Gandhian way has taught him what patience and suffering can do. At last there is an awakening in this village. The 1942-movement is not lost on it. Though Purandar suffers much from calumny, there is no sense of frustration in him and he has the satisfaction of seeing the awakening of the masses which heralds the dawn of a new era. Sridhar is typical of the upstart rich man. Mejo Babu, a true aristocrat, is a living character. The orthodox society of the village has been painted with an able hand. The material has been gathered from experience. The reflections in Indrajit's letters are pleasant reading. The arguments are clear and convincing. The style of the writer is lucid and graceful, and fits in with the subject-matter of the novel. *Jivana-jala-taranga* is a new departure. Readers will find the newness of the theme quite refreshing.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

PARICHAYA : By Sri Jitendranath Mukhopadhyaya, M.Sc., B.L. To be had of Sri Rangam, 2-A, Raja Rajkissen Street, Calcutta. 1951. Price Rs. 2.

A three-act play, in which individual maladjustments are portrayed against a social background. The writer shows a skilful handling of the plot, and he is good at dialogue. In spite of a suicide, and the threat of a break-up of an unhappy marriage, the story ends in an optimistic note, heralding a new era for humanity, when men will wake up into a fresher atmosphere, not spoilt by communal squabbles or artificial inhibitions.

The doyen of the Bengali stage, Srijit Bhaduri, was attracted to this play and let it have a liberal run on his own stage. This speaks volumes in its favour.

P. R. SEN

BOOKS RECEIVED

Both published by Chetana Prakashan, 831, Begum Bazar, Hyderabad, Deccan.

The prices of both the books are high, while the former suffers also from the lack of a table of contents.

G. M.

MANILALNI VICHARDHARA : *By Prof. D. P. Thakar, M.A. Published by the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 448. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The late Professor Manilal N. Dwivedi was a great figure in the life and literature of Gujarat in his day. He was a scholar, a poet, a thinker and an orthodox (Nagar) Brahmin. He did not like reformed views in society and the modern tendency to imitate the poetry of Shelley and Tennyson. He conducted a monthly called *Priyamvada*, later converted into *Sudarshan* and the bulk of his thoughts and writings is embodied in his articles published therein. Prof. Thakar has divided these articles into about ten sections, such as Religion, Philosophy, Language, Literature, Education of Women, Politics, etc. This collection is prefaced by an Introduction of twenty-five pages, in which the learned Professor has ably summed up Manilal's work.

K. M. J.

We have received the above numbers of a series of documentary pamphlets, published by the Government of India. They are, in a few brief chapters, well-written for the edification and information of the general public about the many-sided activities and public services of the Government of India. Photographs have enhanced the value and readability of the pamphlets, the usefulness of which will be much appreciated by the public.

SEE INDIA—RAJASTHAN: Issued by the Tourist Traffic Branch, Ministry of Transport, Delhi, and published by the Publications Division, Government of India, Delhi. Printed on art paper and profusely illustrated with a coloured picture on the cover and a map of Rajasthan. Pp. 32. Price eight annas.

The photographs are charming and nicely printed and a brief account of the land, people and places of historical and cultural interest in the various States of Rajasthan is delightful to read.

SEE INDIA—SANTINIKETAN: *Issued and published by the same. Pp. 24. Price eight annas.*

With a charming coloured picture on the cover, a photo of the Poet and several excellent photos of the various sites and activities of Santiniketan, the booklet is highly attractive. It gives a brief history of the place, the origin, activities, organization and ideal of the Poet's Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, our truly National University and the glory of India.

OUR NATIONAL SONGS: Published by the Government of India, Delhi. Printed on art paper. Pp. 35. Price eight annas.

A fine booklet on the origin, adoption and usage of our national songs of *Bande Mataram* and *Jana-gana-mana*, with their texts, notations and English translations by Sri Aurobindo and Rabindranath.

HARIJANS TODAY: Published by the Publications Division, Government of India, Delhi. Illustrated. Pp. 56. Price eight annas.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Specialization and Mechanization

In the course of an article in *The Aryan Path* Dr. Irene Bastow Hudson observes :

Nature does not make all trees or birds or fishes from one mould or after one pattern. Why should we use our best endeavours to stunt and distort individual growth? Educational systems of the past and some of those at present in use were not all constituted to that end. Yet the modern trend is to grade and graduate, to standardize in all things, exactly as if each human being were born with the same characteristics and in the same stage of mental and spiritual development as his neighbour.

To begin with, the child should be educated as to body, mind and spirit in the art of living. There are many laws of Manu to which we might return in these modern days, and thus make it possible to give education in the earlier years on the old lines. By that means children would grow up with a wholesome foundation on which to build their adolescent and adult lives. Whatsoever a child learns before the age of seven cannot be utterly lost, though it may grow very dim.

The older systems of Medicine cared less for the physical and the material: more for the causes and ultimate cure of ill health, which always starts in the mind, is a throwing into disharmony of the whole working of the human being. That is the reason why mechanical, piecemeal treatment of the ailing patient never restores him to good health and integral living.

Egypt and India were great leaders in olden days. Could India stage a return to more natural methods of medical and hospital practice it might meet with great response. There must be many in Asia who would gladly see a revival of the old medical system of Ayurveda, which system did not disdain the help of Nature, Philosophy or Religion.

For over 300 years Homœopathy has been known to the West. It is a system of treatment designed to benefit the whole patient, in which special cognizance is taken of the mental symptoms. All remedies are carefully proved so that the keynote of the system—that what can cause can also cure—may be used to advantage.

The use of electrical vibrations is becoming gradually known, though not yet generally accepted, in the West. Clairvoyance is a stranger, and a very suspicious one, to modern medicine, which is, none the less, willing to investigate many sacred bodily constituents and organs, e.g., Blood and the base of the Brain. But examination is made by machinery which we think we can control. For a doctor to examine by electric vibrations, intuition, or clairvoyance would still raise suspicion, as the methods are not fully understood. So few are there among us who have troubled to purify, to develop and to use—for the good of Humanity only—the gifts they may have brought into the world at their sacrifice of birth.

There is no doubt that the majority of doctors have their own personal philosophy, just as there is no doubt that the chief motive power behind the medical profession is the desire to promote the welfare of humanity. The hard work, expense and danger of medical training and

practice would not be undertaken by young men and women unless there was a very strong urge to join the profession. It is the frustration caused by the mechanical and political trend in these modern days which is to blame for lack of fulfilment of our best intentions.

If it were possible to obtain the opinions of the Educationists and those in the Medical profession we should almost certainly find that the majority would vote for a return to simpler and more integral living, only too glad to shake off the smothering complexities of this mechanistic and material age.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe was not the only man who hoped "in the good, the whole and the TRUE resolutely to live and honourably to die." He succeeded only in part: can we make the effort to do at least so much with an added two centuries of civilization to help or hinder us?

Greatness of Jainism

Adris C. Banerji writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

Jainism, of all the religions that originated in India, has been very unfortunate in not receiving the recognition it deserves. Even today, we find that, of the sites that are holy to the Buddhists and Jains, the other religion has been given prominence. Nowhere this unmerited treatment is more marked than at Rajgir—a city which had become holy to the *tirthankaras* long before the Sakya prince tried to inculcate his new doctrine. Created by the intellectual mind of a virile race, it has played a far more significant role, in the cultural, political and economic life of India, and survived through the stormy centuries of several foreign occupation, while Buddhism totally disappeared from the face of India. No emperor utilised his imperial exchequer, or his powerful autocratic governmental machinery, to propagate the faith, yet it has thrived, amidst a thrifty and prosperous community, with the result that the influence of its followers are even now extreme. Amongst the Indologists, there are very few who realise the extreme influence it wielded in the whole annals of Indian civilisation. What is more N. C. Mehta (*Studies in Indian Paintings*) has shown that Jainism and its art, found place in the caves of Chinese Turkestan. That was exactly what Hemachandra Suri claimed in his *Parishistaparvvan*.

Jainism, played a magnificent role in the cultural development of Eastern India. So that its earliest monuments and dynasties are generally Jain. After the Vedic Aryans had entered its sacred soil, Eastern India had become the home of original inhabitants of India. It was more so by the time that Panchanada and the Brahmarvarta (The Punjab and U.P.) had become the stronghold of Vedic Brahmanism. Mahavira's missionary tour in Radhadesa (modern Burdwan, Bankura, 24 Parganas, Howrah, Murshidabad and Nadia Districts of West Bengal), and privations suffered there are eloquent testimony to the conditions prevalent there. From

time immemorial we find that *rajachakravartin* ideal supreme in eastern India politics. The Pali literature of the Buddhists, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* are full of such imperialistic notions. Just as there is the possibility of these ideas having originated in original Indian minds, so there is the other possibility of these being based upon contact with the ancient empires of the Near and Middle East. The contact of India and the empires of Ur-Nina and the prehistoric Sumer, has been amply proved by find of Indus seals at several of the ancient sites. Nevertheless, before the *nirvana* of Mahavira the whole of India was divided into sixteen *janapadas*. But after this memorable event, the son of the last Saisunaga King, supposed to be born of a *Sudra* woman, established the first historical empire. The rise of a dynasty, which even according to tradition was low born, is not without significance, for interpreting the trends of the time. The Vedic-Aryan social organisation, gave the undoubted right, to the *Kshatriyas*; and the accession to the ancient throne of Magadha, in the capital of Jarasandha, of a dynasty which was far from the approved caste deserves more than passing notice. The defeat of Jarasandha at the hands of Bhima historically interpreted, may turn out to be probably the last phase of Aryanisation of Magadha. What is of far greater significance, they are all Jain according to the same tradition, and they appear after Mahavira. In fact a proper, fair and impartial analysis of the date might one day establish that Jainism launched Magadha in that career of distinguished imperialism which ended with the immortal Guptas. In Orissa and Bengal the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela and the Khandagiri and Udayagiri caves are monuments to Jaina imperial and monastic organisations. These caves represent a syntheism in culture, based on borrowed art motifs, which has not been appreciated. The common notion that Jainism lacked martial prowess is not borne out by the history of Emperor Kharavela. Even in late Maurya times caves were dedicated to Jains as the Sonbhandar cave at Rajgir proves.

The ideals and practices of Jainism has come for adverse criticism. To me it seems, they stand for something which has not been appreciated. The creed of Jainism was *ahimsa*. But it appeals to me to think, that this ideology was based upon an ancient belief, handed over to them from a dim and distant past. The glyptic art of Harappa and Mohenjodaro, acquaints us with deep veneration for animals, and it is possible, that just like the worship of *Pippal* trees by the Buddhists, this idea came to the Jains from an existing tradition. What is more, Jainism was a reaction, against the extreme sacrificial habits of Vedic Aryanism. It originated in eastern India, which was deeply rooted in non-Aryan philosophy and tradition. So I have always felt, that the rise of Jainism and the teachings of Mahavira, are not a mere accident, but an incident in sequence of events. The extreme austerities have come for severe criticism and ridicule, even at the hands of Lord Buddha. But this is a feature which it shares with all early and later faiths like Christianity, Islam and Bramhminical religion. Fasts, penances, inflicting punishment on the body for the morbid propensities of the flesh, were practised by all great religions of the world. What is more, we judge Jainism probably by modern standards, we

forget the times in which it originated. Even in our times, a little searching of the heart might be a welcome method to avoid the pitfalls we are facing. But Jainism originated in a world of uncertainty and unexplained end of human soul. It was a world full of materialism which the existing philosophers failed properly to explain.

In the field of literature—folklore and traditions, social and religious organisations, the Jains possess a wealth, whose exact character and seemingly limitless scope, have never been properly evaluated, and Jain *Angas* and *sutras* have often supplied us with valuable materials in the darkest period of Indian history. Barth states: "They have taken a much more active part in the literary and scientific life of India. Astronomy, Grammar and romantic literature owe a great deal to their zeal." Jaina narrative literature is the most precious collection known to civilised world. In a previous para, I have referred to Jain art in the beginning of the Christian era. At the same date, the citizens of Mathura commenced to build stupas to crave *alamvanas*, copingstore *suchi* (cross-bar) *stambhas*, *toranas* and *ayagapattas* which even now remain the sole testimony of Saka art of Mathura. They developed later on the image of Jina, which according to the late Raibahadur R. Chanda might have been responsible for the development of the image of Buddha. In Bihar and Bengal the art of the Guptas and Palas made remarkable contribution in Jain images. While the temples at Mt. Abu, Girnar and Satrunjaya, have immortalised themselves over the mountain masses, by the beauty, poise, and balance in design which are the life and soul of architecture (*vastu-vidya*). Far from the



Aravalli hills, in the once smiling plains of ancient Malavadesa, under the protection of the enlightened Paramara rulers, they erected two temples at Nema-war and Un, within the territories of former Hol-kars of Indore, known as Chaubera—Deras which in magnificence and beauty, are comparable with Girnar and Abu.

The illustrated Jaina manuscripts are another great contribution of this community. They preserve there the ancient method of narrative style in art, which we first find in the beautiful glyptic art of Indus valley. They have analogies with the school of Meister Eickhart. In wall paintings too, the temples of Tinuparutti-Kunram (Jina—Kanchi) in Madras have supplied us with a very fine series of Jaina paintings, described with such distinction by Shri T. N. Ramachandram. In colour scheme and technique they are probably forerunners of many schools of mediaeval paintings.

The Rajputana Desert

Science and Culture observes editorially :

The National Institute of Sciences of India has done a commendable service in holding a symposium on an important national problem, viz., The Rajputana Desert, at Delhi on March 7-8, 1952. A large number of experts were invited to contribute papers and to speak on all aspects of the desert problem, with a view to collecting as much information as possible regarding the Rajputana Desert. We want definite answers to the questions: What is this desert? How did it come into existence? What is the present behaviour? Why and how is it spreading, if it is spreading at all? What are its mineral resources? What are its water resources, surface and underground? What steps should be taken for its control and to reclaim as much of it as possible?

Rajasthan has shortly been integrated out of twenty small administrative units formerly known as so many Indian States. It covers an area of 1,30,000 sq. miles, constituting 11 per cent of the total area of India, but has only 5 per cent of the total Indian population and therefore holds promise of accommodating quite a large part of the refugee population of the country. Unfortunately, however, Rajputana grows only 1.3 million tons of food crops, which are insufficient even for its present meagre population. The State's food shortage is roughly 15 per cent of the total food shortage for the whole of India.

To the layman, the Thar desert and the tract of land known as Rajputana are synonymous, whereas the geographer finds it difficult to define properly the boundary of the Rajputana Desert. The Aravalli mountains, stretching N.E.-S.W. divide Rajputana into two unequal portions—one-third being to its east and two-third to the west. The eastern tract, *Uppermal*, is a relict plateau and is similar in character to the plateau region of Central India. The western part, however, is covered by stretches of sand with mounds of bare-rock peeping out here and there. Portions of this western tract are known as Thar, the Indian counterpart of Sahara.

The 'Uppermal' is definitely not a desert. The Thar and the adjoining area do conform to the term. But it has to be remembered that the orthodox definition of desert according to our school geography is already losing its significance. Desert has been defined to be an area where the total rainfall is less than 10" annually. But since the last World War researches into desert

conditions have brought out new information on the subject. We know now that isolyets can be drawn for the Sahara which receives rain upto 30" at places and also for other deserts of the world. We do not know the actual conditions for Thar but it appears probable that regular isolyets can be drawn here too.

It was also not realized before that huge pools of underground water were to be found in the sub-surface of most of the deserts to be utilized by man with modern devices. Underground water circulation forms an interesting branch of hydrology of the present day. No less interesting is the potentiality of drawing moisture from the dew as condensed in the surface layer. For the last few years, Unesco has been devoting considerable attention to the study of the arid regions of the world and of the possibilities of their development. The deserts, be it remembered, constitute about one-fifth of the land area of the earth. An advisory committee for arid zone research has been functioning since 1950 and has on it Shri A. N. Khosla as the representative from India.

The Committee has met twice already and has done much useful work in setting up panels of consultants, and associated centres. It has also undertaken a survey of the institutions devoted to arid zone research. A number of symposia on the various aspects of the world desert problems have been held or are in the process of being organized at a number of places. A symposium on 'arid zone hydrology' has just been concluded in April, 1952, in Ankara. Another on 'desert researches' was held in Jerusalem, in May last and a third on 'biology of hot and cold deserts' will be held in U. K. in autumn of this year. The National Institute of Sciences, therefore, did well in marshalling whatever information was available on Rajputana desert so that our scientists could be briefed with it.

The problems of a desert region which have been summed up by Ritchie Calder, Science Editor of the *News Chronicle* who was deputed during 1949-50 by Unesco to make an extensive tour in the desert regions of the Middle East, are as follows: (1) human; (2) water; (3) fuel or energy; (4) wind and water erosion; (5) re-vegetation and (6) salting. In the course of the symposium in the N. I. S. it was made abundantly clear that systematic and adequate data on any of the above six heads are not available with regard to the Thar. The historians and archaeologists can provide us with intelligent guesses as to the once prosperous conditions of this tract of land in the centuries gone by. They further point out—and this is more important,—that the land is becoming progressively arid since the historical period.

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Education for Leadership

Dr. Edward A. Pires concludes his article in *The Indian Review* with the following remarks :

Leadership is a capacity that cannot be divorced from the capacity of followership, meaning thereby that the real leader is the one who also knows when and how to follow. "There is no leader," says Ulich, "who leads in all fields. To lead in one or several, he must allow himself to be led in others." We have also seen that individuals vary greatly in their abilities of leadership. It follows, therefore, that children in school require to be trained in the twin arts of leading and following; in other words, they need to be initiated into and confirmed in socialised ways of living and working which demand co-operation at every step. "Co-operation of followers with leaders and of leaders with followers is an attainment; it has to be learned, to be earned." It involves the acceptance of a dual set of functions which are at once diverse and supplementary. The leader has to learn to see slightly ahead of the rest of the group. He has to understand his co-workers—their abilities and their aspirations—so as to be able to guide them in their proper roles in the common undertaking. He has to preserve a spirit of harmonious co-operation and mutual confidence in the group and to stimulate in every member lofty and worthy standards of achievement. And it is only practice in these arts that will make him an efficient leader. The follower, on the other hand, has to learn to take his cue from the leader and to attend to those details of the common task that have been apportioned to him. Within the limited sphere of his specific contribution he has scope for evincing as much ability and initiative as the leader; but he has to be careful that his contribution is organically related to the whole enterprise. One of the healthy outcomes of such co-operative effort is the generation of a spirit of mutual loyalty and devotion—the loyalty of followers to their leaders and the devotion of leaders to their followers. The leadership of the teacher in such a programme of creative learning consists in the direction of these personal loyalties to the service of higher purposes and more inclusive causes. Loyalty to a leader which ignores the demands of the group with which he professes to be identified, or loyalty to a group which jeopardizes the rights of the larger community of which that group is an organic part, are highly dangerous and disruptive forces which ought to be discouraged as soon as they begin to manifest themselves. Pupils should be trained to organize their loyalties in a hierarchy, always subordinating the lesser to the higher: subordinating their allegiance to a leader to the welfare of the class, putting the interests of the school before the interests of the class, and renouncing their loyalty to the school for the sake of the higher loyalty to the community, to society, and to humanity. One important aspect of such training in the proper co-ordination of varying loyalties will naturally be a training in the intelligent and prudent selection of leaders; for there are certain positions of leadership in the school to which only the best individuals should be elected.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Our Alleged Political Instability A Casual Comment

About a year ago, the *News & Views* of France, published and circulated by the French Government, had the following on the see-saw of French politics. Prof. Brogan has traced it to the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism (16th century):

France has been credited with the attribute of changning Governments rather too often. Many a nation found it easy to jump to the conclusion that this state of affairs would drag her into an abyss. Nonetheless, a surprising vitality is shown in all the fields, and specially in the economic life of the country. Observers of French political life forget one thing when hurriedly they give a diagnosis on the French political crisis; they judge the French political crisis as they would judge the crisis of their own government, influenced by the political ideas prevailing in their country. They fail to realize that what may threaten the stability of a nation is, in another, a formal and a superficial accident. A change of government, in England for instance, implies a radical change of policy. A change of government in France brings a minor modification—a nuance—of the policy on some specific points. The team which comes to power is mostly the same as far as ministers are concerned, and the same parties are represented in the Cabinet in the same proportion as in the outgoing Cabinet.

Let us compare the present Cabinet of France to the Cabinet which has preceded it. Of the 18 new Ministers, 11 were members of the outgoing Cabinet and the key Ministries are held by the same persons.

M. Queuille who was the Premier of the previous Cabinet is now the Vice-Premier. M. Georges Bidault, the present Premier, has been since the end of the world war II, 6 times Minister, once as Prime Minister. For 4 years he has been the custodian of the French foreign policy, as France Foreign Minister. For the second time since the end of the war, he is again Premier of France. M. Bidault belongs to the M.R.P. Party (Popular Republican Movement); when he resigned the post of Foreign Minister, he was succeeded by M. Robert Schuman. No hasty conclusion. . . . M.R. Schuman belongs to the M.R.P. M. R. Schuman has been once Prime Minister. Since M. Bidault's resignation as Foreign Minister, he is the maker of the French foreign policy. M. R. Schuman was also in the Queuille Cabinet.

M. Jules Moch and M. Petsche, who were respectively Home Minister and Finance Minister in the outgoing Cabinet hold again the same Ministries in the present Cabinet.

The same foreign observers forget that a Parliament, representing the will of the nation, is the supervisor of the government's policy; its role is not therefore to record, passively the decisions of the Government, but to watch and criticize the policy of the Government. A Government always sure of the favourable vote of the Parliament cannot claim to have obtained the Parliament's sanction for his action since the majority of the House is forced by party disci-

pline to vote according to the whip's instructions. We may call this favourable vote just a passive record of the government will.

The same foreign observers forget also that there is a profound sense of ministerial solidarity, which causes spontaneously the entire Cabinet to resign when a Minister has lost the confidence of the Parliament for some reason, political or personal, or has set up a policy which differs from his personal but official theory or is inconsistent with his previous political speeches.

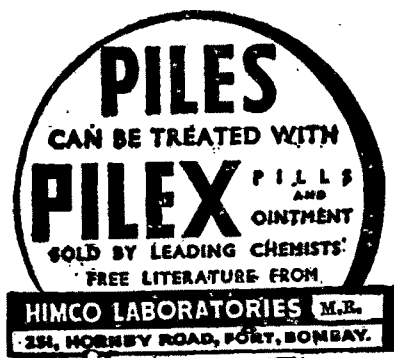
The same foreign observers forget also that between two theories in conflict a man cannot be forced to adhere either to one or to the other. Between two different conceptions there is a wide space of nuances. A man can be a socialist but differ in the meantime as far as his political ideas are concerned from other members of the same socialist party. Though may be, from the political point of view, it would be more advisable to have two parties system, one cannot deny to the people of a nation the right to have political ideas of their own and therefore form several political parties which differ by small nuances. This is a main feature of the French character and leads to the composition of coalition Ministries, which collapse whenever there is an internal disagreement in the Cabinet.

This time the chief policy difference between the new Cabinet and the old is that the new coalition has agreed to pay a bonus to the lowest paid group of wage earners.

But in spite of Government crisis, the life of the country remains unaffected thanks to an efficient Civil Service and to the qualities of the civil servants themselves. Recruited through competitive exams, the civil servants are the backbone of all the existing Ministries in France, and have never failed to administer properly the country in times of crisis as well as in times of tranquillity.

For all these reasons, and for the impressive economic revival of the country, the *Times* said that France "can afford to have a political crisis".

The same paper said in May 1949: "The roots of parliamentary democracy are deep in France. It is more than a year, since, massive strikes shook the fabric of the French economy. The labour scene today is quiet.



The main occasion for the change is to be found in economic improvement.

Higher production in basic industry—and notably in coal and heavy engineering—has touched off the subtle mechanism of more general recovery.

It is of tremendous worth to the steady restoration of European stability that France is getting on her feet again”.

Open Letter to Dr. Malan

The Hon. F. A. Lucas, a former Judge of the Transvaal Supreme Court, writes this letter in the *Cape Argus*, as published in the *Indian Opinion*, 25th April, 1952:

DEAR DR. MALAN.—Because of the serious state of affairs now existing in our country I am writing this appeal to you to ask you to consider the suggestion I shall put forward in the hope that they may help to pave the way to a satisfactory issue out of our troubles.

I have never questioned your sincerity in your belief that what your Government have been doing is in the best interests of South Africa.

I trust you will accept as a fact that I am sincere in my belief that that policy is in reality disastrous to the true interests of our country. It is because I hold that belief as strongly as I do that I decided to return to politics.

There are certain features in your policy of apartheid which are almost common cause among both the Whites and the non-Whites.

Both are agreed upon and feel more comfortable living apart. There is nothing morally wrong in our doing so. We are all entitled to choose those with whom we are willing to associate.

But no one of any section is willing to be dictated to without any consultation.

Your legislation which you claim is necessary to bring about apartheid has been introduced into Parliament and passed without any consultation with the non-Whites who are most affected by it.

It has also been passed without the public or the legislators having had an opportunity to study it beforehand, and I believe in every case the passing of the legislation was subject to the guillotine in Parliament.

Then there is general agreement in the Union that Communism is dangerous and should be combated and if possible rooted out. But however dangerous it may be, it was felt that we dare not pay for destroying it the price of depriving the public, as your legislation did, of the right of access to the courts.

The legislation I have referred to, together with the Separate Representation of Voters Act, has done a great deal to bring about that alarming deterioration which you said recently has come about in the relationship between the Whites and the non-Whites.

That deterioration is so serious that I believe the White people cannot long survive in South Africa unless we soon achieve friendly relationships between all sections of the community.

Your attitude to the decision of the Appeal Court on the Coloured Voters Act is understandable, but I think regrettable.

You obviously believed that your Government had the power they tried to exercise. That decision must have meant a grievous disappointment to you.

You have said you are going to have that judgment set aside by an Act of Parliament.

I believe there is no legal way open to you by which you can achieve that. Section 152 of the South Africa Act



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lays down how you must proceed to pass an Act like the Coloured Voters Act.

Any attempt to repeal Section 152 by indirect means, must, I believe, fail. You naturally do not wish to be faced by another decision of the courts that one of your Acts is invalid.

As a Christian you would not, having given your word, dream of breaking it. If you make a contract you are bound by it unless you are released voluntarily from it by the other party.

MORAL ASPECT

That is good law and good morals.

In none of the speeches or statements that you or your colleagues have made since the Appeal Court's decision have I noticed any reference to the moral aspect of the question of the Coloured Voters Act.

Without the protection which Section 152 gave to the Coloured voters in the Cape there would have been no Union, and therefore, no Union Parliament.

It is idle to say that the South Africa Act is a British Act, and, therefore, Section 152 of it should not be able to hamper our Parliament. That Act was passed at the request of the Parliaments of the four provinces.

Section 152 was, in fact, in 1936 adopted by our Parliament by a two-thirds majority in the Representation of Natives Act, and thus made part of a South African Act.

The British Parliament had nothing to do with the 1936 Act and because of the Statute of Westminster passed in 1931 could not, if it wished to, interfere with that Act.

I earnestly ask you turn your thoughts to the moral issue in this matter.

There was a solemn undertaking given to the Coloured peoples of the Cape. Are you prepared to break that undertaking without their consent or in any way other than that provided for in the agreement?

Our courts have gained a prestige based on integrity, impartiality and courage, which may well be the envy of the world. They are looked upon by all sections as the bulwark of their liberties. Your recent statement of what you intend to do has done much to create a fear that that bulwark is to be weakened if not torn down.

Such a state of affairs is grievously serious. It must be redressed.

You are the only man who can do that now before the danger grows more serious. It is one of the attributes of greatness to be willing to retrace one's step and admit that one has been wrong. I appeal to you to repair the damage which has been done by unreservedly accepting and abiding by the decision of the court.

As I pointed out, your policy is a long-term one. The Coloured voters now on the roll and those who may come on to it in the next 10 or 20 years cannot materially or dangerously affect the position or safety of the Whites in South Africa.

The long-term and not so long-term effect of the deterioration in the relationship between the Whites and non-Whites is terrifyingly serious.

SOLUTION

It is obvious today that large numbers of the non-Whites here are hostile to us.

With them in that frame of mind, how can we expect to defend ourselves if we should be attacked by a non-European enemy? We should find in them an invincible fifth column.

Even leaving aside any question of an outside enemy, how can we hope to defend our civilization and our leadership in the face of actively or even passively hostile millions?

When the non-Europeans wake up to learn their economic power and use it we shall be powerless to

resist them. Guns and tanks and aeroplanes will offer us no protection then.

On both a short and a long-term view the position is much more dangerous than you seem to realise.

The danger can be met not with weapons, not with compulsory segregation, but only by voluntary, willing and friendly co-operation with a physical apartheid arrived at after free discussion and agreement.

My suggestion, which I ask you to consider, is that, after announcing that you will accept the recent decision of the Appeal Court, you call a truly national convention, at which all sections of Whites and non-Whites will be adequately and fairly represented, to try to thrash out some policy which will satisfy all the reasonable wants and wishes of all sections.

Such a policy will need sacrifices of long and strongly held views by all of you. The condition of affairs is so alarming and the prospects for the future so dangerous that we must all be ready to make those sacrifices.

To achieve such an end needs a leader with great influence, especially among your supporters.

You are the only man who can at this time exercise such influence.

I appeal to you to take the lead in the direction I have suggested. If you do and you succeed, South Africa will have good cause to rise up and call you blessed.

The alternative is chaos and the breakdown of the civilization you wish to preserve.

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World Religion

Leland P. Stewart writes in *Unity* March-April, 1952:

The saying "necessity is the mother of invention" certainly has proved itself true in the present age. Man has overcome the problems of the physical universe with almost unbelievable rapidity and cleverness. But the real force of this saying is now being felt in the area of *human relations*. There, the pressure of necessity is overwhelming; the compulsion produced by increasing world strife is at last undeniable; and so a way must be found to deal with this tremendously important and complex problem on an international basis.

Of course, attempts already have been made to establish some kind of world government. These are both worthwhile and inevitable, because eventually such an organization must be established. However, just when will the world at large recognize that the real core of lasting peace is not to be found in satisfactory govern-

mental organizations, but in a workable religion? In other words, governments are primarily restraining organizations and have little or nothing to do with directing people toward higher ethical living, whereas religions are supposed to provide the basis upon which individuals can build ethical lives and promote peace throughout society. At present, the eleven living religions are pre-scientific in their conceptions and ideals, thereby being highly ineffective for solving the problems of our industrial civilization. The only alternative is to construct and establish a religion which will take into account what we know about the nature of the world and its inhabitants, leaving room for additions of those items which we do not know.

Almost ten years ago a book was written which prophesied the direction this religion would take. Charles Morris of the University of Chicago, in his *Paths of Life: Preface to a World Religion*, has shown the inevitability of a union of at least the major living religions. He points

out that some of them overemphasize detachment from the world, others stress attachment to the world, and the remainder put their emphasis upon the life of service. The research and insights which Morris has presented in this book and elsewhere show that he is playing role of the modern John the Baptist by setting the stage for coming events. What he predicts is that a religion will arise which will combine the vital elements of existing religions into a new, correctly-balanced world religion. In fact, he has studied young people in various countries throughout the world and has discovered that the forces of the modern age are shaping them in accord with this pattern.

His work, and that of a considerable number of other thinkers, has outlined quite clearly the direction which must be taken in our struggles to establish lasting peace. The task which remains—the task that Western civilization has been afraid to undertake—is to apply our knowledge of the world to each of the living religions, making whatever additions, subtractions, and alterations are necessary, in creating a scriptural document sufficiently broad and accurate to be used as the basis of this religious development.

One of the items which our industrial civilization, with its mass-production methods, finds it difficult to include is the recognition of an educated level of citizens. Our religions have given evidence of this fact recently by producing less and less effect upon these people. Studies have been made, for example, showing that only about 20 per cent of people within this group accept the doctrines of Christianity. Many of them consequently, have abandoned that religion and found nothing to replace it. Such a condition, without a doubt, has had a tremendously paralyzing effect upon any attempts toward human progress.

To consider the abandonment of Christianity, or any of the existing religions, would be foolish indeed. Within

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each religion are found many grains of the truth for which mankind continues to search. Established religions, with all their archaic theological concepts and paradoxes of institutionalization, are not by any means worthless. Our need is not to destroy but to build. Therefore, we must consider how it will be possible to construct from these traditions a religion which is intelligible and beneficial to modern man.

Arnold J. Toynbee has pointed out that the majority of the world's population always has been, and indeed probably always will be, non-creative. In fact, almost all kinds of activity, both human and non-human, show that only a small number of isolated cases deviate from the trend of the majority. In the human realm this fact merely shows that most people's lives are ruled at least 90 per cent by conventionality. Yet those who carry civilizations forward are, first and foremost, the members of the creative minority, who in turn generally represent a very small percentage of the educated group. While these few leaders set the pace, other people, both educated and uneducated, follow along with the crowd, not stopping long enough to think out a better course.

Our religious traditions have made the notion of conformity more evident than almost any other human activity. Albeit people's thoughts about life and the world have developed slowly throughout the ages, the established religious systems have such tremendous inertia that only a very outstanding religious prophet can make any sizable alteration in them, and such persons are all too rare. As a result, dogmatics have entered history time after time, until now the educated man generally finds himself completely out of harmony with the conventional theological patterns, at least as far as their affecting his life is concerned.

A world religion will not attempt to supplant the orthodox traditions. Those people who are satisfied to remain within these traditions need not be affected by world religion at all, any more than the establishment of world government will destroy city governments. Instead, world religion will be an outgrowth of the traditions, and will be based upon the findings of all fields of knowledge up to the latest possible date. It should be a dynamic religion, best suited to those who have thought beyond the limitations of their particular traditions. However, even if a person wished to remain officially within some religious tradition, he still could benefit greatly by studying the teachings put forward in the central scriptural document of world religion.

To understand fully what world religion will be, it is necessary to consider the way in which it is being constructed. Its main object is to discover similarities and differences in the teachings of all living religions that still are known to be valid in terms of modern knowledge and insights. These teachings must be combined in such a way as to eliminate the doctrines of the individual religions and to express their ideas in a form applicable to all civilized cultures, not just one.

The world today is being transformed by the use of the scientific method of investigation, which was not tried systematically in any previous period of history. This method starts with what is known, and proceeds to the unknown in search of truth. In the past, man has made assumptions whenever he met with phenomena he did not understand; now he is discovering that most of his assumptions were either partially or completely wrong. Hence, he is having to reconstruct his ideas on the basis of this much sounder method.

One of his assumptions has been that there is some kind of life after death, for which this earthly life is merely preparatory. Having made this presupposition, he has tried to build his philosophy of life accordingly, and his resulting difficulties often have been manifold. Now he is learning that this assumption need not be made; instead, a study of various personalities shows that man can build a perfectly consistent and worthwhile life in terms of what he finds here and now, if only he will set out to do so. Anything else which might or might not follow upon death need have no bearing upon what he should do now. Gordon W. Allport of Harvard has concluded from his research that mature individuals have in common: (1) a variety of autonomous interests, (2) personal insight and a sense of humor, and (3) a unifying philosophy of life; none of which has anything to do with their views concerning life after death. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." Thus, in constructing a world religion, we must take for granted no resurrection stories or rebirths of souls, because these ideas have definite cultural limitations and have no essential bearing upon the development of mature personality. What we do know is that the person, who lives for a worthy cause and gives his life to the betterment of others is not forgotten when he dies. His life blends into the total picture of evolution and progress which becomes the Eternal. What can man desire that is better than this?

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Similarly, each conception of the living religions should be examined to see whether or not it can be accepted as is or reinterpreted in modern terms. From this examination a central scriptural document must be constructed which combines the valid teachings of all these religions and adds to them other appropriate scriptural writings, such as parts of *The Prophet* by Kahlil Gibran. The more worthy descriptions of the Infinite which can be collected and screened by means of universal criteria, the more possible it will be to find a meeting of minds throughout all parts of the world. Only in this way can understanding of different peoples be given a sound and permanent basis.

The next phase of scientific evolution will be in the social fields, with the progress of man as its ultimate goal. To cope with human problems adequately, it is necessary to grapple with religion, because in this area lies the core of man's attempts to progress. The religious quest is what leads man to the great heights that he seeks in striving to perfect himself and the world in which he lives. A study of man that did not take into account his religious problems and needs would be empty indeed.

The need for world peace is the compelling incentive for this kind of religion. The overly-materialistic West and the overly-detached East must find a meeting ground

in this religion through a mysticism that both affirms life and the world, and leads men to ethical living. Only in this way can we overcome the loss of creativity which the industrial age has thus far brought about.

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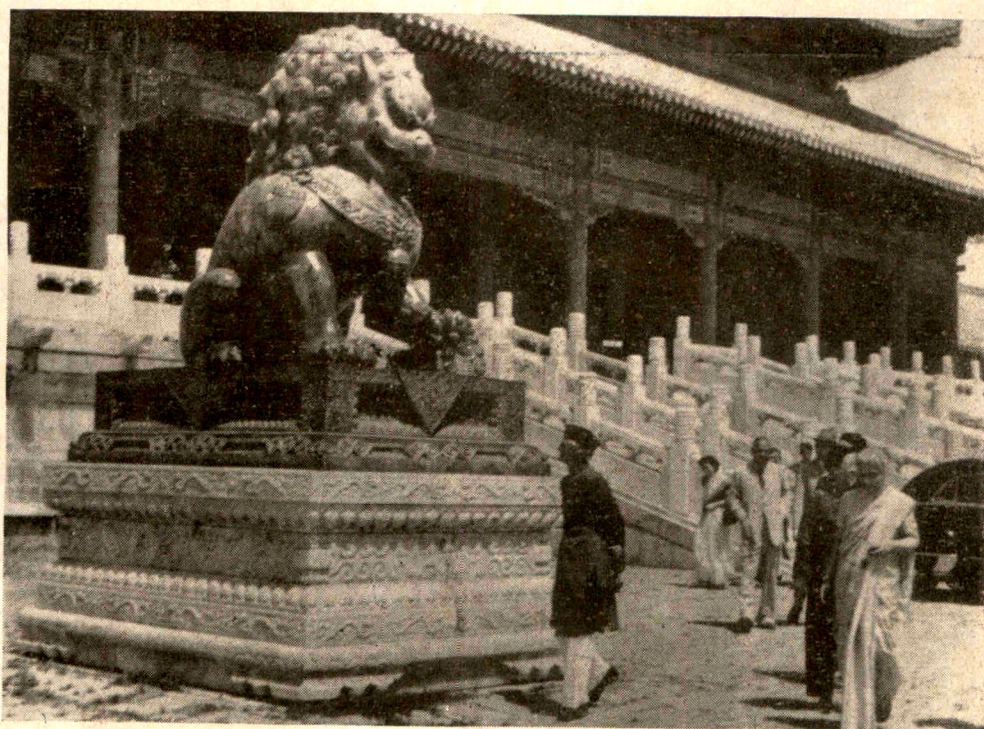
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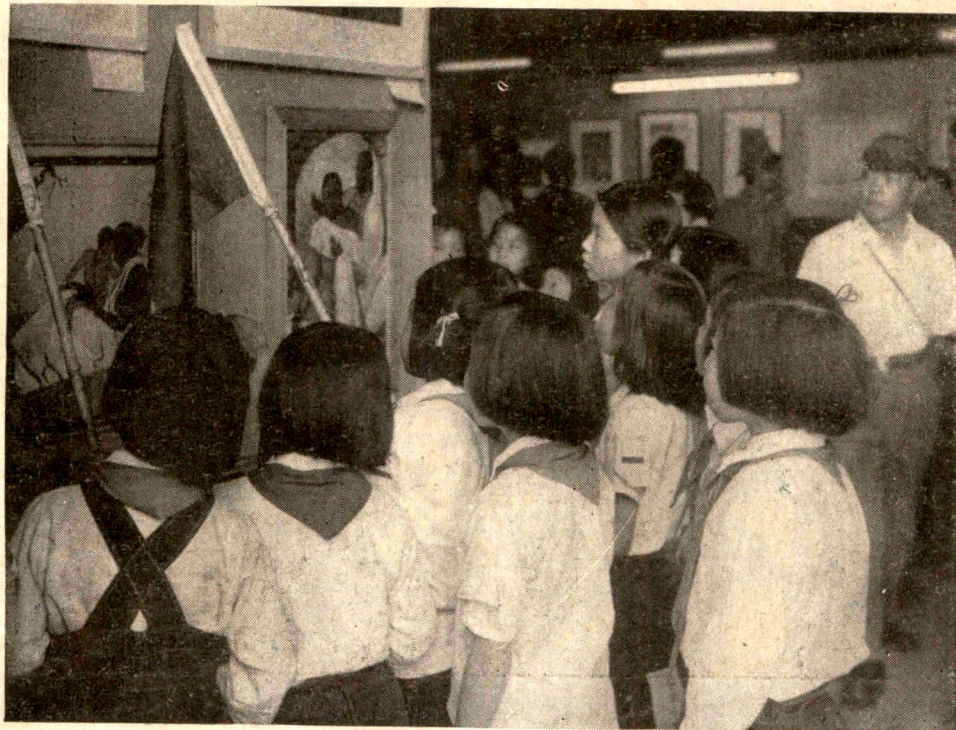
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Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, leader of the Indian Cultural Delegation to China, visited with other members the Summer Palace in Peking



Chinese school-children are fascinated by the exhibits of the Indian Art Exhibition at the Labour Palace, Peking



THE DARK-EYED GIRL
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NOTES

15th August

Another Independence Day has come and gone. There has been the usual speeches and celebrations and attempts at stock-taking in the terms of progress and retrogression. But have we tried to determine as to where stands the Union of India? Have we tried to assess what Independence has meant to the Common Citizen of India?

If we have, then have the results been reassuring? We think not, for the wants of the People and the ills of the Nation have increased with the passing of Five Years of Freedom, whereas it was but naturally assumed that they would abate as time passed.

Why has it been so? Have we searched our hearts for the basic reasons and debated within ourselves the ways and means for redress and remedy?

Five years of inexperience, inefficiency, arrogant ignorance and corruption on the part of those in whom the people trustingly placed charge of the controls of State, have cost the Nation grievous losses, losses not only in the terms of treasure and toil, but what is far more vital, loss in good faith. Today there is a wide gulf between the titular Heads of the Union and its nationals.

Congress in office, that is the Powers-that-Be seem to have awakened to the fact of this ever-widening estrangement, and therefore they are casting around to find remedies. But they also seem to be quite blind to the causative factors, without knowledge of which the remedies would prove ineffective.

France, in the last World War, was overwhelmed by Hitler's Germany without even a vestige of the resistance that was expected of a nation that had

formed the advance guard in the struggle for Liberty and Human Rights. After the debacle, the remnants that formed the Free French Government, in exile at London, took counsel amongst themselves and began to look for causes and also planned for the regeneration of France after her liberation. The French authorities in London assigned the task of drawing up a report on the possibilities of effecting the regeneration of France to Simone Weil. The result was a revealing document, denouncing the false values which lay at the root of all this decadent civilization.

She found that the basic factor in France's decay was the confusion between the Rights and Obligations of Man. And the same basic factor is the root cause of all our ailments.

Wrote Simone Weil, "Rights are always found to be related to certain conditions. Obligations alone remain independent of conditions. They belong to a realm situated above all conditions, because it is situated above this world."

"The men of 1789 did not recognize the existence of such a realm. All they recognized was the one on the human plane. That is why they started off with the idea of rights. But at the same time they wanted to postulate absolute principles. This contradiction caused them to tumble into a confusion of language and ideas which is largely responsible for the present political and social confusion."

Substitute 1947 for 1789, and our Blunderbores for the first French makers of Constitution; and the whole is translated to our own sphere. Our Constitution is great on Rights, but where are the chapters on Obligations? The thief, the racketeer, the black-marketeer, the corrupt official and every anti-social pest, all are

sedulously provided for in the Constitution, as we see daily from the Court judgements, but where are the clauses that enforce their obligations to the State and towards their brother men?

The Congressman of today claims his Rights, right up to every relative and dependent of his, however devoid they might be of human virtues, as the price of his service and allegiance to the creed—vastly fraudulent though be these claims of “service, sacrifice and allegiance” in all cases excepting a microscopic few—and these Rights extend to office, power, contracts and illicit gain. There is no question of his obligations to the State, the Nation and the Common Citizen.

The Leftist is exceedingly conscious of the Rights of Labour—particularly organised Labour, which is the instrument through which the Leftist hopes to satisfy his lust for power. But why is he silent about the obligations of Labour to the Rest? Is there none?

Plague be on all these camps, is the Common Citizen—which includes you and me and us—aware of his obligations, the obligations for vigilance, endeavour and sacrifice in the cause of society, without which no nation may progress?

The Five-Year Plans, the Community Projects, the Bharat Sewak Samaj would be all as nought in the absence of a sense of duties towards the nation in particular and mankind in general.

The River Valley Schemes

Amongst the major undertakings in the Five-Year Plans, the River Valley Schemes take the pride of place. All our hopes for a balanced economy, specially where self-sufficiency in food is concerned, rest on those.

Of late ominous rumours have been floating about them, at least about those that are in the course of construction or field investigation. The rumours have been of gross mismanagement and of large scale wastage of funds due to corruption and fraud. These came to a head during the recent debates in the Budget session of the Parliament, when the D.V.C. and the Hirakud Project came under fire, after a cut-motion initiated by Dr. M. N. Saha, the eminent scientist.

The Government had little to say—indeed there was no coherent reply to the charges levelled at the supreme executives of the River Valley Schemes. This has further enhanced the suspicions directed against them. Finally, the Government has had recourse to “stunt” publicity with regard to at least two of them. These press releases say a lot without revealing anything. For example, with regard to the Damodar Valley Project we have had a press release regarding the Tilaiya Dam. After stating that the concreting is expected to be finished in September and the gates erected in December of this year, it goes on to say:

“The Tilaiya Dam, one of the seven multiple-purposes dams, proposed for the comprehensive deve-

lopment of the Damodar Valley, will moderate floods, generate hydro-electric power and provide perennial irrigation in the upper and the lower valley. The dam site is on the Barakar river, 130 miles above its meeting with the Damodar. Kodarma, on the Grand Chord Line of the Eastern Railway, is the nearest railway station. After flowing for about 40 miles in the Hazaribagh district, Bihar, the Barakar breaks through a sharp ridge which rises more than 130 feet above the river bed. The adjacent hills on either side make this point of natural and economical site for the construction of a cement concrete gravity dam.

“The Tilaiya dam was designed and is being built departmentally. It is expected that within six months of its completion its hydro-electric station will go into operation.”

The Estimates Committee Report for 1951-52, which is a governmental publication has quite a different story to tell. It says, regarding Tilaiya Dam, “So its flood control capacity is very little. How much land it will finally be able to irrigate continuously *can only be judged by actual results.*” This alters the picture somewhat drastically.

In the cut motion it was stated that enormous waste of time and money is going on in the Damodar Valley Project mainly due to the inexperience and incapacity of the D.V.C. authorities, that is to say its Supreme Board. Tilaiya was stated to be “little better than a large pond” and the major dams, Maithan and Panchet, were stated not to have reached even the planning stage, and that after four years of work!

Turning to the other project on which the light of publicity has been turned on, all of a sudden, we are glad at least, that the erstwhile C.W.I.N.C. chiefs have had to lay open their own private El Dorado to public view.

First comes the descriptive portion thus:

“Orissa’s three principal rivers are the Mahanadi, the Brahmani and the Baitarani. Together they carry each year 107 million-acre feet of water to the sea.

“The Mahanadi, with a total length of 533 miles, rises near Sihawa in the extreme south-west of Raipur district, in Madhya Pradesh. On reaching Sambalpur, after flowing through the eastern portion of Raipur and draining the Bilaspur district, it becomes a river of the first magnitude with a width of more than one mile. It subsequently forms a series of rapids until it reaches Dholpur, where the unrestrained waters roll straight towards the outermost line of the Eastern Ghats. This mountain line is pierced by a gorge 14 miles long. The Mahanadi finally pours down the Orissa delta between two hills a mile apart, at Naraj, 7 miles west of Cuttack.

“In 1927 a Flood Enquiry Committee was appointed

to investigate Orissa's problems, and ten years later Shri M. Vishvesvaraya's advice was sought by Government. This eminent engineer envisaged the need for flood-control reservoirs on the Mahanadi which would also serve as sources for large-scale irrigation and power development in the area—a broad view of planning that was much ahead of the times.

"In 1945, the problem was referred to the Central Water and Power Commission, Government of India, which confirmed the conclusions of Shri M. Vishvesvaraya and recommended a basin-wide integrated development of the Mahanadi Valley. The National Government accepted the recommendations of the Commission for harnessing the Mahanadi for the control of floods, assured water supply for large tracts of fertile land and development of cheap power. Of the three dams that engineers believe should be constructed across the Mahanadi for the complete exploitation of its waters, the Hirakud dam, near Sambalpur, was chosen first for execution, as it would yield the quickest results. Against this background, it is idle to contend that the Hirakud project was begun hastily.

"The Government of India advanced to the Orissa Government the capital necessary for the project's construction. From 1948-49 to 1951-52, the amount advanced came to Rs. 16.27 crores.

"The Hirakud Dam, consisting for the most part of solidly-compacted earth (the compacting being done by "sheep-feet" rollers manufactured at the site), will run for three miles across the river and rise to a maximum height of 195 feet above the river bed. At either extremity of this dam—one of the longest in the world—will run high earthen dykes, whose tops will form the brim of the reservoir. The total length of the dykes will be about 17 miles. Two sections of the dam, together 3,840 feet long, will be made of concrete and carry a spillway and sluice gates for surplus water to run down the river when the floods are on.

"The reservoir will feed two flow canals, one on the right and a smaller one on the left bank, besides a third—taking off from the main Bargarh canal—into which water will be pumped by electricity generated at the dam. Together, these canals are expected annually to irrigate an area of 8 lakh acres. By controlled releases from the lake, over 11 lakh acres of annual irrigation will be done.

"The Hirakud lake will have a surface area of more than 150,000 acres, with a shore line of 155 miles. All this water, however, will not be run out to the dregs every year. A little more than a third will always be retained until the next floods, so that there will ever be enough water left to run the power house, to be situated at the foot of the right concrete section of the dam. This power house will ultimately have five units of a total capacity of 160,500 kilowatts, but to begin with four units with a capacity of 123,000 KW will be installed."

The Estimates Committee Report for 1951-52 states that "*The Committee was not shown any project report by the Hirakud organisation showing the progress of work from time to time.*" This is most curious, and also not a little suspicious.

During the cut motion in Parliament, it was stated that Rs. 1.3 crores of rupees had been spent in building a bridge at Hirakud *under which no water will flow for seven years to come!* The executive arrangement for planning, policy making and execution, has also been strongly criticized by the Estimates Committee. On the whole, the picture as presented by the Estimates Committee is not reassuring.

West Bengal vs Bihar

A resolution in the West Bengal Assembly, which was accepted and supported by all shades of opinion, has started what is likely to be a long-drawn and acrimonious controversy. The resolution itself was not happily drawn up, either with regard to its language or with regard to reasoning.

This was followed by a speech on the Maidan, on the 15th of August, by the President of the W. B. P. C. C. This speech was even more loosely worded, with confused arguments and flamboyant statements.

This in its turn has evoked a long and laboured reply from the Chief Minister of Bihar, Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha. Sri babu has tried to brush off the entire claim lightly, as if it were of no substance, and has tried diversionary tactics as well. The report of his statement, as given in the daily press, is in the main as follows:

"Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar, described the resolution passed recently by the West Bengal Assembly seeking amalgamation of certain portions of Bihar with West Bengal, as a 'patently unreasonable demand.' He said that West Bengal's demand for a corridor was reminiscent of Hitler's demand for the Polish corridor. The demand that where West Bengal rivers originated should be included in West Bengal was like the 'illegitimate claim of Pakistan over Kashmir,' he said.

"Dr. Sinha said that he had not acceded to the demand for a special session of the Bihar Legislature because 'I believe that no useful purpose is likely to be served by a discussion in the Legislature of a patently unreasonable demand, and even more than this I am anxious to avoid in the present mood of the people a full-dress debate on this issue—a debate in course of which hard things are bound to be said and this would only increase bitterness and injure the cause of national solidarity.' He said that he had not yet received the official text of the resolution or the West Bengal Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy's speech. He had seen, however, the reports in Calcutta papers. He had no intention of injuring the feelings of the

West-Bengal people, specially of Dr. Roy, who had gone abroad for treatment and who had 'the best wishes of all of us for a speedy recovery'."

Dr. Sinha commented: "If Dr. Roy felt that three years was a long period even in the life of a nation, that circumstances had changed radically and that conditions in the country had become sufficiently normal to permit State Governments taking a hand in inter-State disputes he ought perhaps to have informed me before he proceeded to support in the Legislature the demand for the transfer of parts of Bihar to West Bengal."

The demand for linking Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri with West Bengal, Dr. Sinha said, had another implication which his friends in West Bengal had not considered. On grounds of contiguity, these two districts could be joined to Bihar. Darjeeling in fact formed a part of Bhagalpur division not long ago. "On grounds of administrative convenience as also on the basis of cultural and linguistic affinities we could justly demand transfer to Bihar of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and parts of Malda, Dinajpur and Birbhum districts of West Bengal. We have of course no intention of doing so, for West Bengal is a part of the Indian Union, and adjustments of inter-State boundaries is a highly unsettling process which in the wider national interest, should in our view be avoided. But once the process starts, Bihar's claim over these territories will have to be very seriously considered."

Referring to the demand that places where West Bengal rivers have their origin should be included within the borders of that State, he said: "This is a strange principle for responsible men to put forward. You will not fail to notice the resemblance which this argument bears to those advanced by Pakistan in support of their illegitimate claim over Kashmir."

"All North Bihar rivers had their origin in Nepal and any headworks for utilizing their waters must be in Nepal. Some Bihar rivers have also their origin in Uttar Pradesh. Would we on this ground be justified in laying claims to parts of Nepal or Uttar Pradesh? I do not know what the answers of my friends in West Bengal would be, but if anybody in Bihar were to make any such claims we would certainly not credit him with much sanity."

Denying the charge that the attitude of Bihar had been unhelpful Dr. Sinha said that it was not generally realized "what sacrifices we had to make and will have to make in future for success of the Damodar Valley Project."

Regarding the claim that areas which had been demanded had a predominantly Bengali population, Dr. Sinha said: "This is a travesty of fact." He added that in no part of Purnea district did Bengalis exceed 7 per cent, in the Santhal Parganas 10 per cent, while in Sadar and Giridih subdivisions of Hazaribagh dis-

trict it was below 2 per cent. Sadar subdivision of Manbhum had a large Bengali-speaking population, but a considerable portion of the Bengali speakers were socially and ethnically more akin to the people of the neighbouring districts of Bihar than of West Bengal and their economy was closely linked with the neighbouring areas of Ranchi, Singhbhum and Dhanbad.

"In Dhanbad subdivision, the majority of the people spoke languages other than Bengali and a considerable number of them were of aboriginal or semi-aboriginal extraction. 'Thus none of the areas demanded by West Bengal can be correctly described as predominantly Bengali in composition, whether the criterion applied is one of caste and race, social and cultural affiliations, system of law and land tenure, or language, or a combination of all these'."

With respect to these generalizations and figures, we would say that Dr. Sinha's statement would not bear scrutiny if there were a survey made by skilled and unbiased investigators.

Dr. Sinha added: "I would ask you to remember that while the spokesmen and arguments and areas demanded a change, and the emphasis shifts from one argument to another depending on the situation at the moment, the demand for expansion of Bengal, or what we may call the idea of Greater Bengal, continues. Before partition, a prominent leader of the Muslim League was exploring with some of the Hindu leaders the possibility of uniting the whole of Bengal on the issue of Greater Bengal, which was to be independent of the rest of India, and to include large tracts of Bihar and possibly of some other States. But events moved fast and inexorably to defeat their plans."

"Then came the New Bengal Association, with the demand for amalgamation of certain tracts of Bihar and Orissa with West Bengal. A little later we found to our surprise that, contrary to the settled and declared policy of the Central Government, two members of the Central Government belonging to Bengal joined hands with other Bengal members of the Constituent Assembly in an application to bring the West Bengal-Bihar boundary issue within the purview of the commission appointed to investigate the possibility of forming new States. At all these stages, the demand was based largely on the principle of linguistic provinces; but in 1951, a resolution was moved in Parliament asking for the transfer of certain areas of Bihar to West Bengal to enable a direct link being established between Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling and the rest of Bengal."

This motion was brought in by a member always on the look-out for personal publicity, without any consideration for consequences. Needless to say, West Bengal's case was neither put forward properly nor was it given any fair consideration.

"Emphasis shifted again to the principle of linguistic provinces a few weeks ago when, discussion took

place on the subject in Parliament. Now it is the damaged economy of West Bengal and the need to find land for settling displaced persons that have been put forward as the main justification for the old demand, and Dr. B. C. Roy himself has now specially abjured the time-honoured linguistic argument. The conclusion to which this persistent demand, through changing spokesmen and varying arguments, leads is that there are people in West Bengal who have been seized with an irresponsible desire for expansion at the cost of their neighbours, and as is not unusual in such a situation, they utilize any conceivable argument that comes in their way to give a rational justification for their desire.

"Whatever the economic effects of partition may be, there is little doubt that partition has caused a deep injury to the spirit of Bengal. Is it that enlargement of their State appears to a section of West Bengal's people to be the only means of assuaging their pain? If so, I would beg of them to consider whether it is right or wise that West Bengal should seek to repair the injuries caused to her spirit by seeking dismemberment of a sister State."

With all due deference to Sri babu's capacity as a counsel for his own State, we would say that accuracy of statement is not a strong point with him. Even with regard to recent history, his references are not always correct, as, for example, his statement regarding Hitler's demand for the Polish corridor. To the best of our knowledge the Polish corridor was imposed on Germany by the victorious Allies, headed by the British, long before Hitler's name appeared on the pages of current history. Indeed, that imposition was on the same lines as what the self-same Britishers did with respect to Manbhum and Singbhum in 1911, or East Bengal and West Punjab in 1947.

In the 1911 session of the Congress, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru moved a resolution asking the Government, to return the Bengali-speaking tracts to Bengal. The Nehru Committee presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru also supported the view. Since 1911 the demand for returning the Bengali-speaking tract was reiterated every year till the Election Manifesto of 1950.

Sri Atulya Ghosh's statement, in reply to Dr. Sinha, is in the main as follows:

"In 1911 when the partition of Bengal was annulled, we, the people of Bengal, accepted that annulment, allowing Manbhum, Santhal Parganas and Singbhum to be a part Bihar for the time being for so-called administrative facilities. Before the partition, all these areas were naturally within the province of Bengal. After 1912 in many Congress sessions leaders of all-India fame including leaders of Bihar gave their solemn promise that these portions would be included in Bengal in a favourable time and situation. All these arguments based on logic, reasoning and historical facts we have kept pending, expecting that in due course Bengal will get back such areas as belonged

to it, by the common consent of the Centre and the province concerned.

"In 1948 the West Bengal P. C. C. passed a resolution drawing the attention of the Working Committee towards our just demand claiming such portions of Bengal which are now within Bihar and which linguistically and culturally, belong to Bengal. In 1951 at the Bangalore session of the Working Committee, myself as a member of the Working Committee submitted a memorandum for the inclusion of such portions of Bengal which are now within Bihar, to the Congress President and the Working Committee for the very kind consideration of that august body. At that time I was told that the time was not yet suitable for linguistic readjustment of the boundary."

We think it is about time that the entire matter was threshed out to its logical conclusion. Pandit Nehru's policy of evasion and procrastination is likely to bear dire consequences for West Bengal in particular and all Bengali-speaking Hindus in general.

Pandit Nehru is very fond of uttering platitudes on harmony and accord, and homilies on provincialism. It is a known fact that this present controversy between West Bengal and Bihar would have never risen but for the vicious anti-Bengali drive that Bihar has been keeping on ever since 1936. Today in the Bengali-speaking areas of Manbhum and Singbhum, Bengalis are being subjected to all the tyrannies that corrupt officialdom can bring to action. Even their right to their mother-tongue is being denied. Dr. Sinha's glib statement regarding language and ethnology is what he would like to fool people into believing. Needless to say, it bears no relation to the truth.

The bare truth is that the Bengali is deprived of his birth-rights at every step and receives long lectures and admonitions when he asks for redress. The reason is that we in Bengal have talked too much and done too little, so far as our own interests lay, ever since 1921. If redress is to be sought, then we shall have to take up the threads from 1911, and follow the path indicated by the men of action of those days. In a corrupt and supine government nothing else will suffice.

The Ganga Bridge

The Central Board of Transport which met in New Delhi on August 29 under the presidentship of the Transport Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, has approved the construction of a bridge over the Ganga at Mokameh, in Bihar. The scheme is expected to cost more than Rs. 10 crores. The bridge, a combined road-rail bridge, had been recommended to be constructed at Mokameh by Mr. M. Viswesvarayya.

We consider that this decision should have been taken long back. This bridge is long overdue. We hope the Ganga Barrage at Farrakka will be sanctioned now without delay as that is also overdue.

The A.I.R. Purge

The following news-item appeared in the daily press of August 29 :

"About 50 members of AIR's staff, ranging from Station Directors to Programme Assistants, may shortly be 'demoted' or discharged as the result of a new Ministerial purge in the organization.

"Of a total of nearly 800 sanctioned posts, both in the Programme and Engineering departments, more than 200 are at present held by people whose appointments had not been approved by the Union Public Service Commission. Such appointments cover employees rejected by the UPSC for higher officiating posts, those whose officiating promotion has not yet been confirmed by the UPSC and those directly recruited by the Ministry, though not promoted. It has not been decided that all such appointments should be 'regularized,' with the result that those employees who have already been rejected by the UPSC for officiating posts will be immediately affected.

"About 50 cases fall under the last category. They comprise people who have been rejected for a particular appointment and will, therefore, be reverted to their substantive posts. Those who have no lower posts to fall back upon may have to be discharged. It is understood that they are all being served with notices that they are liable to reversion to the next junior post or to removal. Final decisions will be taken in a few weeks."

But this is merely the shadow of a real purge. If in reality an honest attempt is to be made to clean the official departments of all the elements that have got in through nepotism, corruption, unjustified favouritism and undeserving appointment, then about a hundred times fifty would be thrown out from the higher posts alone.

The UPSC is a huge joke. What does its opinion count for in appointments? In all vacancies temporary appointments are made even before advertising, then comes the farce of an interview. If the person thus illicitly appointed is chosen, then all is well, else the appointing official just says that he has found the temporary incumbent an excellent executive, and that is the end of it. Advertised qualifications, etc., are all mere eyewash. Most appointees do not possess a vestige of qualifications. The country would not be in this foul mess but for such appointments.

Currency and Finance in 1951-52

The Reserve Bank's annual Report on Currency and Finance for the year 1951-52, issued in August, covers as usual the major economic developments for the period, national and international. The Report observes that the strong inflationary pressures generated by the economic developments following the outbreak of the Korean war weakened in several coun-

tries beginning with the second quarter of 1951, and by early 1952 fears of inflation not only tended to give way, but forebodings that events may take a deflationary turn began to be nursed. This change in the economic situation was the combined result of the stretching-out of the rearmament programme, the slackening of stockpiling in the USA and the greater resort to monetary discipline. As these developments coincided with a marked rise in world production, prices of certain internationally-traded commodities, such as tin, rubber and wool, marked a sharp break. The general price level in the major countries showed a measure of stability after the first quarter of 1951, with a slightly upward trend as in the UK or a somewhat downward bias as in the USA, Canada and India.

The Bank rate was raised in several countries including the UK and India, while in others quantitative and selective credit controls were introduced or strengthened. The extensive use of the interest rate weapon and the change in the open market policy by some countries had their impact on the gilt-edged market, with the result that there was a considerable downward adjustment of Government bond values and a rise in yields; prices of industrial shares also showed much less buoyancy as compared to the last year. The budgets of several countries indicated that their financial operations during 1951-52 were likely to result in substantial revenue surpluses, reflecting mainly the rise in business activity and the high level of incomes and profits.

Referring to the international payments position, the Report states that it underwent a significant change during 1951, mainly as a result of the change in American buying policies. The payments position of most countries, especially of primary producers was adversely affected. The USA realised a larger payments surplus amounting to \$5 billion, as against \$2.3 billion in 1950. Foreign aid extended by the USA, although slightly higher than in 1950, was smaller than the country's export surplus, with the result that during the year, the previous year's trend of gold and dollar outflow was reversed. The impact of these developments resulted in the re-emergence of a dollar shortage, particularly in the sterling area. The intensity of the balance of payments crisis in the sterling area was evidenced by the fact that the area was in deficit not only on dollar account but also with the rest of the world. A feature of the payments of several countries during the year was the striking contrast between two halves of 1951: a substantial surplus in the first half was followed by a large deficit in the second. The amount allocated by the U. S. Government under the Mutual Security Act, including unspent foreign aid, was over \$8 billion during July 1951-June 1952, the larger part of it being for military aid. Of this, Europe received \$5.8 billion. The loans made by the Export-Import Bank during 1951 amounted to \$244.2 million,

as against \$565.8 million in 1950, while those by the IBRD amounted to \$236.4 million in 1951-52 as against \$345.7 million in 1950-51.

Economic Developments in India

Against the background of these world developments, the Report proceeds to review the major economic and financial developments in India during the year 1951-52. Foremost among these was the change in the monetary and credit policies of the Reserve Bank during the year, which was necessitated by the unusually large expansion in bank credit in the post-Korean period and the severe strain it entailed on the banking system. The measures taken by the Reserve Bank to check further credit inflation were three-fold: the Bank rate was raised for the first time in 17 years from 2 to 3½ per cent, effective from November 15, 1951. Simultaneously the open market policy was revised, the Bank preferring to assist the banking system in periods of seasonal stringency by granting loans against Government Securities rather than purchasing such Securities outright from banks, as hitherto. Thirdly, in January, 1952, the Bank went a step further and attempted to introduce an element of elasticity in the money market by initiating a scheme for a bill market. Under the scheme, the Bank made available to scheduled banks by way of advances against usance bills a substantial amount of assistance (Rs. 74 crores up to June 30, 1952) to tide over the seasonal needs. As a result of these credit measures and of the steep fall in wholesale prices in February and March 1952, the expansion in credit slowed down towards the close of the year.

The general economic situation in the country in 1951 was marked by distinct progress in several directions. This was mainly due to the disinflationary measures adopted by Government, assisted by favourable developments abroad. Apart from the credit measures already noticed, other domestic stabilisation measures included the retention of export duties during the greater part of the year and the budgeting by the Centre for a revenue surplus to meet a part of the capital expenditure. The realisation of a substantial revenue surplus, together with the sale proceeds of the US Loan Wheat, helped India to finance without difficulty the year's development programme. The improvement in the supply situation during the year was brought about by domestic production, both agricultural and industrial, liberalisation of import restrictions and regulation of exports. In the result, the inflationary forces generated by the Korean War showed signs of weakening.

Industrial production showed a marked improvement during 1951, the official general index of industrial output (base: 1946=100) rising to 117.4 as against 105.2 in 1950 and 106.3 in 1949. While the post-war

uptrend was maintained in the basic industries, the year under review witnessed substantial rises in most consumer goods industries, including cotton and jute textiles, which had registered declines in the preceding two years. The food situation, however, continued to be difficult during 1951, with lower domestic production and procurement, although it was kept under control by means of larger imports of food-grains amounting to 4.72 million tons in 1951 as against 2.12 million tons in 1950.

India's balance of payments position showed a deficit on current account of Rs. 93.5 crores in 1951, as against a surplus of Rs. 57.5 crores in 1950. This deficit was entirely accounted for by transactions with the non-sterling area countries. The deficit with these countries rose from less than Rs. 2 crores in 1950 to over Rs. 159 crores in 1951. Despite the heavy deficit of Rs. 47 crores with Pakistan, as against Rs. 2 crores in 1950, there was actually an increase in India's surplus with the sterling area. India had a total trade deficit of Rs. 140 crores in 1951 as against a surplus of Rs. 28 crores in 1950.

As regards the budgetary position, during 1951-52 (revised) and 1952-53 (budget), both the Central Government and the States (interim budgets) show overall deficits, the respective totals being Rs. 65 crores and Rs. 140 crores. For 1952-53, the combined budgetary position of the Centre and the States shows a deficit on revenue account also of Rs. 8 crores, as compared with surpluses of Rs. 95 crores and Rs. 62 crores in 1951-52 and 1950-51, respectively. With the launching of the Five-Year Plan in 1951-52, both the magnitude and the pattern of expenditure were shaped by considerations of accelerating development without accentuating inflationary pressures. For the two-year period 1951-53, the budgeted outlay on development in the public sector adds up to Rs. 667 crores or, excluding the current depreciation expenditure of the railways, Rs. 607 crores, which is Rs. 48 crores less than that envisaged in the Draft Five-Year Plan. As against these requirements, the resources available for development during 1951-53 amount to Rs. 455 crores, indicating thereby a shortfall in resources of Rs. 212 crores. Consequently the development expenditure in the public sector as a whole including that in the States has had to be financed partly by drawing down the cash balances.

In view of the limitations on raising domestic resources beyond a certain point and taking into account the urgent need for development of the country, the Five-Year Plan envisages substantial foreign assistance for financing the development plan in the public sector. India has already received from the U.S.A., Australia, Canada, and New Zealand grants and loans amounting to about Rs. 128 crores (\$265 million). In addition, there is a balance of about Rs. 9 crores (\$18.5 million) that could be

drawn from the IBRD loans. Should the gap in resources in the public sector be covered by external finance, it would be possible for India to carry out the development programme without an undue strain on the economy.

The general price level showed, after an initial spurt, a more or less continuous downward readjustment. While the disinflationary measures undoubtedly helped to sustain the downtrend initiated earlier, by international developments, the rather precipitate decline in prices in the closing months of 1951-52 reflected partly the effects of speculative overtrading and heavy accumulation of stocks in certain primary and other commodities, including some which enter into the country's export trade. The recovery in the price level which followed, reflected the effects of Governmental measures in the direction of progressive liberalisation of export restrictions and partial relaxations in domestic controls over commodities. The whole post-Korean rise in domestic prices was less marked than in many other foreign countries, the subsequent decline in them has been relatively more pronounced.

Reviewing the trends in the capital market, the Report states that the capital market ruled on the whole bearish in contrast to the improvement noticed in 1950. The change in the Bank rate and the withdrawal of the earlier partial support to the gilt-edged market resulted in a steep fall in the prices of Government securities and an all-round adjustment in yields. During 1951, the index of gilt-edged securities declined by about 7½ per cent. Equity prices, which had maintained the uptrend from June 1950 to June 1951, began to sag from July onwards and more particularly from mid-February, 1952, the decline in share values over the year being 13 per cent.

The working of the Bombay bullion market during the year was eventful. Speculative activity in a thin market, especially in silver, led to frequent crises, which necessitated the intervention of both the Board of the Bombay Bullion Association as well as the Bombay Government. A feature of price trends was the decline in March 1952 in the Indian price of silver below the world parity level, for the first time since 1939.

Essential Goods Act

The Essential Goods (Declaration and Regulation of Tax on Sale or Purchase) Bill as reported by the Select Committee has been passed by Parliament. The Act which has been enacted in pursuance of Article 236(3) of the Constitution declares a number of commodities as essential to the life of the community. Henceforth any bill passed by the legislature of a State, imposing any tax on the sale or

purchase of such commodities would have to be reserved for the assent of the President and would become law only after such assent has been given.

The goods declared as essential will include cereals and pulses in all forms, including bread and flour, including atta, maida, suji and bran (except when any such article is sold in sealed containers); fresh and dried fruits, sugarcane, cocoanuts, vegetables, edible tubers, vegetable and flower seeds, bulbs and plants, excluding orchids (except any medicine prepared from any one or more of such articles and when any such article is sold in sealed containers); fresh milk, whole or separate, and milk products, including butter, ghee, chhana, khoa, but excluding sweets; meat, fish and eggs (except when any such article is sold in sealed containers); edible oils and oilseeds from which edible oils are extracted; gur; salt; all cloth, woven on handlooms, coarse and medium cotton cloth made in mills or woven on power looms; raw cotton, including ginned and unginned cotton or kapas, cotton thread, cotton yarn, cotton seeds, jute seeds, raw jute, sun hemp and mesta; hides and skins; fertilizers and manures; agricultural machinery and implements; cattle feeds; coal, including coke and other derivatives, petroleum and petroleum products, including kerosene and motor spirit; iron and steel; books, exercise books, slates and slate pencils and periodical journals.

Such a measure was long overdue. In Britain, utility goods deemed essential to the life of the community have been excluded from the provisions of Purchase tax. The Essential Goods Act of India will tend to lower the cost of living, provided it is enforced strictly.

Steel and Coal

From time to time we receive news releases from New Delhi, which tend to prove that officialdom at the Centre and their chosen heads are waking up from their Olympian slumbers. Here are two bits of news which are of that category. But the pit-falls, the delay and ruinous waste of money follow in the train. For, where there is money, there we find the noses of our own particular brand of blood-suckers, and to them honesty counts as nought. It is the same story in industry as in commerce, since the intrusion of the speculator-profitteer in the realm of legitimate industry and commerce. And so such news rouse little enthusiasm in us.

New Delhi, August 29.—The Government of India are reported to have "under active consideration" at present the setting up, with foreign assistance, of a State-owned integrated project for the iron and steel industry.

The project is estimated to cost Rs. 80 crores. Originally negotiations were conducted with various

parties, including the Japanese, for the setting up of a pig iron industry, but it has now been decided to have an integrated project. This is in addition to the programme of development of indigenous production of Tata and SCOB.

There are three proposals under examination at present and these include a proposal from the Japanese, another from the Germans and the third from the U.S.A.

The representatives of the Japanese interests were in Delhi recently for discussions with the Government of India. The Government expect to hear shortly from the Japanese.

The Planning Commission has also been requested by the Production Ministry to make necessary provision for the integrated iron and steel project in the Five-Year Plan.

New Delhi, August 29.—The Government of India have decided to take immediate steps to conserve the country's rich reserves of metallurgical coal against uneconomic and unplanned exploitation and have fixed a quota of annual production, it was learnt here.

Of late there has been righteous indignation among all sectors of Indian public opinion over the senseless wastage of high grade metallurgical coal in this country. It is the general feeling that India's reserves of metallurgical coal is very limited and it is time that Government should take steps to preserve this valuable mineral. According to recent estimates, India has 1500/2,000 million tons of high grade metallurgical coal. If proper steps are taken, including stowing and ashing, the reserve, it is calculated, would last 80 years. Indian Railways are the largest consumer of metallurgical coal. The Railways consume $3\frac{1}{2}$ million tons. Iron and steel works consume 3 million tons, coke ovens use $\frac{1}{2}$ million tons and miscellaneous consumption amounts to 1 million tons. India thus annually uses up 8 million tons of high grade metallurgical coal. The Railways can easily be made to run on inferior grade coal and for domestic purposes metallurgical coal should not be allowed to be used.

It is indeed gratifying to note the Government of India's decision, although belated, to take immediate steps to conserve the country's rich reserves of metallurgical coal against uneconomic and unplanned exploitation. The Government are reported to have fixed a quota of annual production of 7.9 million tons for 1952 and 7.4 million tons for 1953 so far as selected grades of A and B coal are concerned. The steps the Government are taking are designed to bring about a gradual reduction in the output of the selective grades of metallurgical coal without at the same time affecting the economic working of the collieries and thus causing large-scale retrenchment of labour.

Of the world reserves of coal of all grades within 6,000 feet of the surface, India has only 1.1 per cent. India should therefore strictly conserve her coal resources. Mere reduction in output will not ensure conservation. What is required for this purpose is rationed consumption on selective basis, and disallowing use of metallurgical coal where inferior grades would serve the purpose.

The steps the Government are now taking are, it is stated, designed to effect a gradual reduction in the output of the selective grades of metallurgical coal without at the same time affecting the economic working of the collieries and thus causing large-scale retrenchment of labour.

It was originally intended to fix the upper limit of production of this type of coal for the next five years. The figures were: 9m tons for 1952, 8m for 1953, 7m for 1954, 6m for 1955, and 5.6m for 1956. Following discussions with representatives of the coal industry recently at Calcutta, the Government of India are understood to have revised it and fixed the upper limit of production for the current year at 7.9m tons and for 1953 at 7.4m.

Census of India, Economic Picture

The population of India as revealed by the latest figures of 1951 census stands at 35,68,29,485, excluding that of Jammu and Kashmir. The population of Jammu and Kashmir is estimated at 4.41 millions. The final figures indicate an increase of 42.06 million over the population of 1941. The mean decennial rate of growth for the decade ended 1951 works out at 12.5 per cent, the annual rate of increase being 1.2 per cent. The average density of population stands at 281 per square mile. Travancore-Cochin has the highest density of population in India having over 900 people per square mile, West Bengal following next with 829 people per square mile.

The census figures reveal a significant bias towards urbanisation. In 1951, the number of urban population of India is 62 million or about 17 per cent of the total population, as against 44 million in 1941 or 14 per cent. A major part of the growth in urban population has taken place in the cities and towns having a population of one lakh and above. Over the decade, the number of such towns increased from 48 to 75, and their population from 14.6 million to over 24 million. Apart from the city States of Ajmer and Delhi, the most highly urbanised States in India are Saurashtra (33.7 per cent), Bombay (31.1 per cent), West Bengal (24.8 per cent) and Mysore (24.0 per cent); among the least urbanised States are Orissa (4.1 per cent), Assam (4.6 per cent), and Bihar (6.7 per cent).

As regards occupational distribution, 70 per cent of the population are engaged in agriculture, and the

remaining 30 per cent in trade, commerce, industry and services. Of the total population 249.12 constitute agricultural population. Among the agricultural population, 67.2 per cent own lands, 12.7 per cent are cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned, that is, they fall under the category of share-croppers; and 18.0 per cent are cultivating labourers. Thus about one-third of the total agricultural population are landless peasants. 44.81 million peoples are day labourers engaged in agricultural occupation, and 31.64 million are share-croppers. The number of non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents is 5.32 million, or 2.1 per cent of the total agricultural population.

Among the non-agricultural population, 37.66 million are engaged in production other than cultivation, 21.31 million are engaged in commerce, 5.62 million in transport, and 42.93 million are engaged in other services and miscellaneous sources. The number of the total non-agricultural population is 107.57 million.

India's Trade with East Asia

From very ancient times India has had economic ties with the Middle East and Far East Asian countries. The major countries of East Asia with whom India is in trade relation are Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China, Thailand, China, Japan, Hongkong and Philippines. Excepting Japan, the economies of these countries are based on agricultural and mineral production and the majority of the people are engaged either in agricultural or mining or in plantations, chiefly rubber. They mainly import manufactured articles and export raw materials and food. India imports from these countries, among other things, rice and spices and in return exports manufactured articles chiefly cotton. In 1938-39, India's exports to these countries formed about 25 per cent of her total exports, and of her total imports, imports from these regions amounted to 32 per cent. In the post-war years the position has changed. In 1951-52, our exports to these countries formed 13.9 per cent of our total exports, and imports amounted to 12.8 per cent.

In the pre-war year and in 1948-49, India had trade deficits with East Asian countries to the extent of about Rs. 9 crores and Rs. 4 crores respectively. India had, however, surpluses in 1949-50 and 1950-51 of Rs. 13 crores and Rs. 48 crores respectively with all the countries of the region, excluding Pakistan. With Pakistan India had deficits in all the years. In 1951-52, India had an adverse trade balance with these countries amounting to Rs. 12 crores. Restrictions on the export of cotton textiles are mainly responsible for the trade deficits.

India's export-trade with the region is limited to few commodities. The three most important exports to this area are jute manufactures, cotton textiles and coal, these countries forming the major markets for the last two commodities. About two-thirds of India's exports of coal are absorbed by them. In 1948-49, these countries lifted about 90 per cent of our total exports of coal. As regards export of cotton textiles, these countries absorbed about 70 per cent of India's exports of piecegoods, Burma alone taking half of the exports. In the post-war years, there has been a steady demand in this market for Indian cotton textiles. The devaluation in 1949 and the rise in money incomes in the East Asian countries consequent on the boom in primary products following the Korean war led to a further increase in the demand for cotton textiles. However, exports having been restricted, exports of cotton textiles in 1951-52 have shown a considerable decline.

Federal Financial Integration

The process of federal financial integration was accelerated when on 30th June the Reserve Bank signed agreements with the Governments of Madhya Bharat and Travancore-Cochin. From 1st July, the Reserve Bank has become the sole banker of these two Part 'B' States, as it already is of all Part 'A' States. Certain transitional provisions have been made in the agreements in order that existing arrangements may not be unduly inconvenienced. The Reserve Bank now conducts, on behalf of these Governments, all their money and banking transactions, is in charge of their remittance and exchange facilities, manages their public debt, their new loans if any, receives their cash balances and deposits, and, when necessary, grants them ways and means advances in accordance with the prescribed procedure. To enable the Reserve Bank to discharge some of these functions effectively, an adequate number of currency chests will be gradually established in the two States. In Madhya Bharat, the cash work of the treasuries will continue to be conducted by the State Government in all places except Gwalior, Indore, Ratlam and Ujjain where the Imperial Bank has branches. The Imperial Bank will act at these places as the agent of the Reserve Bank under its general agreement with that Bank. In Travancore-Cochin, the treasury work will be conducted by the State Government departmentally for a period of three years, and after that period the position will be reviewed and the Travancore Bank will be considered for appointment as the agent of the Reserve Bank. The Reserve Bank is conducting negotiations with other Part 'B' States for the conclusion of similar agreements. Under Section 21A of the Reserve Bank Act, the Bank is to transact Government business of Part 'B' States on agreement.

Germany's Pre-War Debts

After more than two years of preparatory works and five months of almost continuous negotiations in London, the representatives of the several groups of creditors and debtors have recently issued an agreed report on the settlement of Germany's pre-war external debts. The report sets out suggested terms of settlement that have been agreed between creditors and debtors and are now recommended for the approval of the respective Governments. The details of the agreement do not lend themselves readily to general description; because of the wide variety and differing priority of the debts, there was never any possibility of a general or uniform settlement. The following summary can however be made:-

(1) The proposed terms cling as closely as possible to those original contracts; they do not in most cases, entail any reduction in the original principal amounts.

(2) Arrears of interest have been recalculated in most instances at about two-thirds of the contractual rates and on the basis of simple interest. These arrears are to be funded, usually into twenty-year bonds carrying interest at 3 per cent. Bonds representing the arrears up to the end of 1944 will be issued immediately. The remainder will not be issued until the unification of Germany, and payment on this part of the funded bonds will not begin until then.

(3) The future interest rates on the debts have been reduced below those of the original contracts; for example, the rate on the Dawes Loan (British issue) is reduced from 7 per cent to 5 per cent and on Young Loan from 5½ per cent to 4½ per cent.

(4) Amortisation will begin after five years. The maturity dates have been extended, but provision has been made for an acceleration of the repayment where creditors are prepared to accept payment in blocked Deutsche marks for investment in Germany.

(5) Contracts with dollar or gold clauses are being redefined as though the value of currencies of issue of the loan had been defined in relation not to gold but to the United States dollar. The gold clauses become dollar clauses but the dollar clauses are being honoured to the full.

The last arrangement resolves some of the most intractable of the difficulties encountered during the negotiations. The agreement reveals that the countries of the nations have learnt nothing from the history of the last two great wars. It is something fantastic and reprehensible to enforce again the Dawes Loan and Young Loan which are barred by limitation. These debts will be too heavy a burden on the crashing economy of Germany and the events of the world are changing so fast that the same old tale may again be repeated and before long Germany might dare to repudiate the war debts. Germany started the second world war for righting the alleged wrongs of Versailles and who knows the wrongs perpetrated by the present war debts agreement may not again goad the exasperated victim to go the way of desperation.

Malan Rebuffed

Apartheid, the fetish of Afrikaners of Malan's persuasion, has been declared illegal a second time by the Cape Supreme Court of South Africa, as the following news, dated August 29, informs us:

Delivering judgement in the Cape Supreme Court, the Judge-President, who sat with Judges C. Newton Thompson and G. Steyn, said: "Parliament as ordinarily constituted has deprived individuals of the right to invoke the courts whenever they thought that their rights were infringed. The decisions of the High Court of Parliament will be final and binding both on the courts and on persons."

"Persons will have no redress in any court, including the High Court of Parliament. This can only mean that the constitutional guarantee recognizing the rights of persons to approach the courts has been destroyed."

The contention put forward by the respondents (the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dinges, and the Electoral Officer of Capetown, Mr. P. H. Savage) that Parliament in the ordinary exercise of its legislative power could create whatever court it pleased was, in the Judge-President's view, clearly unsound as a general proposition.

It failed to recognize that, in so doing, it might infringe Sec. 152 of the South Africa Act providing for a joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament and a two-thirds majority.

"By enacting the High Court of Parliament Act in disregard of Sec. 152, the Legislature has overstepped its powers, for in so doing it has altered Sec. 152."

"Having been passed not in conformity with the provisions of Sec. 152, it is ultra vires and, therefore, null and void and of no effect."

He was of the opinion "that in its full context the South Africa Act cannot be said to have contemplated that a legislative body, which, by its enacting instrument, empowered a court of its own creation to declare a constitutional guarantee invalid, could transform itself into a court of law, members of which were the same persons who, as legislators, had passed the impugned Act."

"Parliament is unfettered in its legislative powers save for Sections 35 and 137 (on language equality) read with Sec. 152, and this is one of these cases."

In a separate statement, Judge Newton Thompson said, he must "give effect to the laws as laid down by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, which is binding on me. The result is that the High Court of Parliament Act is declared invalid."

But Malan's myrmidons, in the meanwhile, are busy persecuting and prosecuting the non-whites, who have launched a countrywide movement of Civil Disobedience, as a challenge to the mediaeval racialism of the South African atavists.

"Hundreds of non-Europeans demonstrated at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on 26th August when 20 African and Indian leaders of the campaign against racial segregation laws appeared on a charge under the Suppression of Communism Act. The leaders are specially charged with 'encouraging achievement of the objects of Communism.' Those charged include Dr. Dadoo, President of the South African Indian Congress; Mr. Nanu Sita, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress; Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, Secretary of the Joint Action Committee of the South African Indian Congress; Mr. Moses Kotane, a member of the Executive of the African National Congress and former Secretary-General of the now illegal Communist Party; Dr. James Moroka, President of the African National Congress; Mr. Nelson Mandela, an African attorney; Mr. Joseph Marks, President of the Transvaal branch of the African National Congress; and Mr. Walter Siisulu, Secretary-General of the African National Congress.

"When the Magistrate took the bench, about 2,000 spectators who could not get into the Court milled around in the passages outside. Most were non-whites.

"When the Magistrate took his seat on the Bench in the packed Court, the Prosecutor could hardly be heard as he called the case of 'Walter Siisulu and 19 others.'

"From outside came the noise of cheers, boos and shouted slogans followed by the deep, slow rhythmic singing of the African National Anthem by hundreds of men and women. Outlining the prosecution's case, the Prosecutor said evidence would show that the passive resistance campaign conducted jointly by the African and Indian Congress fell 'within the definition of Communism' as laid down by South Africa's anti-Communist Act. The hearing does not constitute a trial, but a preliminary examination of allegations. At the end of the examination, which may take some weeks, the Magistrate will have to decide whether there is sufficient evidence for the case to go to trial in the Supreme Court.

"Meanwhile, mass arrests in Port Elizabeth, Cape-town and Roodepoort, near Johannesburg, in a new wave of defiance of 'unjust racial laws' brought the total of arrests to nearly 3,000. The arrests, timed to coincide with the appearance of 'resistance' leaders in Court in Johannesburg represented the largest number made in one day since the campaign against 'unjust racial laws' began. In Port Elizabeth alone 245 non-European passive resisters were arrested."

But signs and portents mean nothing to Dr. Malan. His characteristic reaction to the Supreme Court judgement is as follows:

South African Prime Minister Daniel Malan said: "The road we want to follow is being obstructed by the courts.

"What is demanded of us is that as a white nation—

as leader of the non-whites in South Africa—we should abdicate."

Dr. Malan was addressing a mass meeting of National Party supporters in his first public speech since the Cape Supreme Court decision ruling the Government's High Court of Parliament Act to be invalid.

"This is not the road which the great majority of English-speaking South Africans wish to follow", Dr. Malan said.

"The powers drawn up against us are very considerable and the Government must seriously consider what it has to do in the circumstances."

South Africa was at the cross roads, he said. The choice of roads meant life or death to the people of South Africa.

"The powers against us are trying to make us do away with all colour bars. They want us to pervert the whole past history of South Africa and to make a new beginning on the basis of complete equality. That is not the road Afrikanerdom wishes to follow," he said.

The Persian Impasse

Dr. Mossadiq's actions are puzzling. The apparent intransigence can only be explained by the assumption that there are some hidden forces which are too powerful for the Persian Premier to overcome. But the way the negotiations are failing bode little good, either for Iran or for peace in that part of Asia.

"The Persian Premier, Dr. Mossadiq, said in a broadcast, read over Teheran radio, that the new Anglo-U.S. offer to settle the oil dispute was unacceptable to the Persian Government.

"The offer was made personally by President Truman and the British Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, to Dr. Mossadiq.

"The President and the Prime Minister said, they sincerely hoped their proposals for action would meet with Dr. Mossadiq's approval and result in a satisfactory solution. The proposals were presented by the British and U.S. representatives in Teheran.

"This was the text of the message sent to Premier Mossadiq by President Truman and Mr. Churchill:

"We have received the messages from our two Embassies in Iran regarding recent talks with you as well as your communication of August 7, 1952, to the British Government.

"It seems clear to us that to bring about a satisfactory solution to the oil problem will require prompt action by all three of our Governments. We are attaching proposals for action which our two Governments are prepared to take and which we sincerely hope will meet with your approval and result in a satisfactory solution.

"We are motivated by sincere and traditional feelings of friendship for the Iranian nation and people and it is our earnest desire to make an early and equitable solution of the present dispute."

"The proposals were:

(1) There shall be submitted to the Inter-

national Court of Justice the question of compensation to be paid in respect of the nationalization of the enterprise of the AIOC (Anglo-Iranian Oil Company) in Iran, having regard to the legal position of the parties existing immediately prior to nationalization and to all claims and counter-claims of both parties.

(2) Suitable representatives shall be appointed to represent the Iranian Government and the AIOC in the negotiations for making arrangements for the flow of oil from Iran to world markets.

(3) If the Iranian Government agrees to the proposals in the foregoing two paragraphs, it is understood that: (a) Representatives of the AIOC will seek arrangements for the movement of oil already stored in Iran, and as agreements are reached upon price, and as physical conditions of loading permit, appropriate payments will be made for such quantities of oil as can be moved; (b) Her Majesty's Government will relax restrictions on exports to Iran and on Iran's use of sterling; (c) The U. S. Government will make an immediate grant of \$10m to the Iranian Government to assist in their Budgetary problem.

"The British Foreign Office, in an explanatory statement said that when the British Charge d'Affaires, Mr. Middleton, called on Dr. Mossadig on August 14 for clarification of the Persian Note of August 7, the Persian Premier said, he was prepared to agree to the International Court's settling of the question of compensation, though the Court could not be asked to adjudicate on the question of the original 1933 concession to the oil company or on the validity of the Persian nationalization laws.

"He asked the British Government as a matter of urgency to consider an immediate grant of money to the Persian Government. He also proposed that the oil company should get in touch with the Persian Oil Sales Commission (the marketing organization of the nationalized company) to discuss the purchase of oil.

"The Foreign Office statement said, the British Government, while not prepared to agree that the 1933 concession was invalid or that Persia's nationalization law conformed with the country's international obligations, was anxious that negotiations should be started with the Persian Government. The British Government would enter negotiations on the basis of accepting Persia's nationalization of the industry.

"The message was regarded in London as constituting the reply to the Persian Note of August 7. Both the U.S. and the British Governments were opposed to a formal point-by-point response to Dr. Mossadig's offer, on the grounds that the Persian Note was so polemical that a direct reply would have prejudiced hopes of obtaining an eventual settlement."

The New Order in Egypt

General Neguib is evidently a believer in new brooms and a clean sweep. He is not willing to waste

time in his attempt to reorganise and revitalise his fatherland's affairs. The latest news gives an idea of the extent of his plans:

"Elaborate legislation for breaking up large estates, limiting land holdings to 200 acres and redistributing nearly 1m. acres of fertile land to landless peasantry is contained in the Bill. It also provides for expropriation and compensation, financing farming and marketing through co-operatives and the regulating of relations between landlord and tenant and the rights of agricultural workers.

"The Land Reform Bill will not await parliamentary approval but will become effective after ratification by the Cabinet. The land reforms will have retrospective effect as from July 23, the day of the military coup led by General Neguib.

"General Neguib and his 12-man military junta made these reforms as their movement's main plank, striking at the very roots of Egypt's centuries-old social and economic ills.

"The scheme, to be carried out in five years, provides for compensation to be given at ten times the rental value of expropriated land. Big landlords will have option to select the 200 acres they are entitled to keep. Compensation for expropriated land will be paid in 3 per cent Government Bonds over a period of 30 years. Conversely, new landlords pay the Government in instalments for land acquired.

"One major feature of the scheme is that it does not affect the holdings of land reclamation companies most of which are foreign-owned. Foreigners reputedly own about 500,000 acres of land in Egypt. Land held by the *waqfs* (religious foundations) are also unaffected."

Scarcity in Pakistan

Pakistan, hitherto, has been painted as a viable State flowing with milk and honey. In a recent statement in East Pakistan we were told that that part of Pakistan was deficit in food to the tune of 7 lakh tons. Before that there was a wheat crisis in Panjab (P) which led to riots in Lahore. Now comes this latest bit of news:

"Rice prices in Karachi are soaring high according to local press.

"The *Evening Times* said, Pakistan faces the possibility of serious rice shortage during the current year. Price of Basmati quality which only a few weeks ago was quoted at annas twelve per seer has now shot up to Rs. 2 per seer. Although rationing authorities have made arrangements for selling various qualities of rice at controlled rates it is impossible for consumers to obtain even small quantities from ration shops."

The repercussion of these is resulting in the ominous rumours that come of the incitement of tribals

in the North-West. As usual the remedy of fanaticism is sought to be used to cover the deficiencies of the government.

Kashmir Affairs

"Confusion worse confounded" is the only phrase that describes the state of affairs in Kashmir, as the following bit of news would indicate :

"Yuvraj Karan Singh's invitation to some prominent Jammu citizens for consultation and 'advice' before he finally makes up his mind regarding the offer of elected headship of the State has led to quite feverish political activities. The invitees are meeting their colleagues and friends to decide how they should react to the invitation and what advice they should give the Yuvraj in case they go to Srinagar to meet him. There is somewhat mixed reaction to this latest move by the Yuvraj. Some take it as emanating from the Yuvraj's natural anxiety to carry with him the people of his homeland. Others say that the Yuvraj has taken this step with the full knowledge of Mr. Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah.

"It may be recalled that some leaders of the Praja Parishad have openly threatened the Yuvraj with boycott in case he accepts the offer of elected headship of the State.

"It is learnt that most invitees, instead of going to Srinagar, wanted the Yuvraj to come to Jammu. But this, it is stated, has not received the Yuvraj's approval. The meeting with the Yuvraj is expected to take place in Srinagar on August 31.

"It is not known whether the Yuvraj has extended his invitation to prominent persons of other parts of the State. But this much appears certain that the talks between the Jammu leaders and the Yuvraj will begin with a clean slate, that is, with no previous commitment on either side."

"It was understood hitherto that when the Prime Minister visited Srinagar on August 21, he would confer both with the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir Sheikh Abdullah, and Yuvaraj Karan Singh, about the question of the elected head of the State.

"Dr. Radhakrishnan who went to Srinagar on an engagement for the Convocation address is understood to have had long deliberations with both the Premier and Yuvaraj, on the latter's duties and obligations as the head of the State in the event of Yuvaraj agreeing to accept that post.

"For all that could be said at this stage, it appears that the Yuvaraj has not yet made up his mind for more than one reason. It is learned on good authority that his personal loyalty is conflicting with his sense of duty to serve the subjects.

"The Yuvaraj has also raised a constitutional objection to his agreeing to accept headship of State.

That objection is that when the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir is now in session, before that body frames rules in relation to the duties, functions, rights and privileges of the Yuvaraj as head of the State, how could he agree to accept that high office without a knowledge of the functions and duties?

"For all practical purposes, it is said in informed political quarters that the Kashmir constitution would embody similar provisions that obtain in the Indian Constitution in this regard. But the Yuvaraj does not seem to be quite sure of his ground.

"He rather insists that first the duties and functions as well as the rights and privileges of the Head of the State be defined in unambiguous terms in the constitution, then he would consider the offer made by Sheikh Abdullah, however sincere that offer might be.

"Sheikh Abdullah's recent statement that if the Yuvaraj did not accept the offer Kashmir would not be in difficulties to find a suitable alternative head of the State, lends support to the reported fears and suspicions of the Yuvaraj.

"It is asked how in the present context of things the Yuvaraj could blindly agree to serve Kashmir as the head of the State.

"The Yuvaraj is also understood on reliable authority to be thinking as to what would happen to his own personal property, landed property in the event of his not accepting the constitutional headship of the State.

"Under the Kashmir land reforms would he also be entitled to keep only 23 acres of landed property as any other citizen? What would happen to his privy purse? Whether it would be reduced by a decision of the Constituent Assembly? What would be his future? What would be tenure of office? All these doubts trouble his young but receptive and critical mind.

"There is also a strong feeling in Jammu and Ladakh that the Yuvaraj should not accept Sheikh Abdullah's offer in its ambiguous form. How far the Yuvaraj reacts towards this feeling is difficult to comprehend."

The above appeared in the front page of the *Delhi People*, dated August 23 last. The root of the evil is the "two-nation" theory. Sheikh Abdullah repudiates it, and the Azad Kashmiris are a thorn on his side. And Jammu is afraid of Kashmir's Muslim majority.

Meanwhile the U.N.O. machinery has slowly been put into gear :

"Ministerial level talks between India and Pakistan under U.N. auspices to discuss the question of demilitarizing Kashmir preparatory to a plebiscite opened at Geneva at 11-00 hours on August 26."

"An official communique issued after the conference said: 'The conference began in a friendly spirit. The U.N. representative made an opening statement in which he welcomed the presence around the table of the Minister of Foreign Affairs for Pakistan, Sir Zafrullah Khan, and of the Minister of Defence of the Government of India and Leader of the Upper House, Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar. The U.N. representative expressed his faith that the work of the conference would be carried out in goodwill and in a constructive spirit in order to fulfil the hopes placed in this meeting. Mr. Ayyangar and Sir Zafrullah offered full co-operation to Dr. Graham and expressed their determination to build upon the basis of agreement already reached. The conference then proceeded to discuss the revised proposals presented by the U. N. representative.'

"The revised proposals discussed by the Indian and Pakistani delegations are believed to relate to the number of troops to be left on each side of the ceasefire line at the end of the demilitarization period and the date for the induction into office of the Plebiscite Administrator-designate, Admiral Nimitz. 'It was agreed,' the communique concluded, 'that the meetings would be private and there would be morning sessions every day'."

India's Position in Himalayan Area

The *Times* said on January 30, 1952, that India and China "now that they have become neighbours will have to make some formal agreement in the Himalayan area."

"The frontier there has never been effectively demarcated over some hundreds of miles. Both countries have interests in the trade routes that run south from Tibet. At present India and Nepal are the only foreign countries which have diplomatic missions in Lhasa, and the future of these missions is uncertain in view of China's wish to treat Tibet as an integral part of China. In Gyantse, where some Indian troops are stationed, there are now considerable Communist forces, and the Chinese plainly think that the present position is unreasonable in the changed circumstances of Tibet. For the moment, they seem content to wait for some overture from Delhi before beginning negotiations for a general frontier and commercial agreement."

India's belief that she "can live in good neighbourly relations with Communist China has been strengthened by Peking's good relations with Burma, a country whose safety means almost as much to Indian security as does the integrity of Nepal."

The position has not improved very far so far Indo-Chinese relations are concerned. And the London paper's talk about "Peking's good relations" with Burma

is falsified by the fact that communists are in revolt and have been carrying guerilla war in the central areas of Burma for the last five years.

Rajagopalachari's "Enemy No. 1"

Mysindia of Bangalore in its issue of July 27 last has an article that assesses the situation both at the Centre and the Provinces, in Madras specially, quite rightly:

"Pandit Nehru is a Janus figure whom it would be not unjust to describe as a 'fellow traveller.' His sympathies exuberantly expressed through a lifetime of unique opportunities and privileged publicity have been with the so-called dispossessed, the have-nots, the under-privileged, and the downtrodden. Not that other leaders have not expressed similar sentiments. But what distinguishes the evangelism of people like Nehru is their thinly disguised contempt for the status quo and their theoretical readiness to overturn the whole thing with a view to establish their new order overnight. No one has given a better hit to the Communist cause in general than our Prime Minister.

"Though he too is condemned by force of circumstances to carry on a rearguard action against the advance of Communism, he is not to be depended upon to fight it to the last ditch. Of the old guard, no one else remains except C. R.; and so the mantle of what may be termed conservative leadership has inevitably descended upon the 'Machiavelli' from Madras.

"C. R. employs a technique which is strongly reminiscent of that of the communists, although he differs profoundly from them. His strongest weapon, like theirs, is the art or trick of over-simplification. To the communists, religion is dope, capitalists are blood-suckers, bourgeoisie parasites, and the summum bonum is a mystic concept which fools all to minister to the vanity or megalomania of one, currently known as the dictatorship of the proletariat. As against their categories, C. R. sets up the *Panchatantra*, the ten commandments, and a very avuncular being whom he calls God. The communists are out to stir up a witches' cauldron and bring it to the boil; C. R. tells parables and fairytales and comforting analogies with a view to soothe the jangled nerves of long-suffering or frustrated humanity.

"The communists have a theoretical love of abstract humanity plus a very intense malevolence towards all those who happen to be better off than their fellows. They hate Tom, Dick or Harry for specific reasons, and reserve all their milk of human kindness to go sour in the contemplation of mankind in the mass. C.R. has a profound understanding of and sympathy for the ordinary man; and is so smitten with the still

sad music of the poor that he carries vicariously on his face and in his heart a melancholy not inspired by his own predicament.

"With both, however, the end justifies the means; but while C. R. is deterred from immoral or amoral courses by his innate and acquired restraint, the nihilism of the communists renders frightfulness an integral part of their proceedings. Whether communism will be a ruling power in India or not is a question for prophecy. But it may safely be asserted that its advent is being postponed by the diversionary tactics of C. R.

"When in the course of a recent debate in the Madras Assembly, C. R. declared that the aim of the communists was to promote chaos in the land, and plunge all in one final misery, he said something which went straight home to the business and bosoms of all men who heard or read him. That is the sort of sweeping generalisation which catches the eye and ear of the common man. Having arrested his attention, it is but a step or two more to make him allergic to the message of communism. This particular charge of chaos though brief is so full of frightening implications that it seems worthwhile to examine it both for its topicality and for its abiding value.

"The term 'chaos' conjures up visions of disorder, anarchy, terror and above all of sudden death which unnerve the doughtiest of minds. But just as one man's meat is likely to prove another man's poison, so also one man's notion of chaos might well turn out to be another man's order. The gradations of life, both on the material and imponderable side, are thus presented as the mango-tree trick—the fullfledged creation of a new order within the twinkling of an eye.

"When Gandhi was alive, he faced this issue squarely, and acknowledged that if the British left there might be a period of anarchy in the country. But then he added, it was our business anyway, and it might well be the price we have to pay for obtaining our freedom. Against such appalling complacency there is no effective retort. Like Burke, he held fast to the view that the masses or the people have no interest in disorder, and that all their instincts and impulses might be depended upon to work in favour of the evolution of a state of order in the shortest possible time. Only the other day, our Prime Minister airily declared, apropos of Sheik Abdullah's land-reforms in Kashmir, that some people might no doubt suffer from that sort of thing; but look at the manifest gains of the majority. So for the sake of promoting a great deal of good, a certain amount of evil might be considered inevitable if not indeed meritorious!

"C. R. is fundamentally a moralist, with a command of language which has biblical simplicity, and with a fervour which recalls the ministry of the ancient

Hebrew prophets. His message is that mankind has no right to expect unalloyed happiness in this world; nor is he impressed by any of the numerous gadgets which are supposed to be indispensable to the idea of the Welfare State now so much in fashion. He is old-fashioned enough to hold with the poet that some are born to work and some to play; but that the dignity of the individual may be shown to be above these limitations by the endowments of character and personality. It is in short "soul-force"—an aura that must first be generated to flow through oneself, before it gathers volume enough to overflow outside of oneself. Christs and Gandhis have had it, for they were enveloped in a "magnetic field" which kept the irreverent and impercipient at bay while consoling and exalting the lowly. It is this concept of power that is not dreamt of in the Communist philosophy.

"Asking the Communists to behave or give undertakings is as futile as it proved futile to ask for such stipulations about the Congress. It is an open conspiracy that the communists are promoting; just as it was an open conspiracy that the Congress helped in. It is the massive support of the masses that furnishes the sanctions in either case. We see how it grows and comes to fruition in unexpected ways. At one time, the word Congress might have frightened naughty children into docile submission; to-day it is deflated of much if not of all its power. I personally believe that a day will come when communism will be a term of derisive contempt, instead of being the terror it now seems to many classes of people."

Communist Illusions

During Napoleon III's short empire and sabre-rattling, Karl Marx wrote a book containing considerably more wisdom than *Das Capital*. He did not find the causes of revolution in economic factors.

"Men make their own history, but they do not make it . . . Under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past . . . specially in epochs of revolutionary crisis they conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle slogans and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in time-honoured disguise and borrowed language."

Raymond Aaron, one of the intellectuals of France, added to this argument the experience of fellow-travellers, liberals who had once nursed the illusions of Marxism. Explaining the policy of the present rulers of the Soviet Union he says:

"Stalinism does not represent the revolt of the sovereign people, it claims to stand for the conquest of power by the proletariat. The psychological effect on fellow-travelling circles is the same. It is taken for granted that Stalinism implies the political

victory of a Christian principle. At the same time, Communists are pictured as applying to our industrial civilization the old principle: "The voice of the people is the voice of God."

"Collective ownership of property, economic planning by the State, spontaneous activities of the masses in carrying forward a revolution—these concepts of Marxism, more or less formalized, have retained a seductive power among our intellectuals even after thirty years of Bolshevism. In the eyes of Merleau-Ponty, they remain above philosophical criticism. If history should give them the lie, if the proletariat happens not to 'become the human race' and does not accomplish its revolutionary destiny, Merleau-Ponty would still not conclude that Marxism was wrong. In his view, it would be history which had gone wrong. At the end of his life, Trotsky suggested a line of thought closely approaching this. If the proletariat failed to accomplish the mission assigned to it by history, then Marxism would remain a sort of paradise unattained and the world would slide into barbarism. That the efforts of the Marxists to realise false ideals or attain inaccessible goals might be one of the causes of the descent into barbarism—that line of reasoning never touches the minds of our philosophers. . . ."

" . . . What is the lesson which we are to draw from the upshot of Stalinism? The sociological lesson is that a directed economy with collective property does not necessarily lead to the liberation of man. Or, perhaps, they lead rather to a regime of oppression. The political lesson is that the campaign methods used by a party have more influence on its action than the ideas which it proclaims. Violence tends indefinitely to extend itself. A party assumes absolute power under pretext of transforming the social order and ends by creating a system in which a minority exercises a despotism as a matter of necessity. The lesson in philosophy is that the notion that the heroic deed of a group can reverse or radically change the course of human events is a supreme illusion. Revolutions are sometimes inevitable, but they are almost always misfortunes. They destroy irreplaceable goods. Their gains could have been won at less cost. The history of the world does not present a rational process. It does not reveal to man his vocation. It does not dictate his morality. If one turns history into an absolute, gives it a definite objective in the form of an absolute value posited on the horizon, one has, innocently, fallen victim to a trap of Machiavellianism."

The above is taken from the *New Leader* of New York. It will enable our Indian "pinks" and "reds" to cultivate a new sense of history and reality, and find that the slogan of "Revolution for ever" makes no sense other than blood-shed.

"India—Supply Depot of Imperialism"

Under this sensational heading the *Indian Social Reformer* of August last, says things that show that they have changed from the viewpoint of Kamakshi Natarajan, the founder-editor of this weekly. It is natural to lose patience with Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's inconsistencies. And these are many as the following in the article will go to show:

"On the very day that an All-party Committee was collecting money from the citizens of Bombay to help liberate a coloured people from the soldiers of an alien Imperialism, a party-President, in his role of Prime Minister, was making the chastened admission that his Government was permitting the recruitment of soldiers, on Indian soil, for the suppression of yet another coloured people by yet another occidental Imperialism.

"This admission and Pandit Nehru's subsequent explanation come as a shock to all those who like to believe that Free India is doing everything in its power to further the freedom movements in Asia and Africa.

"The facts as presented are unsavoury. On June 12, in reply to the budget debate on the External Affairs Ministry's grant, the Prime Minister vehemently denied the Opposition's contention that the Government of India had given Britain special facilities to recruit eight Gurkha battalions on Indian soil. On August 8, as a result of publicity given by a section of the Indian Press to this denial, the Prime Minister contradicted himself and told the House that an agreement had been made with the British Government to supply Gurkhas on the very eve of Indian independence. Since that time (May 1947), India has sponsored the cause of Indonesian independence among others and is about to argue on behalf of the Moroccan and Tunisian peoples before the assembled united nations of the world. And all this time, human cannon-fodder is being collected in India and shipped across the seas so that British planters may still continue to rule over Malaya. Here is an anachronism that gives the lie direct to our pretensions as a freedom-loving people. Here is an agreement, made by the undisputed leader of our own liberation movement, that brands us before the world as a nation of crass hypocrites.

"The now infamous 'Gurkha incident' has another and equally distressing aspect and that is the manner in which the leader of the House, Pandit Nehru, has handled the situation so far. A quick-tempered man, he is quick to accuse the opposition of exaggerations and terminological inexactitudes. He is even quicker to give vague answers on behalf of other ministers, his own colleagues, and thus shake the faith of Parliament and people in the ability of other members of the Union Cabinet. At the same time it is now proved that Pandit Nehru is, himself, not very sure of his facts

and that he suffers from convenient lapses of memory. How else is the June 12 denial to be explained away? And how are we to explain to ourselves the fact that we ourselves gave sympathetic consideration to the Nepali people's struggle to free themselves from authoritarian Rana rule while, simultaneously, we encouraged some of them to hire themselves out as henchmen of another authoritarian regime."

Maharaja Tribhuvan's Full Name

A Kathmandu news dated August 14 last gave the following information:

"Nepal's King Tribhuvan's full name described in royal proclamation is as follows: Swastishri Giriraj-chakrachuramani Nar-Narayanetyadi Vividhvirudavali Virajman Manjinnat Ojahshi Rajanya Projabal Nepal-tara; Om Rampatta Atulljyotirmaya Trishaktipatta, Atiprabal Gorkha Dakshin Bahu Mahadhipati Sarnochcha, Commander-in-Chief Shriman Maharaja-dhiraj Shri Shri Shri Maharaj Tribhuvan Vir Vikram Jun Bahadur Shah Bahadur Shamsher Jung Devanam Sadasamarvijayinam."

Real Retrenchment and "Community" Plans

There is a natural appeal made to the payers of taxes by talks about retrenchment. We propose to notice such a one made by Prof. Ghanashyam, late of Sind, some time back.

His statistics and his comparison of India's wealth with the United States' deserves reproduction:

"A real retrenchment can be effected not by making some changes here and there in the organisation of the services but by reducing their very costliness. As a result of the foreign exploitation of India, the Provinces and the Centre have been saddled with an administrative machinery which in its higher grades is one of the costliest in the world. The All-India Services, which were in the beginning manned almost exclusively from the British people, have been provided with princely salaries, regardless of the financial resources of the country. Lest there might appear too great a discrepancy between the Imperial and the Provincial Services, salaries for the latter also have been fixed at a comparatively high pitch. To disarm resistance and to make game of exploitation easy, Indians have thus been made minor partners in the said game."

"No one can deny that Japan is more prosperous than India. Yet salaries in Japan are far less than in India. The Prime Minister there gets about Rs. 622 per month, and other Ministers are paid Rs. 449-9-4 per month each. The Governor of Korea gets Rs. 440-9-4 per month. Korea has a population of 2 crores 10 lakhs. In Sind with a population of about 40 lakhs only, the Governor receives Rs. 5,500 per

month, i.e., about 13 times the salary of Governor of Korea, besides many princely allowances. The average monthly salary of what may be described as the Imperial Services of Japan is Rs. 334 per month. And in our Province a Deputy Collector starts on Rs. 300 rising in some cases to Rs. 2,250. Revenue Commissioner gets a salary of Rs. 3,000 per month and the present Chief Secretary Rs. 2,150. Out of 26 I.C.S. Officers serving in Sind 15 draw salaries of more than Rs. 1,000 each, besides several allowances, and the remaining with the exception of one draw Rs. 500 and over. Can any one say that services in Japan are less efficient than in India? Having regard to salaries in Japan, the limit of Rs. 500 per month except in the case of experts fixed by the Congress, appears to be excessive, considering the poverty of this country.

"Taking the case of Turkey, officials in the highest group draw about Rs. 318-12-0 per month.

"United States of America is the richest country in the world. The standard of living in America is also very high. Under these circumstances one would expect the salaries in that country to be higher than those in India. But actually it is not so: A Chief Justice in Bengal gets Rs. 6,000 per month whereas the Chief Justice of America gets Rs. 4,550. The Governor of Sind gets in effect more than the Governor of the State of New York with a population far exceeding that of Sind. The President of the United States draws about Rs. 17,000 per month, i.e., Rs. 4,000 per month less than the Governor-General of India. Members of his Cabinet draw Rs. 3,412 each, whereas Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council draw Rs. 6,667 per month!"

Prof. Ghanashyam's criticism make a case for "real retrenchment" in the services. But when we remember that prices are soaring affecting even the standard of living of the services the solution becomes a ticklish one, more so after devaluation.

"Crisis in our Industry"

This was the title of the address delivered by Prof. Jagadisan Kumarappa on August 3 last at the conference convened by the National Chamber of Industries. It had an organ, *The Manufacturer*, which has ceased publication.

It forms a 8-page booklet printed on handmade paper. Prof. Kumarappa is not an economist alone; he is interested in human beings, and as such he has followed Gandhiji. He said:

"In tackling this question it is necessary for us to divide the problem into its component parts. It is not purely a material question. It spreads through the sociological, economic, political, human and material sectors of life. We have to fearlessly face this problem in all these aspects.

"Looking at it from the sociological point of view

we find that great many of the evils in our country arise out of sociological considerations. We have our caste system which has deteriorated into a drag on the economic life of the people. A person is not willing to work in one occupation or another just because he was born in a particular community. This has been, to a certain extent, overcome in the cities but not so in the rural sections of the country. This can be got over only by the abolition of all such impediments and bringing about equality in the social structure of our society by a proper system of education of the type of 'Nai Talim.' It may be that this conference is not so much concerned with the sociological approach to our crisis. Nevertheless it does affect it.

"The aspect that looms large in our horizon is probably the economic one. In this it will be necessary for us to see how far the individuals can help. It is our habit to think that economic difficulties can only be solved by governmental action. When we look at other countries, such as Russia and China we find they have overcome their difficulties largely by the concerted action of the people which has been, of course, supported by the Government. When we study their methods we would find that a great deal of the success in those countries is due largely to their patriotic feelings.

"This patriotic approach is mostly absent in our country. Only a few days ago I happened to be in East Germany. I was in a taxi. I asked the taxi-driver whether that car, which was a small one, was of British make, as most Russian cars are large ones. Immediately the driver retorted, 'What, I drive a British Car!' I asked in return whether that was a German car. He answered, 'This is an *East German* Car.' We need this amount of national consciousness.

"We must burn with the zeal of supporting local industries. According to my conception, primary necessities must be handmade or cottage made or village made. We should insist on this spirit of swadeshi. The feeling of oneness in the economic life must prevail. Only then a country can go forward.

"The situation in India is just the opposite. Foreign made articles are at a premium. From top to bottom we have got accustomed to using foreign made goods. This started with the British when they were in power and now we are drifting to American made goods.

"We have to realize that every foreign made article is so much unemployment brought into our country. With unemployment we cannot raise the general level of prosperity. When we export hides to foreign countries and import finished shoes, we are creating poverty in our own land. Every exporter of raw material should realize that raw materials are the potential sources for employment. These, when exported to other countries, create unemployment in our country. This is a grave responsibility resting on

the shoulders of merchants. Commerce and trade have a great part to play in the national life of a nation and therefore merchants, traders, manufacturers and retailers gathered within the four walls of this hall would do well to ponder over their moral and sociological responsibilities and see to what extent they are discharging them.

"The guiding principle should not be whether a thing pays dividend or whether it will compete in the market, but only if it will feed the worker or producer. It is to engender this policy that Russia has put up an iron curtain. If need be we should do the same to keep out foreign competition and underselling."

He paid deserved compliment to Bengalis for starting the Swadeshi Movement. But they have fallen on evil times. But all is not lost as long as men and women are there with willing hearts and willing hands to recreate their former prosperity. A small indication of the great work that lies ahead is given here. In Bengal, the rivers have deteriorated leaving enormous areas covered with sand, resembling desert wastes. If these can be reclaimed 7,500,000 acres would be producing crops worth annually Rs. 65 crores in value.

Officials Concerned Over Tansa Dam

Bombay's surplus rainfall in the present monsoon, though it has assured 30 lakh citizens of the city of their full quota of water, has, however, caused concern to the Municipal authorities over the safety of the Tansa Dam—India's largest water-storage dam.

Water pressure had made large cracks in the 60-year-old dam, 66 miles north-east of Bombay. Delegates to the International Engineering conference, who had visited the dam last year, had advocated carrying out of immediate repairs to ensure the safety of the dam.

Repairs to the dam are estimated to cost approximately one crore Rupees. The Municipal Corporation, which is responsible for the maintenance of the dam, had sent one of its engineers to France last year and had designs prepared by M. Andre Coyne, famous French authority on dams.

M. Coyne, whose plan was approved by the Corporation, is expected to supervise the repairs personally.

Work on the Tansa Dam was started in January 1886 to increase the city's water supply. The construction was completed in 1892. An aqueduct from Tansa to Ghatkopar was also built in January 1886.

The construction of the dam helped the city's water supply being increased to 39 million gallons a day, in 1892.

The dam as then constructed was of rubble masonry and at its highest point was 118 feet high. It was 8,000 feet long.

Increase in population put further demands on the

water supply of the city and it was considered necessary to start a scheme known as Tansa Duplication Works. The scheme was taken in hand in December 1915.

The Duplication Works helped in raising the height of the dam by another nine and a half feet and increased the storage capacity from 18,850 million gallons to 29,041 million gallons of water.

The area of the Tansa lake was also increased by another square mile, bringing it to seven square miles. The length of the dam was increased from 8,800 to 9,195 feet.

In July 1917 the masonry duct of the dam was damaged due to a serious accident.

This accident, plus the necessity of a further increase in the city's water supply, compelled the municipality to start another phase of construction on the dam.

After its completion, the Tansa Dam had a length of 9,300 feet and a maximum height of 133.5 feet.

The drawable capacity of Bombay City's water supply then went up to 94 million gallons a day.

The problem of meeting the needs of the much-inflated population of Bombay City, which has now reached more than 28 lakhs, however, continues.

Plans for meeting the total demands for water are being implemented. With the completion of the Vaitarna Dam sometime in 1954, it is hoped that position will be much improved.

Drought and flood are India's problems. Farthest east in Assam the Brahmaputra has developed a habit to overflow the country carrying death and destruction all around, down to East Bengal where it is known as the Jamuna. The remedy is river-control. But that takes time and costs crores of rupees.

No Starvation Deaths in the U. P.

Happy State! On August 21st last Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Chief Minister of U. P., declared that not a single person in the scarcity areas had died of starvation and none would be allowed to die of hunger.

He was prepared to accept that thousands of people in scarcity areas did not get two square meals a day, but he was not prepared to give credence to reports that people had died of hunger and were still dying.

He said the Government had neither made any attempt nor had the intention to hide facts about starvation deaths and scarcity conditions. But the fact was that there had so far been no death by hunger.

"How can I have peace if I hide such facts?" he asked.

Referring to opposition charges that thousands were dying every day of starvation, the Chief Minister

said specific instances reported with names of persons alleged to have died of starvation in the papers and Mr. Shibbanlal Saxena's list were thoroughly investigated. But the cause ascribed to their death was not hunger. Pandit Pant said that one fact was to be conceded that the death rate in these districts should have gone up by now if people were dying of starvation in large numbers as alleged by the reports. But statistics indicated otherwise.

Art and Culture

"Resolved that this meeting of the Indian Institute of Culture respectfully and earnestly recommends that, having regard to the fact that thousands of students graduate from the University of Mysore brilliantly equipped in all phases of culture save and except Indian Art, the finest flower of Indian civilization and culture, the University of Mysore should introduce the study of Indian Fine Arts as a subject of major study and that, until such study can be introduced in the curriculum, the University should arrange regular courses of extra-mural lectures on Indian Art by a competent expert every year."

On the 15th April last the above resolution was passed. We should like to have further news of the progress made. Mysore has preserved intact the traditions of Indian culture. And their leaders should be able to show results now that they are free. In this connection the tenets of Iqbal are very apposite:

Great works of art string from the soil of great traditions; they have their roots in racial memories, in cultural and literary inspiration, which are often regional in character.

Poet Iqbal's insistence on the dual responsibility of man is derived from his deep understanding of the Islamic religion. His interpretation carries a message of power, but power modulated by spiritual sanctions. This point is important.

'Islam,' he observed in one of his lectures, 'recognising the contact of the ideal with the real, says 'yes' to the world of matter and points the way to master it with a view to discover the basis for a realistic interpretation of life.'

Will divorced from humanitarian ends would be a blind force; ruled by conscience it manifests the laws of a moral universe and makes for creative abundance.

The abiding impression left on our mind is that of one who has kept wakeful vigil in the lonely heights of thought:

'My heart burns on the loneliness of God!

I sow in my dust the seed of self-hood,

And keep a constant vigil over my 'I'.

His deepest utterances show a blend of contemplation and the urge for action towards the freedom of man.

INDIA'S NEED AND NATIONAL POLICY FOR POWER DEVELOPMENT

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MORE often than not, the consumption of energy per capita or the "energy-index" is acknowledged as the barometer of economic prosperity of a country. Though apparently illusive, in the ultimate analysis it will be comprehended that the inherent implications contained in the statement is not an inch away from truth.

To digress a little, let us first quote the average income per capita per annum of the principal regions of the world (Table I)¹.

TABLE I
Average Income Per Capita Per Annum :

Countries	Amount in Rupees
North America	4925
Oceania	2660
Europe	1805
U. S. S. R.	1472.5
South America	807.5
Africa	356.25
Asia	237.5
India	255.0

If this table is read in conjunction with Table II² given below, it will be seen that the average income of the citizen of any country from all sources is directly proportional to the energy-index.

TABLE II

Name of country	Animate energy used (in million units)	Inanimate energy used (in million units)	Ratio inanimate Total	Units per capita
North America	24,597	947,552	97.5	6,860
Middle and South America	28,406			
Europe	55,129	51,474	64.3	610
U.S.S.R.	27,658	877,889	94.1	2,356
Africa	19,691	207,713	88.2	1,380
Asia	168,150	30,610	60.9	344
Oceania and Australia		171,299	50.5	305
World	2,236	22,357	90.9	2,488
	325,867	2,308,894	87.6	1,250

In medieval times, work was done almost entirely by manual labour aided by animal power (cattle and horse) and to a small extent by powers of nature (wind and water power as used in water wheels first invented in Iran). In modern times work is done by power derived from coal (steam engines), and oil (oil engines), and by electricity generated from coal (thermal stations), oil (Diesel engine) or water power (Hydro-electricity). Probably it will be surprising for some readers to learn that the energy-index in medieval times was not more than 80, of which 60

units were from man-power and 20 units from animal and with the passing of time there has been such a rapid and systematic substitution of the animate energy by the inanimate in production, that the contrast between the advanced and under-developed areas is now illustrated by noting that in Asia and Africa the ratio of animate to the total energy is about 50 per cent, while in the U.S.A., the percentage of stored energy (the energy derived from the sun in the past ages and stored) in the form of coal, oil and natural gas is as high as 97 per cent.

These facts could be put in a more figurative language. In Europe and America forces of nature have been harnessed so effectively that a European or an American has literally 20-25 slaves working constantly for him. How the use of these energies influences the economic phase of a country? No doubt, to-day a substantial fraction of energy is utilized in communication and transport which include rail and road travel, telegraphy, telephone, navigation, air-travel and radio for domestic purposes but the larger fraction is utilized in producing fertilizers, both phosphatic and nitrogenous, which have increased the productivity of the soil manifold; in extracting metals from ores producing alloys and chemicals both heavy and fine, textiles, machinery, engineering goods, and miscellaneous consumer goods and in the processing of forest products (wood and chemical pulp used for the manufacture of paper and rayon).

It is this large production with the help of natural power which has enabled men in advanced countries to attain a standard of living far beyond the dreams of medieval philosophers, a fact which is reflected in the rise in average longevity from 25 in about 1870 to over 60 to-day in Europe and America. This is the result of better food, shelter and better conditions of public health rendered possible by greater wealth.

It is known that 90 per cent of the Indian population still lives in the sixteenth century—a life of constant want, grinding poverty and of chronic mal-nutrition amounting in times to famine, disease and indescribable wretchedness, and the per capita income is perhaps the lowest amongst the advanced countries of the world. What is the underlying reason for such pitiable backwardness in the sphere of production in India? India depends for production almost in its entirety upon man-power and even on a very liberal estimate her energy-index will hardly aggregate to 100. Are we to go far to find the clue to the puzzle which Dr. Vera Anstus succinctly puts—poverty in the land of plenty?

Naturally the question now arises, why India generates and uses so little power. Are we lacking

1. *Science News Letter*, July 28, 1951, page 55.

2. Figures are based on "Civilisation and the Use of Energy" by Sir Alfred Egerton, *Journal of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, March, 1951, page 390.

in the requisite natural resources? Not at all. On the contrary, India has, next U.S.A., the most potent resources of water power in the whole world—something like 30-40 million KW as against the U.S.A.'s 45 million KW and Canada's 38 million KW. And how much have we tamed? Only .5 million KW or about a seventieth! While France uses a little less than half and U.S.A. uses over a third we use only a seventieth!

TABLE III³
Potential and Developed Water Power Resources of the World

Country	Water power potential (mkw)	Water power developed and installed (mkw)	Water power developed as percentage of potential
U.S.S.R.	100	22.4	22
U.S.A.	45	14.5	34
Canada	38	7.7	20
Switzerland	4.5	2.4	67
Germany	6	3.2	54
Norway	4.5	2.4	53
France	9	3.7	42
Sweden	7.5	2.6	33
U. K.	1.5	0.5	31
Japan	20	5.8	30
New Zealand	4	0.5	13
Australia	3	0.3	9
India	30-40	0.5	1.5
China	NA	0.6**	-

(N.B. Figures specified in the table generally relate to the period 1942-47, ** 1933 figures).

In the past there has been much loose thinking regarding the methods by which the material condition of the average Indian can be improved and it is only recently there has been some objective thinking. The National Planning Committee appointed by the Congress as early as 1938 concluded that if the material condition of the average Indian is to be improved the electricity generation has to be raised by 40,000 million units per year (above the figure existing at that time).⁴ This, at first sight, may look to be a magnificent figure, but a little reflection will show that the estimate is extremely modest. Even in Mexico, which is considered to be a backward state in America, per capita consumption of electricity is higher than 180 units per annum in spite of chronic political convulsions for which she acquired notoriety not in the very distant past and the figure for our country is only 10! The National Planning Committee aimed at only a per capita consumption of 100 units per annum which is too insignificant when considered in the light of our available resources.

The next question obviously is that of determining in the broadest and most general manner the

policy to be adopted with a view to arriving at the most efficient exploitation of our power resources.⁵

The question appears quite simple, at all events in so far as the definition is concerned, but on closer examination it is perhaps not quite so simple and rather a very baffling one indeed. In fact it appears indispensable to dwell a little more on the meaning of this expression "efficient exploitation" and looking at the issue in the general way there are several points which have to be considered.

First of all, with regard to the private consumer: for the exploitation of power resources to be of maximum efficiency, it is necessary and sufficient for all the power which he may require to be placed at his disposal in the most convenient form, in the safest and most unfailing condition, and at the lowest price.

There must be no misunderstanding on this point.

But if instead of catering to the isolated consumer, the whole community to which he belongs, and the country of which he is a citizen is considered, the question becomes more complicated; it may in fact happen that the solution resulting in the lowest sale price to the individual consumer is not at the same time the most satisfactory solution for the community; the lowest price may correspond, for example, to power produced from an imported fuel, and in the interests of the group it might be better to develop the use of power produced from the natural resources of the national soil, even if these should cost more.

Another special case might also arise which fully illustrates the complexity of the problem, viz., where the lowest price might be obtained from the national resources, but where for general, social or economic reasons the community might consider it preferable to develop the use of power produced from other sources, equally national, though costing more. Such a case could happen, for example, in a country where electric power of thermal origin may be cheaper than electric current generated from water power, but where in order to husband the reserves of coal, it would be more desirable to develop the latter.

The preceding examples show clearly that the problem of power, considered in this light, places the question in the field of politics, because its solution implies a certain degree of intervention by the public authorities; it is therefore no longer a question of purely liberal economics, but of a liberal economy tempered by State control, of a directed economy, or of economy completely controlled and directed by the State.

In the study which follows, the strictly political

3. Central Board of Irrigation: *Hydro-Electric Development in India*, 1948.

4. For details, see: (a) *National Planning Committee's Reports—Power and Fuel*. (b) "India's Need for Power Development" by M. N. Saha, *Science and Culture*, August 1944.

5. For more detailed study the following papers may be referred to: (a) "National Power and Resource Policies" by Ernest Mercier, page 93, *Third World Power Conference*, Vol. IX, Sect. VII, Paper No. 18. (b) *Thermal or Hydro-Power Engineer*, April 1952, Vol. 2 No. 2.

aspect of things will be neglected in order to attempt to determine the directing principles of a power policy for India, based first of all on the interests of the community, since according to our constitution water resource is directly under State control.

Now, the sources of power may be broadly subdivided as follows:

Solid : (a) Coal (b) Wood (c) Town Refuse.
Liquid : (a) Mineral Oils & Power Alcohol.
Gaseous : Natural Gas.
Water Power : (a) Waterfalls (b) Tide operated stations.

Though the origin of all these sources of power is always solar energy, an essential difference, however, separates water power, distilled alcohol and town refuse from the other sources. This difference is due to the fact that these three categories represent the solar energy which is regenerated every year, while all the others represent the solar energy accumulated during the course of the previous geological ages.

From this we have the classical comparison, that to squander hydro-electric power (or distilled alcohol or refuse) is similar to squandering an income; to squander the other sources is equivalent to squandering capital.

In this context let us study power resources in India. For its size, India is not so favoured, like many other countries, as regards fuel resources. Oil is a precious commodity that India can ill afford for power generation, since a major portion of the oil consumed in India is imported. The reserves of higher grade coals are also limited, and in the opinion of the committee appointed by the Government of India to report on the Indian coal fields in 1945 such reserves may not exceed 700×10^6 to 750×10^6 tons, and which furthermore at the present rate of output would be exhausted in about 65 years; it will therefore be necessary to restrict the use of such coals if our metallurgical and chemical industries are to survive, and, also to restrict their use for the extensive railway system of India, all of which cannot economically operate with low-grade coals. Besides, distribution of coal being uneven and mostly localised in Bengal, Bihar and to a smaller extent in the Madhya Pradesh, and the distances from the major coal fields to different industrial centres being great, it puts a premium on high quality coal so as to save transportation charges. A study of the growth of thermal stations in the past two decades will show that the growth has been more or less confined to the North-Eastern part of India.

But substantial quantities of low-grade fuel exist mostly unexploited and still largely unexplored in many states and according to the estimate of Indian Coal-fields Committee the total reserve of Tertiary Coals may be roughly placed at about 3000×10^6 tons. In the programme of development of resources which is at

present being planned and partially executed the commercial utilization of low-grade coals has therefore to be duly considered too.

There is, however, a snag with such coals. Although low-grade coal can be used economically for the generation of steam and power in medium and large size installations, it is not economical to use it in small isolated power-generating installations.

This brief study with regard to the nature and extent of power resources in India brings out clearly that emphasis should be laid increasingly on the hydro-electric developments of river valleys. The seasonal variations in the water-flow in the rivers limit the availability of firm power from any hydro-electric installation. If large thermal stations are installed with low-grade coal as their fuel and be suitably interconnected with the hydro-electric power stations, the integration will not only increase the firm power but will also enable to economise fuel consumption in the thermal power houses.

It might be thought that by bringing the multi-purpose projects under the head of power development these are, to all intents and purposes, power schemes.

Everything considered, from the series of evolution which hydro-electric projects underwent for about half a century and knowledge gained therefrom, it appears that generation of hydro-electric power should be more logical to be regarded as an adjunct of irrigation development and that storage of water is essential for any extensive use to be made of them; in the building-up of the country and in raising the welfare of the inhabitants, water power and irrigation should collaborate for mutual improvement and profit. But when power enters into the picture, there is often a tendency to regard the provision of water as merely a measure for production and disposal of power. Certain favourable industrial conditions gave rise to this outlook in Mysore. However, it is a great pleasure that the disadvantages of this outlook have been at last realised. In a country like ours, the original purpose of any work for the provision of water must be to protect it from drought, to extend the irrigated area, and to furnish supplies for domestic and other uses; the use of water in irrigation is more valuable than even the land on which it is used. While, therefore, hydro-electric enterprise is likely to be a very important problem in our economy, it has at the same time to be viewed as a corollary to irrigation. Nor this is unusual. Of course in the past, our water projects have represented isolated and uncoordinated attempts either to irrigate particular areas, or to generate hydro-power here and there and were only allowed to go when such an endeavour paid handsome dividends to the investor. The whole outlook was obviously narrow both in the spatial and the sociological sense. These piecemeal measures, apart from failing to conserve the water wealth of the

country, did nothing to prevent recurrent and ever-growing floods, ever-growing as the direct result of the continuous abuse of the land by stripping it of plant cover and forests for purposes of immediate profit. This progressive denudation of land and the resulting extinction of fuel and fodder reserves have led not only to widespread removal of the top soil and to gully formation, but also to the ever-increasing use of animal manure as fuel, and therefore to the complete impoverishment of the soil as well as the cattle. Thus a vicious circle has come into being and we have the strange spectacle of the production of our cereals remaining where it was a quarter of a century ago, while the increase in population went apace. The present multipurpose projects are much more ambitious and promising and can best be illustrated by quoting an example. The Boulder Canyon Project Act in U.S.A., which became Law in December 21, 1928 and which may be considered to have opened a new era in multipurpose project development, defined :

"... the dam and reservoir provided by Section I hereof shall be used : First, for river regulation, improvement of navigation, and flood control, second, for irrigation and domestic uses and satisfaction of present perfected rights in pursuance of Article VIII of said Colorado River compact ; and third, for power."

This clearly sets forth the purposes of the structure and established priorities for the several functions. Although it was necessary that the cost of the structure except for \$25,000,000 allocated to flood control, and of its operation and maintenance, should be repaid from Power Revenues, power was placed last in order of priority. This limitation should not discourage power interests, since it is effective only whenever conflicts with the interests of flood control or irrigation occur, and fortunately such instances are rare.

Hence, it will be clearly evident from the foregoing that the main idea, underlying the multipurpose river valley projects, to put figuratively, is "to kill two, in some cases three or four birds with one." Thus, certain reservoirs, which were economically not feasible of development for single purpose became feasible when consideration was given to multifarious utilities like irrigation, generation of hydro-electric power, for flood control by resultant alleviation of damages to down-stream areas, for aiding navigation, sanitation or repelling saline invasions by permitting augmentation of low water flows by releases of stored water, for providing recreational facilities, such as fishing, swimming, boating and so forth.

An attempt will be made in what follows to demonstrate the important role which the multipurpose river valley schemes are going to play besides generating tremendous amount of power in the

unified development of the country's resources which our ambitious national government has projected.

COAL CONSERVATION

The restricted reserve of our country with regard to high-grade coal and the need to conserve this rather small reserve in the national interest have already been dealt with. The way Hydro-electricity can help to this end will now be illustrated and before we do this let us estimate the present use of coal under different heads :

TABLE IV
Use

	Tons $\times 10^6$ (approximate)	Per cent of total consump- tion
Railways (mainly steam raising)	10.0	32.30
Mills and Works (" ")	4.5	14.6
Iron and steel works (mainly coking)	4.5	14.6
Collieries	2.0	6.4
Cement works	0.5	1.6
Brick burning	1.0	3.2
Chemical, glass & potteries	1.0	3.2
Bunker and Export coal	2.0	6.4
Domestic, etc.	3.5	11.3
Electricity generation ⁶	2.0	6.4
	31	100.0

From this table it will be evident that 7 per cent of the coal raised is used by the collieries for their own requirements. To this figure must be added a percentage to cover the coal burned in thermal stations belonging to electricity undertakings which supply the collieries with power. It is estimated that a million tons of coal or half the present consumption could be saved by the electrification of collieries.

Similarly, railways consume about 33 per cent of the total coal raised per year, mainly in steam raising. Most of this coal is of high quality, and much of it, probably one-third, is good coking coal. The burning of coal, in a locomotive boiler is the most wasteful way of using it, inasmuch as about 4 per cent only of its heat energy can be utilized. In areas, where hydro-electric power for electric traction is available, no coal would be needed; but in other areas low grade coal having up to 40 or even 50 per cent ash may be utilized at central power stations to produce the energy required.

A study of the Railway Electrification project of the Howrah-Moghalsarai via the Grand Chord brings out the fact that by electrification at least 400,000 tons of coal per annum (mostly in high grades) could be saved.⁷

6. Consumption of coal by Electrical undertakings :

Year	1948	1949	1950
Tons	1,932,546	2,144,578	2,183,703

7. P. L. Verma, G. da Costa and F. W. Whitaker : "Conservation of High Grade coal with Special Reference to Electrification of the Howrah-Moghalsarai Section of the E.I.R."—*Transactions of World Power Conference 1951*.

Increased and intensive electrification of coal mine is one of the important steps to be considered in our country while discussing the problem of conservation of high grade coal.⁸ This matter has been given great attention in France and they have drawn a ten-year plan for implementing economy in the use of coal in mines. The French and the other European texamples of planned utilisation of low-grade coal need to be closely studied in our country with reference to our requirements to conserve high-grade coal. Then there is the further aspect of utilising electrical power more extensively as well as intensively in the task of modernisation and reconstruction of the coal-mine industry. Electricity for coal-cutting, conveying, drilling, loading, pressing, lighting, signalling, sequence control of conveyer system and electric interlocking are now the usual practice abroad. The number of collieries using electricity in India are only

183 out of 900 in 1947. Even in these there is ample scope for improvement of technique.

The saving of coal through the use of electric power for mining and industrial purposes can be briefly stated to be as follows :

(a) The dsplacement of inefficient plant in collieries may well secure a nett saving of about one million tons per annum.

(b) A saving of coal of the order of three-quarters of a million tons per annum will also result from the further electrification schemes in other parts of India.

(c) Railway electrification in its turn will result in an economy of nearly half a million tons of good coal per annum.

The total is roughly two and a quarter million tons per annum. But the coal saved is not a surplus. It is coal, that will be fed to other industries both existing and new. Electricity will not destroy the markets for coal but will create and foster them.⁹

8. For more details reference may be made to—(a) "Power and Coal Conservation" in *Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development*, Vol. 1, No. 10, September, 1951, pages 31-32. (b) N. P. Bhounick : "The Problem of Coal Conservation in India" (under preparation).

9. *Transactions of the World Power Conference, 1951* : (a) J. W. Whitakar : Power and Mines—General Report. (b) B. L. Metcalfe : Power and Mines.

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TRUTH ABOUT THE ETAWAH PROJECT

By S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

THE Etawah Pilot Development Project has, of late, received world-wide publicity as a model centre of rural reconstruction; it is being regarded as the Mecca of all workers engaged in village welfare activities. Since Etawah happens to be my home town, I took the opportunity of visiting the Pilot Project recently in order to study the whole scheme at close quarters. I went there with an open mind and spent about two days in obtaining first-hand information from both the officers as well as the villagers in the area. I was lucky in being able to discuss the idea and achievements of the Project with Mr. Albert Mayer himself who is the Planning Adviser to the U. P. Government. Mr. Mayer was in the American Army during the last war and now belongs to an important firm of Architects in New York. The Etawah Project was started by the U.P. Government in 1948 under the guidance and supervision of Mr. Mayer.

Visitors to the Etawah Project generally fall into two distinct categories. Some extol it to the skies as a unique experiment, and others run it down as a big hoax. After a careful study of the working of the Project, I feel that the truth lies between these two extreme views. Although the Etawah Pilot Project is mainly American in conception on the lines of the Agriculture Extension Service in the U.S.A., it cannot

be denied that it has shown remarkable results in certain spheres of rural reconstruction work. Mr. Mayer impressed me by his transparent sincerity and earnestness of purpose. The Project was started in Mahewa village in September 1948 with a population of 79,000 in a compact area of 100 villages. A second instalment of 97 villages with Sevanagar as the centre was taken up in September, 1951. The main achievements of the Project are in the domain of agriculture. (As a result of the supply of better seeds, of wheat, gram, barley, maize and potatoes, there has been substantial increase in the yield per acre ranging from 20 to 25 per cent.) The introduction of Sanai green-manuring and artificial fertilisers is also partly responsible for these results. There has been some improvement in irrigational facilities also; thirty tube-wells have been installed so far in the whole of Etawah district, and four artesian wells have been drilled in the area. In co-operation with Mr. Mason Vaugh of the Naini Agricultural Institute, the Mahewa centre has introduced a few improved varieties of implements like the Olpad threshers, seed drillers and drill cultivators. A satisfactory feature of these implements is that they are all bullock-driven; they are fairly cheap also. There is a Central Workshop to supply and repair these implements at Mahewa. As regards Animal

Husbandry, mass inoculations against H.S. and rinderpest have shown substantial results. Pedigree bulls are being used for artificial insemination at the Veterinary Centre. Barseem is being extensively grown as an improved variety of fodder. Public health has improved as a result of anti-malaria and anti-scabies treatment on a large scale. Small-pox, cholera and plague inoculations have proved beneficial. A few hand-pumps have been installed at Government expense for providing healthy drinking water. Voluntary effort and enthusiasm of the villagers have been tapped for constructing about 50 miles of inter-village roads in the area. Village lanes have been widened and made pucca with bricks manufactured in the Co-operative kilns. Seven primary school buildings have been erected by the villagers themselves through voluntary contributions in cash, kind or manual labour. There are about 40 adult education centres in the Project area and the chorus key-word method is followed in these night classes. Folk music and folk-dramas are being encouraged. Village fairs are occasionally organised for educating the adults in the rural reconstruction programme. Village participation in the Project is encouraged through the organisation and encouragement of village panchayats and co-operative societies. There is a Central Information Centre and a Library at Mahewa. A fortnightly magazine *Mandir Se* containing useful information for the villagers is published by the Government. A system of circulating libraries with 50 steel boxes is also being practised. There is a Training Centre at Lakhna for preparing village level workers.

These, in short, are the main achievements of the Etawah Pilot Project. Let us now deal with the other side of the picture. Firstly, the scheme is very expensive. The average yearly expenditure of recurring nature on the Pilot Project is about 2.5 lakhs of rupees. No less than 125 persons from the District Planning Officer down to the Gram-sewaks are employed exclusively in the Etawah Project. (So far a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs and 11 thousand has been spent on the Pilot scheme during the last three years.) When Mr. Mayer was asked about the period for which such expenditure and staff will have to continue the reply was: "For ever and ever." The Draft Outline of the Community Projects envisaged in the Five-year Plan also provides for an expenditure of 65 lakhs of rupees for a 'basic' project and Rs. 111 lakhs for a 'composite' project during a period of three years. About 50 per cent of this expenditure is supposed to be a loan, but it is very doubtful whether it will at all be possible to recover this amount from the villagers. If the whole of the country is to be covered under this scheme of Community Projects on the model of Etawah, we will require Rs. 1,000 crores for the purpose. The villagers will have to find an equivalent amount as their own contribution either in cash or in

kind or in the form of voluntary labour. The figures are, indeed, staggering, and it is very uncertain whether India will be in a position to expend this huge amount of its meagre resources. Too much dependence on foreign help is also not a very wise proposition. Instead of having a few 'purple patches' in the country, it is therefore, better to have less ambitious schemes and allow a larger number of villages to reap the benefits of the Community Projects.

Secondly, the Etawah Project does not attach adequate importance to the basic problem of providing full employment to the people. Its main interest has so far been agricultural. While the improvement of agriculture is, undoubtedly, important, the organisation of cottage and village industries as subsidiary occupations cannot be over-emphasised. Except for the starting of several brick-kilns in the area, no substantial work has been done in Etawah in this direction. I have suggested to the authorities concerned that small-scale and village industries like ghee-making, oil-pressing, handloom-weaving, gur-making and leather-work could be and should be encouraged in the Project area. The problem of unemployment and under-employment stares the Government in the face at Nilokheri and Faridabad also. I had the opportunity of visiting all these Townships during the last month. Unless the Government devotes more attention to the establishment of cottage industries with labour-absorbing rather than labour-saving machinery, it will be well-nigh impossible to liquidate unemployment from the rural areas. We are all for efficiency; but mere mechanical efficiency is not desirable. What we should aim at is "economic efficiency" which combines maximum production with maximum employment.)

The third glaring defect of the Etawah Project is its neglect of primary education. I was surprised to find that all the elementary schools in the area are being run on the old lines of academic and literary education. It is no use educating the adults in rural reconstruction work when their children, who will be the citizens of tomorrow, are being trained for 'Babuship' in the cities. If the Community Projects like that of Etawah are to succeed on a lasting basis, it is essential to introduce Basic Education in the compact areas at least, without further delay. Basic Education of the Sampurnanand brand will not do. It is very different from the type of craft-centred education visualised by Mahatma Gandhi. In Nilokheri also, where a Training Camp for Community Project workers is going to be held shortly, there is no trace of Basic Education. Without overhauling the entire system of existing education, which is too bookish, all our high-sounding schemes of national reconstruction would come to grief.

The problem of land redistribution has also not been tackled in Etawah. This is the fourth short-

coming. There is poignant land-hunger in our country today, and it has to be satisfied at the earliest opportunity. Acharya Vinoba Bhave has shown us the way. Suitable legislation can be enacted to facilitate transfers of land. Experience in China, Japan and several European countries has demonstrated the efficiency of small-scale farming. No hasty attempts should, therefore, be made to pool the land into large scale farms either on individual or co-operative basis. There can be ample scope for co-operative effort even under peasant proprietorship. More emphasis should be laid on compost manuring and the use of artificial

fertilisers should be reduced to the minimum. This aspect also requires special attention in Etawah.

It is unnecessary to multiply other points in favour or against the Etawah Project. We have to approach this task in a spirit of constructive criticism. I have invited Mr. Mayer and Mr. Dey the Administrator of the Community Projects, to visit Wardha and Sewagram and study the Gandhian institutions as well. Gandhiji devoted a major portion of his life to the problems of village reconstruction and we will neglect his fundamental ideas of rural welfare at our great peril.

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THE GAMBIA

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THE Gambia—the oldest British settlement on the West Coast of Africa—is the subject of a book* just published, written by Lady Southorn whose husband, Sir Thomas Southorn, was for five and a half years the Governor of the Colony. The history of the Colony is traced from the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese were the first European traders to enter the river, down to the present day.

Lady Southorn has written a book of quite exceptional charm. She has genuine love and admiration for the people and place. She does not write *de haut en bas*. 'In looking at Africa one should put on African spectacles first.' Through her eyes, in the few hours traffic of her pages, the Gambian scene materialises. It is a fascinating picture. For, in these days of easy communications and an ever-shrinking world, the peoples of the Gambia remain entirely unsophisticated. It reminds one of the Forest of Arden—was one comment I heard on this book. Certainly the Gambians, or the men at all events, have one great thing in common with the royal exiles of Shakespeare's play who loved to 'fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world.' They too love to sit for hours gossiping in the shade. In every village, beneath a huge locust bean or silk-cotton tree, a wooden platform known as the *bantaba* is erected expressly for this purpose.

The Colony takes its name from the river—the Gambia. Its source is in the Futa Jallon Mountains in French Guinea and it flows for a thousand miles to the Atlantic. Only the last three hundred miles comprise the Colony (or rather the Colony and the Protectorate which together are The Gambia). At its mouth it is twenty-seven miles across. But eighteen

miles above, at Bathurst, the capital, it narrows to about two and a half miles. Along these three hundred miles, on either bank, only a strip of land varying from seven to fifteen miles in width is included. So that in very truth, as the writer points out, the river dominates the Colony. Like the Thames, it is 'liquid history.'

In *The Gambia* authentic history begins with the arrival of the Portuguese in the middle of the fifteenth century. Their famous Prince, Henry the Navigator, sent several expeditions to the Western Coast of Africa. It was the spring time of the world when exploration was in the air—and when so many explorers had not only a great zest for adventure but a great gift for describing what they saw. Such a one was Cadamosto, a Venetian in the service of Prince Henry, who visited the river in 1482 and again the following year. In the account which he left of his two voyages the peoples of the Gambia first come into view. The extracts quoted by Lady Southorn make us long to know more. Already the Gambians show that engaging simplicity which is so characteristic of them at the present day. They marvelled at his ship and said 'they were of opinion that the portholes in the bows were really eyes by which the ships saw whither they were going over the sea.'

Portuguese ascendancy did not survive for long in the River. But many strands in Gambian history go back to them. They began the quest for rumoured gold—a quest which would not be abandoned until the eighteenth century. They originated the tragic and terrible slave trade. They introduced from Brazil the groundnut, which today represents 96 to 98 per cent of the total export of the Gambia. They have greatly influenced the language. Nearly three hundred years after their arrival, Francis Moore, a writer, employed by the Royal African Company, was to speak of

* *The Gambia: The Story of the Groundnut Colony* by Lady Southorn, O.B.E. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 21s.

Creole Portuguese as 'always spoken by the Linguists (the interpreters) which serve both the separate traders and the company.'

The Portuguese claimed a monopoly of trade on the West Coast of Africa. But in the reign of Queen Elizabeth their country was seized by Spain and the claimant to the Portuguese throne fled to England. To raise funds he granted trading rights to English merchants and the first English ships to enter the Gambia sailed under a Portuguese refugee. Thus, through fortune's accident, the Portuguese also came to introduce the English. A permanent settlement was still nearly a hundred years ahead but meanwhile English merchants were arriving—and amongst them was Richard Jobson.

Of the many romantic people who cross the Gambian scene in these pages none, to my mind, excels Richard Jobson. He visited the River in the reign of James I and in after days wrote an account of his adventures which he entitled *The Golden Trade*. Several extracts are quoted and they are so attractive that one is tempted to anticipate the reader's pleasure by reproducing many of them. Jobson was a born leader of practical men. He was also a great lover of his kind who in a famous phrase dissociated himself and his nation from the iniquity of the slave trade. 'I made answer, We were a people who did not deale in any such commodities, neither did we buy or sell one another, or any that had our own shapes.'

Jobson had come in quest of raw gold. The articles of commerce that he found were cotton, ivory and hides. These last, with the addition of wax and inland gold, are constantly recurring items in the trade with the Gambia. But, of course, in modern eyes all former trade in the Gambia is overshadowed by the horror of the Slave Trade. (Not, however, in contemporary eyes. Francis Moore, writing in the eighteenth century, does not include the trade in the list which he gives of the 'chief trade of this country.' Although in another passage he says that about two thousand slaves a year were brought down by the merchants).

Thirty years elapsed after Jobson's return before English traders again visited the River. This time, in addition to the usual commodities, they came in search of slaves. They found traders from many other nations already established there and for the next two hundred years the history of the Gambia is largely the history of these traders and of their relationships with one another. This part of the book I found the most absorbing. French, English, Dutch, these were the principals. And often their governments were at war with one another—or putting up with some usurpation—states of affairs that led to the most surprising repercussions in the River. Thus at one time we read of the fascinating irruption of Prince Rupert and his fellow cavaliers. He got on with the Gambians like a house on fire and returned to England with 'richly

liveried Blackamoors' one of whom was to save him from drowning, years afterwards, in the Seine. At another we read a dire defeat inflicted on the English by the famous Dutch Admiral de Ruyter (who 'beat us to dirt' as Pepys inelegantly noted in his Diary!) But most deeply interesting of all, I think, is the glimpse we get of the Courlanders. They are now a forgotten nation, swallowed up in Soviet Russia. But in the seventeenth century the Duke of Courland attempted a settlement in the Gambia. Wars between great neighbours at home and rivalries between great powers in the River were too much for the Duke, and in the end his settlement fell to the English—by a ruse of a Major Robert Holmes, a disreputable character we could well have done without. Short and unlucky was the stay of the Courlanders in the River. Their story however is brightened by the heroic fight for survival put up by the Duke's principal Agent, Otto Stiel. Indeed amongst all the gallant company of that most valuable class of human beings, 'the man in the spot,' Otto Stiel must surely rank second to none. The book is packed with interesting characters. In those far-off days, when in far-off climes, men often had nothing but their courage to cling to. And if Jobson is remembered for his charm and humanity, Otto Stiel stays in the mind as a man who never succeeded—yet never failed.

The English seized the Courlanders' settlement in 1661. It was an island in the River and they renamed it St. James's Island in honour of Duke James, the brother of their King. Thereafter their dearest rivals would be the French who established a base (Albreda) on the mainland opposite the Island. All the principal European traders, French, English and Dutch, would gladly have come to a gentleman's agreement (and often did) in despite of the wars of their respective governments. But intermittent enmity between French and English was doomed to last until the close of the Napoleonic wars. And by that time St. James's Island 'had played the part of a shuttlecock between the two nations, being five times in a century captured by the French and recaptured by the English.'

The reader will be wondering how, in all this time, the Gambians themselves were faring. It is worth remembering that none of these European traders came as conquerors or wished to be considered in that light. Trade was their object, and to promote their trade they tried to be on good terms with the native Chiefs. The Chiefs, alas, had no indignation at the fate of their fellow-countrymen who were sold into slavery. They were, in fact, the principal sellers. Indeed, the slave trade was so sure a source of profit that they seized on any petty pretext for selling a man into slavery. Francis Moore, that writer to the Royal African Company to whom reference has already been made, records how a man was brought to him 'to

be sold for having stolen a tobacco-pipe.' European traders; it is clear, did not bring slavery to the Gambia. Domestic slavery was an age-old institution in the Gambia as in all other parts of Africa. Their crime was rather that they *exported* slaves. Gambians or at any rate one of them—a Pholey—speaks of the plantations to which slaves were sent in words that strangely echo Hamlet: "I was gone to a land from which no Pholey ever yet returned."

The end of the Napoleonic wars not only saw the British finally established on St. James's Island. It also saw them, in 1807, abolish the slave trade in their dominions. Other nations, however, continued the trade and it was to put an end to this in the Gambia that Bathurst, the present capital, was constructed at the mouth of the River. After 1816, we are told, no foreign slaver, seeking to slip out of the river, ever escaped the vigilance of the shore batteries or the patrol ships of the Royal Navy. Bathurst appears in these pages as a very unusual kind of capital. No large houses. No hotel. But a place where music may be encountered at any corner because the Chiefs 'have retinues of musicians called "griots" . . . wherever they go.' And 'if a Mandingo Chief comes to Bathurst, the griots wait outside the shop or any other place he may visit and make melody.' A most interesting chapter is devoted to Bathurst as it was seen by contemporaries in the nineteenth century. It reminds one much of Thackeray but space is running out and there is no time to quote.

The building of Bathurst and its batteries did not consolidate the position of the British in the River. Rather did the reverse become true because the Home Government, for reasons of its own, thereafter lost interest in the settlement. It would not protect its own traders. It would not spend money on them. Least of all would it extend British protection to local Chiefs even when, as during the fanatical Marabout-Soninkri tribal wars, the Governor was bombarded with 'missives in Arabic and bad English from Marabouts and Soninkis alike imploring him to take over their land or to place them under British protection . . . More than once it put the area under the disadvantages of long distance rule from Sierra Leone. For ten years it brought everything to a standstill by dallying with an offer from France to give us some posts on the Ivory Coast in exchange for the Gambia. As a result of this it was decided that British and French spheres should be defined. But this was a most unfortunate hour for the Gambia. To quote Sir Thomas Southorn, the former Governor:

"Great Britain was restricted to the areas over which it was exercising *de facto* influence and surrendered to the French a vast hinterland extending on both sides of the river to the head waters of the Gambia, a hinterland to which we had at one time a better claim than the French and

without which the Gambia and the Protectorate become a geographic and economic absurdity. The boundaries . . . leave the Gambia a narrow enclave in French territory."

A geographic and economic absurdity—I suppose any country whose territory consisted of a strip of land along a river must be a geographic absurdity. And yet it is such a River and in the nature of things, such a tremendous influence in the lives of the Gambians. Consider their traits which are the most characteristic. Over and over again we are given instances which show that they are kind, lazy, tolerant, courteous, graceful, resigned—all qualities which seem reflected in a river.

But of course it is a serious thing for the Gambia that it should be an economic absurdity. Confined within very narrow limits it is entirely dependent on an agricultural economy. Ground-nuts, as has already been mentioned, are the chief product and export, the sandy soil being specially suited for their cultivation. But no economy should be dependent on one cash crop and it is the aim of every Governor—as it is of every Chief—to encourage the cultivation of other food-stuffs. (Listen to a Chief making a speech at the Governor's palaver: 'All that Your Excellency has said is true. Good comes out of evil when the traders refuse to give credit. First of all the people grow angry, then they grow more food-stuffs. When we are in debt we are slaves . . . This year we are very happy. We planted koos, fruits, tomatoes, sweet peppers, onions and many other vegetables and grains. The food stores are full. The young men should work on the farms in their own District and not go away to the town to work. If boys and young men work on their parents' farm there will be rows of koos and we will always have enough food. We will have profits from two crops—groundnuts to sell and foodstuffs to eat.')

The British Government has tardily become awake to its responsibilities and is using the Colonial Development and Welfare Act to help in the development of the Gambia. But as yet their schemes have been too grandiose and the results are disappointing. Thus an ambitious scheme was launched for the development of 23,000 acres under rice at an estimated cost of £1,115,000. After £300,000 has been spent on irrigation the projected area has had to be reduced to 4,250 acres and the trial farming of 500 acres has resulted in serious losses. It is the same with a Fishery Scheme. This also was launched on a huge scale, without a tentative trial on a smaller basis, and resulted in a loss of over £500,000. And it is hardly necessary to recall the Poultry Scheme—the mis-management of those eggs stinks to Heaven! We were promised 20,000,000 eggs and 1,000,000 dressed chickens. And all that was produced was less than 40,000 eggs.

Of all these schemes, there is only one comment to make. We should consider a proverb prevalent in the Gambia: 'Softly, softly catch a monkey.' We might also pay more attention to the man on the spot. Generations of Governors, for instance, have wished that there were money to pay for the drainage of Bathurst. The Home Government has haggled for years. In 1939 it would have cost half a million pounds. Why could we not have begun with this?

And here we must leave this book on the Gambia. It has not been possible to deal with it in all its aspects. An important omission, for instance, is the very interesting kind of self-government which is growing up in the Protectorate. The reader

will seek it out for himself. Another important omission—and this time on the part of the publishers—is that there should be so few photographs. One longs for some really good pictures of the River and its inhabitants, human and otherwise.

For anyone interested in Colonial life, and its development towards self-government, this book can be recommended, written, as it is, from the point of view of one who loves the people and the place. It is all the more useful in that it does not gloss over the mistakes that have been made, but points out how these can be avoided in the future. Would that all Governors and their wives had the same attitude towards the people that they govern.

Westminster, London, July, 1952

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INDEPENDENCE DAY

By PROF. NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

In describing the significance of the Independence Day, I shall try to relate the role played by Mahatma Gandhi in relation to India's struggle for political emancipation. This is however a subject with which the present generation of men and women in India are so closely bound that one finds it difficult to view the matter with as much detachment as one would wish to. The memory of the trials and sufferings through which the nation has passed, the comrades whom we have lost, the many unnamed men and women of India who laid down their lives in one way or another in course of the long, though interrupted, struggle for independence, touches our emotion in a manner which naturally prejudices a critical understanding of the series of events which eventually led to the emancipation of an ancient people from political subjugation. Yet, I shall make an endeavour to present the salient features and the objectives of our recent political history in an impersonal manner, as far as possible.

One of the most significant events in the recent past was the defeat of Russia in the hands of the Japanese in 1905. This unexpected event stirred the heart of India and raised a new hope and confidence in the mind of the educated classes of our country. Many began to feel that we should follow in the footsteps of Japan, and incorporate such elements from the civilisation of the West as had given strength to the Japanese to struggle successfully against a first-class European power. The history of Italian emancipation, the story of anarchist movements in Ireland and Czarist Russia were all read with avidity, and their lessons were put into practice wherever it was found possible.

In the meanwhile, a second section of educated India looked upon our relations with the English people in a somewhat different light. These Liberals, or Moderates as they began to be popularly called, felt that India was largely to blame herself for the loss of her freedom. They, therefore, interested themselves generally in political education, and advocated the use of purely constitutional agitational methods for the redress of political wrongs.

It is however well to remind ourselves that except for a vague feeling of injury, against which the common people reacted from time to time in a violent manner, the latter were generally not interested in the feelings or passions which swept the heart of the educated and politically conscious classes of India. Higher education being given solely through the medium of the English language, a division had been created between the educated and the uneducated in our land, which may appear amazing to any visitor from other countries. As a consequence of this, the Santal Insurrection of 1855-57, the numerous Munda risings in Chotanagpur in the 19th century, and even the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, did not evoke any sympathy or co-operation from among the upper and middle classes of our land, just as the political feelings of the latter hardly created a stir among their less fortunate rural countrymen in later times.

The first achievement of Mahatma Gandhi in 1921 was that he succeeded in bridging this gulf which divided the educated from the uneducated, or, as we may also put it, between the towns and the villages of India. The villages began to occupy a place in our political consciousness which they had never done before.

There was a second element in Gandhiji's line of action to which attention may profitably be drawn at the present stage. Gandhiji always tried to act through an existing democratic organization instead of trying to found a political organization of his own. As a result, when Gandhiji virtually took charge of the Congress and converted it from an instrument of agitation to one of direct collective action, the Liberals left its fold and the organization passed into the hands of those who wanted to gain Swaraj, not by constitutional means, but by the methods with which Gandhiji made the country familiar.

It should however be noted that the meaning which Gandhiji attached to the term Swaraj or self-rule was not quite the same which others belonging to the Congress generally attached to it. Ever since the year 1909, when Gandhiji defined his political credo in the form of a pamphlet entitled *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*, he held that true freedom was to mean the freedom of "the agriculturists and working classes" of a country. His logic of non-violence was a very simple one. It was his firm conviction that if violence was employed successfully in the solution of any particular problem, it always resulted from the centralization of authority to a greater or less extent. A successful violent revolution therefore concentrated power in a few hands; and consequently made that class separate from the rest of the people, who were to play no more than a passive role in the revolution. At best, they were to be active only at particular moments, and slip into an obedience which was often blind, at other times.

His endeavour, therefore, was to fashion a tool of collective action by means of which even unarmed men and women could assert their will against mighty forces, provided their cause was just. Satyagraha was Gandhiji's substitute for war for the effective solution of various forms of human conflicts. We may recall in this connection that Gandhiji's model civil resister was the hero Prahlad of Indian mythology. He also referred to Jesus Christ on several occasions as the prince of passive resisters. Thoreau's writings as well as those of Tolstoy helped him in no small measure in strengthening his faith in non-violent resistance. Gandhiji's special genius was that he fashioned a tool of collective action meant for common people, from something which had so long been exclusively used on a personal scale by perfect or nearly perfect individuals.

In any case, it is significant that even when Gandhi functioned as the supreme leader of the Indian nation, many neither subscribed to his ideas about the content of freedom, nor to his faith in the need on effectiveness of non-violence. Yet they gave him allegiance because he stood as a symbol of the struggle for India's freedom against British subordination.

Thus Gandhi led the battle of Indian freedom for over quarter of a century. Like a good general, he always tried to keep the initiative on his own side. Sometimes Gandhi carried the war into the enemy's camp, sometimes he retreated in order to consolidate gains or to prepare the ground for a fresh advance. But it is a great tribute to the moral quality of his leadership, that Gandhi held firmly to the belief that a good end could never be served by indifferent means. As a consequence, he sometimes took political decision against the advice of his close associates. Yet, whether alone or in company, Gandhi tried to remain true to his two fundamentals of truth and non-violence.

Another tribute to Gandhi's leadership is supplied by the fact that although the Indian nation struggled hard and long against the British, there is less bitterness today, when the war is ended, than has ever been the case anywhere else in history. This has obviously been the result of a more-or-less non-violent attitude which the nation succeeded in maintaining under her great general.

India won her way to a peaceful transfer of power in 1947. We cannot say that all went well all along the way. The country was torn by communal riots; her trusted national representatives dared not go the whole way with Gandhi in his implications of non-violence. Yet, we did succeed in winning our freedom with less hatred, less bloodshed and within lesser time than has generally been the case with other nations.

It is our duty to recall at this stage the fact that independence came not as a result of the Gandhian movement alone, but as the combined effect of many forces, several of which were not of our own making. The British Empire had been considerably weakened by World War II. The revolt of the Indian National Army of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose inspired a large section of the Indian armed and naval forces with a strong sentiment of nationalism; and thus the dependence of Britain on native forces for the maintenance of the Empire was rendered precarious. It is also true that European troops could not be drafted for this purpose at home, after six years of exhausting warfare. All these helped the cause of Indian freedom considerably. Yet it cannot be claimed that these by themselves were enough for bringing about the political emancipation of the land. The stern revolt of the Indian National Congress in August, 1942, at a stage when she was completely misunderstood by the Allied powers, was a very great factor in steeling the heart of the nation in the latter stages of the war. The practice of revolt through which India had progressively been led from 1921 to 1942, along with the fact that her attitude was more or less of a non-violent character, touched a chord of sympathy in the hearts of the labouring classes of England; and when this was joined with the factors mentioned above, it led to

a victory of the nationalist cause which stands almost unique in the history of the contemporary world.

On and about the 15th of August, 1947, when the transference of power took place, Gandhi happened to be in this very city of Calcutta. He was then on his way to East Pakistan, on a mission which was peculiarly his own. Gandhi felt that the freedom which had come to India fell far short of his ideal of Swaraj. It was undoubtedly a step in that direction, but the complete freedom of the "agriculturists and working classes" from all forms of economic, social and political bondage seemed to him to be yet a long way off. And it was in order to prepare the ground for that freedom that he wanted to dedicate himself as soon as he found nationalist India in the enjoyment of political emancipation.

I remember that on the historic 15th of August in 1947, while Gandhi had encamped in one portion of riot-affected Calcutta, he prepared himself for the day's task with a fast and a prayer. When the report of rejoicings was brought to him, he said that he was not lifted off his feet by them, for all round him he found people dying of hunger, and suffering from the want of even the bare necessities of life. He wanted us all to dedicate ourselves to the upliftment of the common people by a decentralization of industry and by a diffusion of political strength and power through the organization of non-violence. For, he held, it was only thus that we could prepare ourselves for playing our rightful part in the world's comity of nations.

If India stands for equality and justice, for complete freedom from all forms of exploitation within her own territory only then can she, by brave self-dedication, bring about peace between warring sections of our common human family, with regard to economic freedom. Gandhi once said that the ideal, when men will no longer suffer from want of food or clothing or from the ability to get enough work when they wish to, can only be "universally realized if the means of production of the elementary necessities of life remain in the control of the masses. Their monopolization by any country, nation or group of persons would be unjust. The neglect of this simple principle is the cause of the destruction that we witness today not only in this unhappy land but in other parts of the world too."

On this auspicious day, when Gandhi is no longer with us, let us recall the words which inspired him one day, and let us work strenuously for the Swaraj which was his dream.

Gandhi was indeed an internationalist in his political outlook. In 1924, he wrote :

"Isolated independence is not the goal of the world States. It is voluntary interdependence."

He also said :

"There is no limit to extending our services to

our neighbours across State-made frontiers. God never made those frontiers."

Gandhi also firmly held that the true emancipation of the common people all over the world could only come when they became perfect in the use of the instrument of non-violent warfare. That is why he wrote as long ago as 1925 that "fundamentally the disease" appears to be "the same in Europe as in India, in spite of the fact, that in the former country the people enjoy political self-government."

"No mere transference of political power in India," he wrote, "will satisfy my ambition, even though I hold such transference to be a vital necessity of Indian national life. The people of Europe have no doubt political power but no Swaraj. Asian and African races are exploited for their partial benefit, and they, on their part, are exploited by the ruling class or caste under the sacred name of democracy."

"Violence on the part of the masses will never remove the disease. It has led to greater violence. It seems to me, therefore, that sooner or later, the European masses will have to take to non-violence if they are to find their deliverance. That there is no hope of their taking it in a body and at once does not baffle me," he wrote. And in spite of his love and faith in the common people of India, he wrote then, perhaps with a touch of sorrow, "It may even be that what seems to me to be so natural and feasible in India, may take longer to permeate the inert Indian masses than the active European masses."

Let us end now by recalling what Gandhi held to be India's political aim and true meaning of freedom as he understood it. In this city of Calcutta, in a hall built by the Young Men's Christian Association, Gandhi defined the meaning of Indian Independence in course of a speech which he delivered in September, 1925. In it, he said :

"We want freedom for our country, but not at the expense or exploitation of others, not so as to degrade other countries. For my own part, I do not want the freedom of India if it means the extinction of England or the disappearance of Englishmen. I want freedom of my country so that the resources of my country might be utilised for the benefit of mankind. Just as the cult of patriotism teaches us today that the individual has to die for the family, the family has to die for the village, the village for the district, the district for the province, and the province for the country, even so a country has to be free in order that it may die, if necessary, for the benefit of the world. My love of nationalism or my idea of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be the whole country may die, so that the human races may live. There is no room for race hatred here. Let that be our nationalism."*

*An address delivered at the United States Information Service on August, 13th, 1952.

THE IMPRISONMENT OF SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA

A Forgotten Chapter of our National History

By NAGENDRA KUMAR GUHA ROY

The contribution of Surendra Nath Banerjea towards nation-making is ever memorable in our national history. This popular leader was at a time called a high priest of Indian nationalism. In the days of Anti-Partition and Swadeshi Movement his popularity reached its climax and his countrymen used to call him the "Uncrowned King of Bengal." He was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress. In course of the last sixty years since the foundation of the Congress, the Bengalis had the proud privilege of adorning the presidential chair of the great National organisation on as many as fifteen occasions. Surendra Nath had the good fortune of being elected President twice—once in 1895 in the eleventh session of the Congress at Poona and for the second time in 1902 in its eighteenth session held at Ahmedabad.

After passing the I.C.S. Examination he started his service career as an Assistant Magistrate of Sylhet. Due to the machinations of Mr. H. C. Sutherland, an Anglo-Indian I.C.S., the then District Magistrate of Sylhet, whose mind was corrupt with racial hatred, Surendra Nath Banerjea had, in the fourth year of his service, been unjustly removed from the Indian Civil Service. This removal ultimately proved beneficial to the national cause. Had his service life under an alien Government not ended at an early stage and had he not been removed from the covetable 'heaven-born' service, the nation could not find in the days to come Surendra Nath as an orator of all-India fame, a high priest of Indian Nationalism, a fearless leader of the people and a journalist of high order and an ideal educationist.

After his removal from the Indian Civil Service Surendra Nath devoted himself to the service of his motherland and his countrymen. At that time the country was politically backward. Political consciousness was not roused extensively even among the intelligentsia. He realised that the Press would be the proper medium for making the educated class of the people progressive and politically conscious and in the matter of forming and regulating public opinion. He selected the platform also as one of the means to achieve this great end. The writings and speeches of Surendra Nath were such as would create an impression in the minds of the readers and listeners that his pen and voice had the blessings of Banee, the Goddess of learning.

He started an English weekly periodical under the name and style of *The Bengalee*. After a few years this paper was converted into a first class daily and under the able editorship of Surendra Nath Banerjea it earned the reputation for its fearless espousal of the people's cause. While editing his weekly paper *The Bengalee* Surendra Nath was prosecuted on a charge of contempt of court and sentenced to simple imprisonment. In this article we shall narrate the story of his prosecution and

imprisonment and its subsequent reaction upon our national life and cause. Surendra Nath in his autobiography *A Nation in Making* while relating this story has, at the outset, written :

"The next incident in my journalistic career that I think should be placed on record is the contempt case, for which I was sent to prison for two months. I claim the honour (for such I deem it) of being the first Indian of my generation who suffered imprisonment in the discharge of public duty. The Swarajists now make imprisonment a qualification for public service. Well, I claim that I possess it, even from their standpoint, and that I was qualified long before any of them."

In the year 1883 after nine years of his removal from the Indian Civil Service he was involved in this contempt of court case which became famous in the annals of our nation. At that time Mr. John Freeman Norris, an Englishman, was a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. Holding the office of a Judge in the highest tribunal of the land Mr. Norris took a prominent part in the "Ilbert Bill" controversy and this was considered by the public as unbecoming of his exalted position and thus he was lowered in the estimation of the public.

During the trial of a suit in the court of Mr. Justice Norris an order was passed by him directing one of the parties in the suit to bring a *Salagram* (a stone idol) in the court. Accordingly, on the appointed day the idol in question was brought in the court compound. The Judge thought it necessary to personally examine the idol for ascertaining whether it was a hundred years old and whether that was the identical idol. This fact was published in the now defunct *Brahmo Public Opinion*, an influential weekly organ, published in English language from Calcutta. The late Mr. Bhuban Mohan Das, a well-known solicitor of the Calcutta High Court and father of the late Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das, was the editor of the paper. As no contradiction appeared Surendra Nath accepted the version as fully correct especially in view of the fact that the editor of the paper being a solicitor and an officer of the court might be thoroughly aware of what happened there. He reproduced in his paper *The Bengalee* in its issue of the 28th April 1883 the substance of the news as appeared in the *Brahmo Public Opinion* and commented upon it. The alleged contempt of court was contained in the following article :

"The Judges of the High Court have hitherto commanded the universal respect of the community. Of course, they have often erred and often grievously failed in the performance of their duties ; but their errors have hardly ever been due to impulsiveness or to the neglect of the commonest considerations of prudence or decency. We have now, however, amongst us a Judge who, if he does not actually recall to mind the days of Jeffreys and Scroggs, has certainly done enough within the short time that he has filled the

High Court Bench to show how unworthy he is of his high office, and how by nature he is unfitted to maintain those traditions of dignity, which are inseparable from the office of the Judge of the highest court in the land. From time to time we have in these columns adverted to the proceedings of Mr. Justice Norris, but the climax has now been reached, and we venture to call attention to the facts, as they have been reported in the columns of a contemporary. The *Brahmo Public Opinion* is our authority, and the facts stated are as follows:

"Mr. Justice Norris is determined to set the Hugli on fire. The last act of 'Zubberdusti' on his Lordship's part was the bringing of a Salgram (a stone idol) into court for identification. There have been very many cases both in the late Supreme Court and the present High Court of Calcutta regarding the custody of Hindu idols, but the presiding deity of a Hindu household has never before this had the honour of being dragged into Court. Our Calcutta Daniel looked at the idol and said it could not be a hundred years old. So Mr. Justice Norris is not only versed in Law and Medicine but also connoisseur of Hindu idols. It is difficult to say what he is not. Whether the orthodox Hindus of Calcutta will tamely submit to their family idols being dragged into court is a matter for them to decide, but it does seem to us that some public steps should be taken to put a quietus to the wild eccentricities of this young and raw dispenser of Justice."

On the 3rd. May, i.e., within five days after the publication of the offending leaderette Surendra Nath Banerjee, editor and proprietor of *The Bengalee*, (together with its printer and publisher, Ram Kumar De) was served with a rule calling upon him to show cause on the day following why he should not be committed to prison or otherwise dealt with according to law for contempt of court, in his having published the above article, containing contemptuous and defamatory matters concerning Mr. Justice Norris. The time was very short and he found it difficult to arrange proper defence as he could not get any barrister to take up the brief on his behalf. Mr. Monomohan Ghosh, Barrister, was then ill and confined to bed. He then approached Mr. W. C. Bonerjee, Barrister, who at last agreed to defend him but on the distinct understanding that he should apologise and withdraw the reflections he had made in his editorial comment upon Mr. Justice Norris. He readily consented to the proposal, as he realised that the comparison, which he made, in the incriminating leaderette between the Judge and Scroggs and Jeffreys, was unfair and unjustified and was written in a moment of heat and indignation.

It subsequently transpired at the time of trial of the contempt case that the orders passed by the Judge directing a party in the suit to bring the idol in the court compound was quite justified under the circumstances. It was suggested by the counsel on both sides that the idol should be brought into the court for the purpose of identification. Despite that suggestion Mr. Justice Norris hesitated to follow that course. He then enquired from the attorneys on either side, who were Hindus, whether there would be any objection to the

idol being brought into court. Though the Hon'ble Judge was told by them that there was no reason to object to the idol being brought into court, still he asked Gouri Kanta Burman, the representative of the plaintiff present in court to give his opinion in the matter. Gouri Kanta submitted to the Hon'ble Court that the idol could not be brought into court as the floor was covered with coir mattings; but it could be brought into the courtyard of the court without any objection. In spite of this favourable opinion Mr. Justice Norris sent for his interpreter Benimadhab Mukherjee, a senior officer and a highly respectable Brahmin. He expressed his full agreement with Gouri Kanta's views. After that the idol was brought into the courtyard.

The contempt case was heard on the 4th May, 1883 before the Full Bench consisting of Chief Justice Sir Richard Garth, Justices Cunningham, McDonell, Norris & Romes Chunder Mitter. Surendra Nath and Ram Kumar De personally appeared in court and submitted written statements. Surendra Nath took upon himself the full responsibility of the charges against him and withdrew the observations against Mr. Justice Norris and tendered apology to the court. It was stated inter alia in the sixth para of his written statement that he had no personal knowledge whatsoever about Mr. Justice Norris and that he was simply guided by the ideal of doing public good. The hearing of the case was concluded on that very day and the next day, i.e., fifth of May was fixed for delivery of judgment. Both the editor and the printer had to furnish two sureties for Rs. 5,000 each for their appearance in court next day and Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose, Barrister, and Jogesh Chandra Dutt, a Municipal Commissioner, stood sureties for both.

At that time Surendra Nath used to reside in his house at Manirampur (Barrackpur) and his paper *The Bengalee* used to be published from 33 Neogypukur East Lane, Calcutta. On the 5th May while leaving his country house he came prepared for going to jail and brought with him beddings and other necessary articles and some books he wanted to read during his enforced leisure. He told his wife the possibility of his imprisonment and took leave of her.

Surendra Nath appeared in court at about 10-30 A.M. and Ram Kumar De, printer also put in his appearance just in time. It appears from the detailed description given in his autobiography *A Nation in Making* that long before the Judges took their seats in court, the courtroom, corridors and courtyards and the adjoining streets were crowded with people who were awaiting the pronouncement of judgment. The students of Calcutta formed the majority of the huge crowd that gathered. A large body of Police, both European and Indian, were in attendance there long before the Judges took their seats. At half past eleven the five Judges took their seats. Signs of excitement and uneasiness were visible among the crowds that gathered both inside and outside the court. There

was concurrence among the Judges with respect to the finding they arrived at. But Mr. Justice R. C. Mitter could not agree with other judges in the matter of punishment. He insisted upon fine only following the precedents created by two previous cases of similar nature. Under such circumstances the decision of the majority of the judges would, according to law, prevail. The Chief Justice read out in court the judgment of the concurring Judges and Justice Mitter read out his dissenting judgment.

Below is quoted the last portion of the concurrent judgment :

"We feel that it is absolutely necessary to vindicate and maintain the authority of the Court, and to guard against the repetition of the grave offence which you have committed, by imposing upon you not a fine, which in your case would be mere nominal penalty, but a substantial punishment as may serve as a wholesome warning to yourself and others.

"The Court's order is that you be imprisoned on the civil side of the Presidency Jail for the space of two months."

Ram Kumar De, printer and publisher, was discharged.

Justice Mitter stated in his judgment why he was in favour of a sentence of fine only instead of that of imprisonment. It appears from his judgment that there had been in that court two cases of similar nature. In the first case no sentence was awarded as the accused tendered an apology. Mr. Tayler, the then editor of the *Englishman*, was the accused in the second case. In the present case the accused at the very beginning admitted their guilt and expressed deep regret; but in the case of the *Englishman* Mr. Tayler, who committed similar offence by publishing a libel against Mr. Justice Dwarka Nath [Mitra, did not do that. He was convicted and sentenced to be committed for one month to the civil side of the Presidency Jail and to pay a fine of Rs. 500. The above order was passed on the 24th April 1869 and on the 27th April following Mr. Tayler made a suitable apology which was published in the *Englishman* of that date. Thereafter he was released the remaining term of his imprisonment having been remitted. The sentence of fine was not altered. The concluding portion of the judgment of Mr. Justice Mitter is given below :

"I have gone into these details, because it seems to me that in determining the amount of punishment to be inflicted on Surendra Nath Banerjee, we should take these cases as our guide. The complexion of guilt in the case of Mr. Tayler is certainly not of a lighter character than that of Surendra Nath Banerjee.

"On the question of punishment, therefore I should have been inclined to adopt the course which was adopted in these cases."

Surendra Nath writes in his Autobiography that on the day preceding the announcement of judgment the Chief Justice had seen Justice Mitter in his private residence and tried to convince him of the propriety of a sentence of imprisonment. But the latter could not

find any grounds for changing his decision to which he stuck.

What happened immediately after the pronouncement of judgment has been described vividly in his Autobiography by Surendra Nath in his inimitable style and language. A portion of this description is reproduced below :

"I was in Court by half past ten. The Court premises and the environments were swarming with a surging crowd; and a large body of Police, European and Indian, were in attendance. The student community had mustered in strong force, and among them I noticed some who rose to high distinction as servants of the Crown. In the demonstration that followed the passing of sentence they took a leading part in a fashion common among young men all over the world, smashing windows and pelting police with stones. One of those rowdy youths was Ashutosh Mukherjee, subsequently so well known as a Judge of the High Court and as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University."

The prison van was at the court gate ready to convey Surendra Nath to the jail, but in view of the excited attitude of the surging crowd, that gathered in the court premises and the environments and in the adjoining streets, he was conveyed in a private carriage leaving the court by the Judges' entrance and was taken by a round-about way to the Presidency Jail.

Mr. Larymore, an Irishman, was Jail Superintendent. Surendra Nath was known to him from before as both of them worked together as Municipal Commissioners sitting round the same table. Mr. Laryman gave him comfortable quarters in the upper storey of the Civil Jail. His friend Mr. B. L. Gupta (Beharilal Gupta), I.C.S., who was then Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, called on him the same afternoon to express his sympathy and to make him comfortable so far as lay in Mr. Gupta's power. It may be mentioned here that Surendra Nath sailed for England on March 3, 1868 with Romes Chandra Dutt and Behari Lal Gupta and all the three passed Open Competitive Examination for Indian Civil Service in 1869. A semi-official newspaper made adverse comment against Mr. B. L. Gupta for such an open expression of sympathy. But an Indian I.C.S. Officer of his calibre did not feel worried at all due to such criticism. Mr. Gupta's efficiency and merit made his official career a great success. He was elevated to the High Court Bench and also became the Dewan (Chief Minister) of an Indian State.

Surendra Nath was allowed to receive visitors in jail every day and they were counted by scores. Letters and telegrams from sympathisers in different parts of India were received by him daily and they were so numerous that, the Jail Superintendent told him, he had to employ a special messenger for the purpose. Surendra Nath's wife once came to see him in jail escorted by Mr. Robert Knight, Editor of the *Statesman* who was held in high esteem by Surendra Nath and other patriotic Indians of his time for his sincere sympathy with the legitimate political aspirations of the Indians. To express his veneration for Robert Knight Surendra Nath has

termed him as "Venerable" in his Autobiography while mentioning his name. He writes :

"My wife came to see me escorted by the Venerable Robert Knight, Editor of the *Statesman*. The *Statesman* wrote a series of articles condemning the sentence of imprisonment passed on me. The *Statesman* valiantly championed the cause of right and justice, and the Indian Public showed their appreciation of Mr. Robert Knight's services by holding a public meeting and raising a fund to help him when involved in a defamation case brought against him by Burdwan Raj. I was a speaker in that meeting."

Surendra Nath's imprisonment agitated not only Bengal but the whole of India. After the pronouncement of judgment Indian merchants of all classes in the city of Calcutta stopped their business for the day and all Indian shops were closed. This cessation of business was spontaneous and during the Gandhian age in our national history of political struggle this has come to be known as *Hartal*, a Gujarati word which means strike of work. Nearly forty years before the beginning of Gandhian age, Calcutta, the then capital of India, was the first city in India to observe *Hartal* on the occasion of Surendra Nath's imprisonment. The practice of holding open-air meetings was started during this time as the public halls in Calcutta could not accommodate huge audience who used to assemble to record their protest against the order of Surendra Nath's imprisonment and to express sympathy with him. The agitation following his imprisonment spread from the rural areas and it was not confined to the upper ten thousand or the educated classes; the masses also participated in the demonstrations in their thousands. The students went into mourning. The imprisonment of Surendra Nath brought about new awakening in the political life of the Indians and tied different provinces with a common bond of brotherhood and comradeship. Public meetings were held on this occasion in Lahore, Amritsar, Faizabad, Poona and other big cities of India to record their feelings of sympathy with Surendra Nath and protest against the judgment. Surendra Nath writes in his Autobiography that so strong was the feeling that in some cases even Government servants took part in them and suffered for it. The story of his imprisonment was the subject-matter of songs, poems and essays written on the occasion and these writings added a new chapter to Bengali literature on national upheaval. Below is given Surendra Nath's version on the matter from his Autobiography :-

"When the public mind has been roused by some great event, it struggles for expression in all directions, in melodious songs, in passionate utterances in the Press and from the platform and in enterprises which bear on them the ineffaceable mark of daring and originality. This is illustrated in the great events of history, in the stimulus to national life and enterprise that was witnessed in the Elizabethan epoch. Poetry, original research, commercial and naval enterprise for the discovery of new worlds, all went apace. The soul of England was bodied forth in them all. The

beginnings of such a stimulus, though on a much smaller scale, were witnessed in the upheaval that sprang from the contempt case."

Surendra Nath's imprisonment was indeed a blessing in disguise. The late Mr. A. M. Bose, the famous barrister of Calcutta High Court and a national leader of eminence, who was then Secretary of the Indian Association, the premier public body of Bengal, referring to the political consequences of the imprisonment observed in the annual report of that institution for the year 1883 :

"That 'good cometh out of evil' was never more fully illustrated than in this notable event. It has now been demonstrated, by the universal outburst of grief and indignation which the event called forth, that the people of the different Indian provinces have learnt to feel for one another; and that a common bond of unity and fellow-feeling is rapidly being established among them. And Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee has at least one consolation, that his misfortune awakened, in a most marked form, a manifestation of that sense of unity among the different Indian races, for the accomplishment of which he has so earnestly striven and not in vain."

The late Tarapada Banerjee of Krishnagar, a well-known national leader of the time and an ardent follower of Surendra Nath, started the idea of a National Fund as a memento of the imprisonment. The idea, though quite a new one, got public support and the amount collected for the purpose came up to Rs. 20,000. It was decided at a meeting of the subscribers to make it over to the Indian Association for political work. This National Fund at the disposal of the Indian Association rendered substantial help in furthering its great cause. It may be mentioned here that Surendra Nath was one of the founders of the Indian Association.

On July 3 the day preceding his release Mr. Stevens, the then District Magistrate of 24-Parganas, met him in jail and told him that there would be a huge demonstration at Barrackpur on the occasion of reception to be accorded to him. Mr. Stevens apprehended trouble and requested his help in the matter. Surendra Nath promised him all possible help and told him that he would see that no trouble was created and expressed his belief that nothing untoward would happen at his reception. In spite of such assurance from him military force stationed in Barrackpur Cantonment was kept ready for fear of any eventualities. It was not unlikely that the British officials of that area became possessed by the horrible memories of the Sepoy War and that was perhaps the cause that led them to take necessary precautionary measures.

Surendra Nath's term of imprisonment began on May 5 and he was released on July 4, a memorable day in the world's history, the day of American Independence of which his friends and admirers and followers took the utmost advantage. The usual time of release of a prisoner was six o'clock in the morning. But to avoid demonstration a device was planned. The authorities, in disregard of the existing rule, arranged to release him two hours earlier, i.e., at 4 a.m. He was taken out of the

jail at 4 a.m. and put into a hackney carriage which was waiting at the jail gate. The Jailer also accompanied him in the same carriage and after two hours' drive through different parts of the city, Surendra Nath was dropped at *The Bengalee* office at 6 a.m. This device helped to create two demonstrations—one at the jail gate and another at *The Bengalee* office.

Tremendous ovation was accorded to Surendra Nath on his arrival at Barrackpur. The officers of the military force stationed there at the time were all Indians. Government order of keeping military force ready on the occasion of his release quickened their interests in the

case. They came and saw him in his house secretly and they wanted to know more of the case than they did before. He apprised them of all that had happened.

Surendra Nath had once more in his public career to face another prosecution in a contempt case in April 1906 before Mr. Emerson, the then District Magistrate of Bakhargunj. That was in connection with the historic sitting of the Bengali Provincial Conference at Barisal which was broken by force during Sir B. Fuller's regime in the newly created Province of East Bengal and Assam after Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal.

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PAKISTAN BECOMING AMERICA'S HEADACHE

By ARNOLD K. ISREELI

ACCORDING to press reports, the American Ambassador to Pakistan was asked to come to Washington recently, in order to report on Pakistan's "foreign policies, her internal politics and her economics."

Pakistan is only a young State, not more than five years old. However, it has already managed to become quite a nuisance on the international scene. Now that China's red armies are massed on the borders of Pakistan and India, prepared to invade the border provinces, it is not at all surprising that our (American) government should desire to obtain first-hand information as to what is going on in that area.

During the few short years of its existence Pakistan has concocted one intrigue after another. Recently she has played an unsavoury role in the Tunisian affair and has been quite persistent in her attempt to impose her demands and the demands of the Arab coterie on America and the world. At the same time, the whole of South Asia is being kept in a state of suspense by Pakistan's so-called "differences" with India and Afghanistan and by her own inner frictions with East Pakistan and the Northwest Frontier Province. On top of that, it has recently become apparent that this Moslem Republic is suffering from an economic crisis that may cost America millions of dollars.

Is it any wonder, then, that Washington desires to get a clear picture of economic and political conditions in that new country? While we do not have the report by the Ambassador, we may, from the facts before us, obtain some idea of conditions in that country which presumes to play a pivotal role in the UN and in the entire Middle East.

Pakistan is a protege of the British Empire. Without England's help to the famous "Moslem League" of India, which created the Republic of Pakistan, the Pakistanis would have never been able to break away from India and obtain independence. For centuries the people of present-day Pakistan have lived together with the people of India as one nation. Together they have struggled for liberation and

together they have developed India's social and economic life. The only claim of the Moslem League for a separate state was that the Moslems pray to God in a different way.

England always considered the Moslem League her own "pet baby". From the moment Pakistan was born, the Labor Government supplied her with weapons and ammunition, with tanks and jet-planes of the very best and latest design; accepted Pakistan in the "sterling family" and made her a member of the British Commonwealth.

It is not important to delve here into the motives for England's conduct. In India, Great Britain has always followed the policy of "Divide and Rule". By showing friendship to the Moslems, she succeeded in keeping the Hindus down. We may assume that by creating a puppet state in Southeast Asia, British diplomacy had hoped to gain the friendship of the entire Moslem World.

But whatever the reasons, as soon as the State was founded, even before it was definitely established, it immediately began to weave a chain of intrigues on the international arena, trying to get allies and forming blocs with other countries. Its leaders immediately became close associates of the Arabs and the other Moslem leaders. On becoming a member of the UN, Pakistan at once became active in the group which occupied itself with anti-Israel policies. In short, England has derived little pleasure from its "pet baby."

During the past few years, all the feudal lords of Asia, all the Moslem agitators—including the arch-plotting Mufti—have held their conclaves in Karachi, the capital of Pakistan. There, elaborate plans for the domination of large parts of our world are being hatched. England has gained nothing by it; her prestige is decreasing from day to day. In the rest of Asia, conditions have become more acute as a result of the Kashmir affair. The odor of gun-powder is in the air.

Kashmir is a former province of India, with a mixed population of Hindus and Moslems. Pakistan insists that

this province should become part of the Republic, but it appears that the people of Kashmir haven't the least desire to join this Moslem country. The problem had been taken up by the United Nations, which sent a mediator to that part of the world, but with no evident results so far. The Legislative Assembly of Kashmir decided to join the richer and more peaceful India, but the government of Karachi refuses to accept this decision.

In the meantime, as a result of this situation, India is forced to maintain a large army on the borders of these provinces, spending a goodly sum on it, instead of using this money to save its own population from starvation and to raise the economic level of the country.

The internal conditions of Pakistan are also in a very precarious state. One reason for the internal stress is that the country is geographically divided into two parts, East Pakistan and West Pakistan, separated by a thousand miles of Hindu territory. And it cannot be said that under these conditions the two parts are working in full harmony with each other.

At the present moment the language question has become quite acute. Karachi desires to impose Urdu as the language of the entire country, but the inhabitants of East Pakistan maintain that Bengali is their native language and demand official recognition for it. There have been reports of disorders as a result of the language conflict. These disorders are still continuing. Demonstrations and counter-demonstrations are of frequent occurrence; blood has been shed; curfews have been ordered and the streets are being patrolled by the army.

In connection with this state of affairs, it would be interesting to read what the Prime Minister, Khwaja Nazimuddin, has to say about this conflict. At a press conference in Karachi he made the following statement:

"As I see it, the language question could cause serious strife between the two parts of our country. If these differences are allowed to continue and grow, it may lead to a serious conflict between us. I feel that in connection with this language question, which concerns the entire state, and may endanger its existence, I have the right to ask your full support."

Certain circles in India have expressed the conviction that East Pakistan will eventually be forced to rejoin India, because that province, they say, has gained nothing but trouble from the partnership with the Karachi politicians. Perhaps these people are somewhat too optimistic regarding the future of East Pakistan. It would therefore be of interest, I believe, to read the opinion of a young Moslem on these matters. Zalmay Mahmud comes from India and is a student at Columbia University. Quite recently he presented an essay on Pakistan to his Professor, from which I quote the following:

"Pakistan is not likely to outlive her usefulness to England. Indications are clear that Pakistan has

failed in a number of respects. She has failed to produce a rift between India and the Moslem countries and it has suffered setbacks in her bold attempt to gain leadership in the Moslem world. Despite the atrocities, mass imprisonments and secret trials the Pakistan regime has failed to subdue the Pathans of the North-West Frontier and the people of East Pakistan. In these areas the opposition is daily gaining strength."

And he prophesies:

"Some day, when reality emerges out of chaos and the people of Pakistan become aware of the true foundation of their country, the leaders of the Moslem League shall have to pay the price of treason. We may then look forward to an era of peace, understanding and true co-operation among the countries of Asia."

These words have a special significance just because they come from a Moslem writer.

The correspondent of *The New York Times* in Karachi, Mr. Michael James, cabled to his paper the following about Pakistan's economy:

"Pakistan is finding it extremely difficult to sell her raw material on a glutted market. Her principal export of jute is hardly moving. Her long-staple cotton very slowly and short-staple cotton not at all. Economic experts believe Pakistan will probably need considerable aid from the United States, something that has not been necessary before."

Thus, it would appear that the report brought here by the American Ambassador, Mr. Avra M. Warren, is part and parcel of a plan to promote the aid that Pakistan hopes to obtain from America.

At this point it is interesting to note that only a few months ago, the Government of Karachi published a report that its budget has been balanced and that its financial position is on a solid foundation. And now, Pakistan is putting forth its hand—for help!

Of course, one reason for this crisis is probably the fact that the Korea front does not need now as much jute for sacks, the only real product Pakistan is exporting. Another reason is that England has probably ceased to be lavish with its financial aid, as it was in the first years of the State's existence. This is due to the fact that England is now not as flush with funds and also that she is probably no longer very enthusiastic about her Pakistani friends, in view of their behaviour in the international field and at home.

Pakistan, then, is becoming more and more of a headache to the statesmen of the world.

Along with Mr. Warren, Mr. Chester Bowles, the American Ambassador to India, also arrived in the United States for consultation. Mr. Bowles has been trying for some time to carry through a project for assistance to India and both Ambassadors will take up these matters with our State Department.

India, however, is an entirely different matter. It may

be taken for granted that in the course of the next several years, India will surely be in a dominant position in Asia. India is rich in natural resources and its industrial development has made considerable progress. Its farmers and artisans are willing to learn the new methods of production. Besides, the Hindus are a peaceful and highly moral people.

Pakistan is poor, the population is ignorant and fanatical. The Government has involved the country in intrigues and wars. The main justification for Pakistan's existence as a separate state was its particular religion, Islam. But there are more than forty million Moslems

living in the rest of India and not only do they live in peace and contentment with their Hindu neighbors, but they occupy high positions in the country. They are members of the Indian Cabinet, leaders in the ruling Congress Party and close friends of Mr. Nehru.

Washington will certainly have to weigh the matter very carefully before deciding whether it pays to support such a government as that of Karachi and to what extent such aid should be given. American statesmen must bear in mind the interests of India. England has armed Pakistan against India—America cannot and must not do this.

New York, June 20, 1952

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HOW THE GREAT MUGHALS GOVERNED INDIA

By PROF. N. B. ROY, M.A.,
Visva-Bharati

INDIA under the Mughals became fabled for her wealth. The account of the splendour of the royal court, the majesty and beauty of the palaces and mosques in Delhi and Agra, Lahore and Ajmer, travelled to distant parts of the world. The blind poet Milton by "darkness and dangers compassed round" visualized the wealth of India, when he wrote :

"High on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormuz or of Ind
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
Satan exalted sat"

while the poet Dryden in his drama *The Tragedy of Aurangzeb* unveiled the scenes of the War of Succession amongst the sons of Shahjahan.

At the root of this opulence, the fame of which had spread abroad, lay the high political ideal of her rulers, their talent for government, and certain institutions of which an outline is given here.

First and foremost in importance was the new pattern of kingship that was evolved under the Mughals. The interests of the brethren of the faith was the sole concern of the Sultans of Delhi; they took little account of the wishes and aspirations of the children of the soil who differed from them in faith. The motive force behind their government was the expansion of the sway of Islam with a view to the aggrandizement of the Moslems and the propagation of their creed.

MUGHAL KINGSHIP

This policy was completely discarded during the Mughal period and the aim of the royal ideal was declared to be "the alleviation of the distress of the times and improvement of the condition of man." Royalty was now pronounced to be "a light emanating

from God," manifested in a "paternal love towards the subjects," in disregard of the sectarian differences. Abul Fazl defined *Padishah* as the origin of stability, from the compound of *Pad* meaning stability with *Shah* signifying origin or Lord, and found its *raison d'être* in "the subduing of the wickedness of men and their evil propensity and in the removal of that cloud of ignorance which cause people to look upon the perpetration of bloodshed and cruelty as a religious command."

According to him :

A king "possessing a ray of divine wisdom independent of other men, perceived the element of harmony in a multitude of things or sometimes as reversely, a multitude of things in that which is definitely one, and was removed from joy and sorrow."

Kingship was thus conceived to be an institution for the good of man and not an office designed for the propagation of a particular creed or for the gratification of the vanities of a particular individual. It was thus lifted from the narrow pedestal on which it stood to a majestic height from which a king could view, unaffected by considerations of personal gain or loss, the welfare of all men. Between this Mughal or rather Akbari conception of kingship, and that of contemporary Europe, scholars have detected a remarkable coincidence. *Farr-i-Yezdi* of Abul Fazl had its near parallel in the Grand Monarque's conception of his "holding as it were, the place of God and of his having full disposition of the goods of subjects, both lay and clerical, and the English king James's idea of ruling by 'Right Divine,' but this resemblance is more

1. Blochmann : *Ain-i-Akbari*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 3.
2. *Ibid*, p. 247.
3. *Ibid*, p. 172.

apparent than real. Indian polity of the 16th century with its principle of *sulh-i-kul* (peace to all) and freedom of religious worship had a wider basis than the European dispensation of the contemporary epoch, with the slogan of *Cujus regio, ejus religio*. There was another very important aspect in which the monarchies of the East and the West differed. The oriental kingship was untrammelled in its exercise of power by any human institution and could ride roughshod over popular sentiments and aspirations. Not so the monarchies of the West who were opposed by the Parliament or the Estates or the Diet. Louis XIV who gave utterance to his absolutist pretensions in the phrase *Le tat ces moi* had to use bribery on a large scale to purchase the recalcitrant members of the Estates, while the history of the Stuart kings was the account of a long struggle between them and the Parliament. The political evolution of Europe was determined by two ideas that the Middle Ages had given birth to; (i) the grouping of the people into organized political bodies, and (ii) the system of representation. In India, where no such things existed, except in the remote antiquity, despotism was the norm across the ages, crippling the initiative of the people for material improvement and stunting their growth into articulate self-reliant individuals.

CENTRAL STRUCTURE

It is a patent fact that the Mughal kingship hedged round by the divinity was of the typical absolutist form. All authority, executive, legislative and judicial was centred in the hands of the king, but he delegated his powers to four ministers: (i) the High Diwan or the Wazir, (ii) the Mir Bakhshi (the Inspector-General of the Army), (iii) the Khan-i-Saman or Lord High Steward and (iv) Sadr-us-Sadur (the Royal Almoner).

Finance is the bed-rock upon which all governments rest and the High Diwan, being in charge of it, naturally held the key to the administration and enjoyed precedence over his colleagues. He initiated the policy which led to the alleviation of the agriculturists' burden and the material prosperity of the country. He distributed the assignments (*jagirs*) among the high officers who naturally looked to him for support. Next in importance but possessing co-ordinate powers was the Mir Bakhshi who checked the branding (*dagh-o-tash*) of the Mansabdars' contingents and held their review. He was thus charged with the supervision of the military apparatus that guaranteed internal peace and defence of the country. He issued a certificate (*sarkhat*) detailing the number and the state of the contingents, after the necessary branding and inspection, which entitled the Mansabdars to the enjoyment of their pay in cash or kind, granted by the Emperor. He recruited the Abadis and Dakhilis and drew up the roster of the

watches of the palace. These functions gave him a commanding influence in the court where he occupied a seat to the right of the Emperor. The third Minister, Khan-i-Saman, was vested with the control of the Imperial household, the state manufactories producing varieties of stuffs, such as jewellery and equipments of the army, and maintenance and supervision of the aviary, menagerie, parks for deer, draught cattle for the army and a host of supplementary duties. The royal palace at Agra or Delhi, with the Darbar halls and the seraglio inhabited by five thousand women under Akbar and a host of eunuchs, valets and guards formed a city by itself. The administration of this city, including the supply of delicacies of royal table, e.g., ice from Kashmir, fruits from Iraq and Central Asia, and drinking water from the Ganges endowed him with high prestige and put him on a footing of equality with the other officers mentioned above.

The government of the Mughals was secular in character; yet a high religious functionary who commanded the universal respect of the Moslem world by his religious lore and probity in life was regarded as an indispensable adjunct of the administration. The Quran speaks of the saints (*awliyas*) as friends of God "on whom no fear shall come and who shall not grieve." These ascetics and mystics who were raised to the status of Perfect Men (*Insan-i-Kamil*) by the mystical speculations of the 13th and 14th centuries were believed to be the motive force behind "the invisible government of the universe."⁴ Their maintenance as well as that of the theologians and jurists who constituted the guardian of the Moslem society was considered a sacred obligation and the first important charge of the Sadr. The vast power of patronage left in his hands, virtually arrogated to him the position of a Pontiff of the Indian Islamic Church. No wonder, the Emperor Akbar honoured Shaikh Abdun-nabi (Sadr from 1563-1587) by holding the slipper before his feet. The High Sadr was, however, shorn of much of his dignity in 1581, when his function of appointing the Qazi was taken up by the Emperor personally, and exercise of charities distributed among the six provincial Sadrs.⁵ Sayyid Miran regained some dignity of this office by his liberal endowments and promotion to 4-hazari; Sayyid Jalal Bukhari rehabilitated still further the influence of the office under Shah Jahan, but under Aurangzib who supervised the minute details of the administration, Sadrs like Abid Khan and Rizwi Khan, degenerated into mighty clerks.

These four high officials under the supreme direction of the crown directed the mighty machine that determined the lot of the millions of people in India. They were not bound by any ancient usage or any

4. Von Grunbaum *Medieval Islam*, pp. 136-39.

5. *Akbar Nama*, A.S.B. Text, III, p. 37.

body of rules to meet together collectively in a committee or council to arrive at a common agreement on any matter, nor were they accountable for their actions to any authority other than the king. The essence of good government, says Sidney Low, is the power to find the proper man to hang if things go wrong. In the system of government under the Mughals, the people had no Buckingham to arraign or Earl of Strafford to execute. The remedy against misrule was rebellion. Notwithstanding this defect in the Central Government inherent in absolutism, the salient feature was that its different parts rested upon equipoise, and worked without any jerk or jolt. The Diwan, in control of the department of Finance, supervised and regulated the expenditure on the army and the imperial household and thus acted as an indirect check on the Mir Bakhshi and Mir Saman. The former, on account of his influence and authority over the armed forces of the empire, could aspire to upset the equilibrium, but he was handicapped by the control of equipage by the Mir-Saman. Thus the system of checks and balances was so devised that the different parts of the machine could work smoothly.

These official heads, barring the Mir-i-Saman, had their counterpart in the *subahs* of the provinces where, again, the administrative machinery was kept in gear by their mutual dependence and collaboration.

MANSABDARI SYSTEM : ITS MERITS

A salient feature of the Mughal government was that it was *not* conducted by an army of occupation distributed in various garrisons; but by a bureaucracy of officials. All the grantees and dignitaries of the empire, from Subahdar, Faujdar, Mushrif (accountant), police official (kotwal), Superintendent of posts (Darogha-i-dak-chauki), down to the table-attendant of the emperor⁶ were enrolled in the graded military hierarchy known as the *Mansab*. The basis of this system was the old feudal obligation of supply of troopers in return for service and the obtaining of cash allowance or a *jagir*. But the emperor Akbar who was the founder of this system gave the old feudal institution a new mould by incorporating civil officials, e.g., poets like Abul Fazl, Fayyazi (4 Sadi), physicians like Hakim Misri (4 Sadi), painters and calligraphists like Khwaja Abdus Samad Shirin Qalam (4 Sadi) into this aristocratic order and making their rank nominal, that is to say, freeing them from the obligation of contributing the contingent equivalent to the number of the rank. The Mansabdars were divided into 33 grades, commencing from 5,000 down to 20 in the beginning, of which those from 3,000 upwards were designated as Umrah-i-Azam or Umdat-ul-Mulk, from 500 to 2,500 as umrahs (nobles), while from 20 to 400 were called only Mansabdars. An additional differentiation in rank was introduced by division of each

class (from 5,000 downwards) into three grades. Each of these classes carried a fixed rate of salary, paid either in cash or in assignment, out of which he was required to maintain draught cattle and troopers. Abul Fazl's table given by Blochmann in the *Ain* will help to make the matter clear.

Comman- der of	Horses	Elephants	Beasts of burden, and carts with strings of mules	Salary, monthly (in rupees)		
				1st Grade	2nd Grade	3rd Grade
5000	340	100	260	30000	29000	28000
500	30	12	27	2500	2300	2100
10	4	—	—	100	82½	75

The important feature of this system was that this rank was a nominal mark of distinction and did not necessarily imply any obligation to maintain the number of troopers corresponding to the respective ranks. Hence it was called *zat*. Towards the close of Akbar's reign an additional mark of distinction called *sawar* was introduced. Thus a Mansabdar was henceforth designated as 5,000 *zat*/3,000 *sawar*, 4,000 *zat*/2,000 *sawar*, and so on, the number of the *sawar* rank determining the precedence in the hierarchy. This rank, again, was nominal without the officer being required to maintain the contingent equal to the *sawar* rank.

SAWAR RANK, NOMINAL

Some scholars would have us believe that the holder of this rank had to maintain the full complement of the cavalry denoted by the number of the rank. But the evidences which are adduced by them contradict rather than support this contention. Shah Beg Khan, Khan-i-Dauran 6,000 *zat*/5,000 *sawar* brought to the master only 1,000 cavalry which caused satisfaction to the Emperor Jahangir. At the time of Shah Jahan's coronation, Asaf Khan Yaminuddaulah 8,000 *zat*/8,000 *sawar* passed in review, only 5000 troopers for which he was promoted. Mr. Abdul Aziz would, however, explain this fact by saying that the *sawar* mansab had become a fiction at the end of Jahangir's reign and that Shah Jahan made a regulation limiting the number of contingent to only one-third and one-fourth of the *sawar* rank.⁷ At what period, then, did the rank and the number of troops correspond?

The contingents supplied by the Mansabdars constituted the main element of the Mughal army which was not necessarily a vast and unwieldy force. According to Monserrate, Akbar's force during the Kabul expedition in 1581 was only 45,000 cavalry, 5,000 elephant and many thousand infantry.⁸ In 1646,

7. Abdul Aziz: *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*. p. 76.

8. Monserrate's *Commentary*, p. 89. Vincent Smith holds that the expeditionary force included part of the Imperial service troops,

6. Blochmann: *Ain* I, p. 534.

Prince Murad was deputed to the Balkh expedition at the head of 50,000 cavalry and 10,000 footmen, though the real strength of Shah Jahan's army is reckoned at a much higher figure.⁹

DID THE MUGHALS RULE BY FORCE ?

Force is the basis upon which every government rests. The large array of the commissioned officers graded in serried ranks with their high-sounding titles, such as Itimaduddaulah, Yaminuddaulah should not create the illusion that the Mughals ruled by mailed fist. They ruled rather by a show of force than actual resort to it, so that to the great mass of the Indian people the great Mughal remained the symbol of a beneficent authority that cherished and protected the peace-loving against the violence of the wrongdoer. In 1788, occurred an incident which illustrates the truth of the statement. That year an English civil servant Thomas Twining was returning from Delhi with a small escort of sepoy, when a band of Gujar horsemen was seen galloping towards him. At once the escort put a screen round the *sahib's palqi* and shouted forth saying *Padishah ka harem ka Bibi* (a lady of the imperial seraglio) and the cry produced magical effect upon the brigands who galloped back to their place without laying their violent hand upon the travellers.¹⁰

The merit of this system was that it was not the monopoly of the privileged few; but its members were drawn from the reservoir of the ancient ruling dynasties of Rajputana, the Hindu fighting tribes and professional castes of Upper India, the shoals of immigrant Iranian adventurers, and from the casteless fraternity of Islam long settled in India, such as the Shaikhzadas of Lucknow, the Khanzadas of Mewat and the Barha Sayyids of Muzaffarnagar.

The Government of China under the T'ang dynasty is said to have become a marvel of efficiency¹¹ because its civil service being democratically selected from the people by a system of open competitive examination, came ultimately to be restricted to the ablest of them. In Mughal India there was no written test for appointment to the government service as in China, but the Mansabdari system was so designed as to grant opportunity of competition for leadership to all ranks of people recruited into the service. Humble men like Medini Rai Chauhan, Patra Das and Todar Mal rose by sheer ability. The recruits ascended step by step up the rung of official ladder, a fact attested

by Badauni¹² and Bernier. It is "an invariable custom" says the acute French observer, "to pass gradually from small salaries and inconsiderable offices to situations of greater trust and emoluments. The Omrahs therefore mostly consist of adventurers from different nations . . . and are generally persons of low descent, some originally having been slaves."¹³ Leadership in the public service was thus achieved not necessarily by means of low flattery and servile cunning, but by exhibition of superior practical ability and devotion to the cause of the Emperor as compared with those of his compatriots. The system kept the members employed in a fierce competition throughout life and as such contributed to the administrative efficiency. It was thus a singular device contrived by the master mind of Akbar to solve the problem of government by reconciling the aristocratic bent of Hinduism with the democratic genius of Islam.

DEMERITS OF THE LAW OF ESCHEAT

The advantages of the system were, however, rendered nugatory by the inexorable operation of the Law of Escheat as a result of which, says Bernier :

"The Omrahs of Hindustan cannot be proprietors of land or enjoy an independent revenue like the nobility of France. Their income consists exclusively of pension which the king grants or takes away according to his pleasure."

This strange law under which all income earned during a lifetime was forfeited to the State, was productive of the most baneful consequences.

Firstly, it intensified the tendency for vain display, wastefulness and frivolous indulgences and thus sapped away the vitality of the warrior elements of the nation. There were, no doubt, nobles like Sayyid Shahib Khan Nishapuri, Ali Mardan Khan who contributed to the country's development by irrigation works, but the large majority of them cared, as De Laet says, "only to indulge themselves while they can in every kind of pleasure."¹⁴ On *harem*, money was lavished with unstinted liberality.¹⁵ A nobleman, Asaf Khan Qiwamuddin, sent away 100 damsels during the last illness preceding his death out of his harem. Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka openly avowed his profligate tastes by saying :

"A wealthy man needs four wives, an Iraqi for companionship, a Khorasani for house-keeping, an Indian for cohabitation and a Transoxlanian for flogging (*shalaq*)."¹⁶

Another Said Khan kept 1,200 well-shaped comely eunuchs.¹⁷ The harem containing bevy of ladies and platoons of eunuchs was a sore spot in the medieval

besides considerable contingents. Blochmann computes Akbar's cavalry, musketeers and artillery force at 25,000. The Imperial stable contained 12,000 horses from which he estimates the number of cavalry to have been only 12,000 (*Ain*, I, p. 256).

9. Blochmann : *Ain*, p. 254.

10. Sarkar : *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, p. 458.

11. "Seldom," says Dr. Latourette, "has any large group of mankind been so prosperous and so nearly contented as were the Chinese under this governmental machinery when it was dominated by the ablest of monarchs."

12. Badauni : *A.S.B. Text*, p. 190.

13. Bernier : *Travels*, Constable Ed., p. 212.

14. Hoyland and Banerji : *Empire of the Great Mughal*, p. 90.

15. Shah Nawaz Khan : *Maasir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 113.

16. *Ibid*, I, p. 690.

17. *Ibid*, II, pp. 405-40.

Moslem life. Secondly, having no permanent ties to the soil, the nobility were ready to transfer their services to the highest bidder, thus accentuating the rivalry among the princes and indirectly fomenting the struggle for succession. Thirdly, the want of attachment for any particular region or locality militated against their natural tendency for standing forth as the spokesmen of the common man during the time of political turmoil. A stable and conservative element of population is often an effective safeguard against violent political changes. The absence of a land-owning nobility in India thus tended to accelerate the disintegration of the Empire with the aftermath of political anarchy and chaos in the late 18th century. Fourthly, it stifled the development of the country's industry and commerce by taking away from the nobility the incentive for the accumulation of capital which is indispensable for the economic growth of a nation. Lastly, the upper strata of society by their example of luxurious and profligate lives tended to degrade the national tastes and the cultural level of the country. The practice of keeping concubines and the expenditure of all savings on the ornaments of the womenfolk became the fashion among all classes of men, so that Bernier regretfully remarks :

"Although the Empire of the Mughals is such an abyss for gold and silver, these precious metals are not in greater plenty than elsewhere, because a large quantity is melted, remelted and wasted in fabricating women's bracelets, both for the hands and feet, chains, ear-rings, nose and finger rings and a still larger quantity is consumed in manufacturing embroideries; alchas or striped silken stuff, touras or fringes of gold lace . . . All the troupes from the Omrahs to the man in the ranks will wear gilt ornaments; nor will a private soldier refuse them to his wife and children, though the whole family should die of hunger."¹⁹

In the face of these drawbacks, some scholars would persist in maintaining that the law of escheat acting as a sort of death-duty "was an advantage rather than a shortcoming."

JUSTICE AND PUBLIC CHARITY

The ideal aimed at by the great Mughals in the administration of justice was indeed very high, but the system was very different from that of the British system in vogue at present in our country. In the semi-feudal order of society justice could not take the abstract and universal character of the present age. It was regarded as a possessory right, bound up with the possession of land or the holding of a high administrative portfolio. Thus there existed a variety of courts—that of the Emperor, the Diwan, the Chief Qazi at the capital, the courts of the opposite numbers in the provinces, Qazi's courts in the cities and *qasbas* (townlets) and panchayats in the villages. Besides these government courts, there must have

existed unauthorized tribunals for the settlement of petty disputes, under the authority of the Jagirdars, Aimadars, trade and caste guilds. These courts were not linked together in a hierarchy like those of the present times, nor were they guided by a single jurisprudence. Yet, the measure of social security achieved by them was great. This happy feature was due to the Emperor's love of justice, Akbar declared :

"I would rise in judgment against myself, if I were guilty of an unjust act."

According to Abul Fazl, Akbar in his court made "no difference between the relative and the stranger, no distinction between a chief of chiefs (*beglar begi*) and a tangle-haired beggar (*julidahmui*)."²⁰ According to Ovington, there was no "pleading of peeridge or privilege before the Emperor (Aurangzeb) . . . The meanest man is soon heard by him as the Chief Omrah."²¹ This high standard of justice is well-illustrated in the cases decided by them and recorded in the chronicles. Here are a few of them cited from the reign of Akbar, Jahangir and Aurangzeb.

(i) *Chengiz Khan vs. Mother of Jujhar Khan* (1574) : The above grandee had put to death Jujhar Khan. On the complaint being made by his mother, Akbar ordered a full investigation and when the culprit was declared guilty, he was sentenced to death and executed. These events came as a surprise to the people of Gujrat so that Abul Fazl records that this act of justice lit the lamp of guidance to the people (*umum-i-khelayeq azin daddehi chiragh-i-hidayat afrokhta gasht*).²²

(ii) *Mirza Aziz Koka vs. Father of Alauddin* (Amil) : The Amil was beaten to death by one of the Mirza's servants. When the complaint was made by the father of the murdered officer, Akbar ordered the trial of the Mirza in an ordinary court of justice. The latter, however, paid compensation to the plaintiff as sanctioned by the *Shara* and went into voluntary retirement.²³

(iii) Father Monserrate records that Akbar had caused his "Chief Trade Commissioner to be strangled to death for having debauched a Brahmin girl."²⁴

(iv) *Husang vs. Crown* : The nobleman who was a nephew of the Khan-i-Alam had caused the murder of a man of humble circumstance. The news having reached the ears of Jahangir, he ordered an investigation into the case and condemned the culprit to death when his guilt was established.²⁵

(v) *Muqarrab Khan vs. A Widow* : The above dignitary had forcibly taken away the widow's

19. *Akbar Nama*, III, p. 32.

20. Ovington : *Voyage of Surat*, p. 120.

21. *Akbar Nama*, III, p. 32.

22. *Akbar Nama*, III, p. 266.

23. Monserrate's *Commentaries*, p. 212.

24. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan : *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 327.

daughter into his harem where she was murdered by one of his servants. On the guilt being proved, Jahangir punished the Khan by confiscating half of his *jagir*, the proceeds of which were paid to the aggrieved woman by way of compensation.²⁵

(vi) *Mirza Tafakhkhur vs. Crown*: Tafakhkhur was the son of the Prime Minister, Asad Khan's daughter and closely related with the Emperor Aurangzeb. This fellow had won notoriety by his lewdness and villainy. Once he caused the bride of Ghanshyam belonging to the Imperial artillery to be forcibly dragged into his harem by beating off her people. There was a sensation over this matter in the ranks of the artillery who were pacified by the governor Aqil Khan. The molested woman was rescued and taken to Aqil Khan's house. Aurangzeb punished his relation by ordering his internment in the fort of Delhi and of his mother Qamrunnisa as well, in case of her resistance. The Prime Minister passed the sentence of fifty stripes upon his grandson which, however, was not given effect to, on account of the Emperor's objection.²⁶

During the first half of Akbar's reign, the department of judiciary was headed by the Sadr-us-Sudur who appointed the Qazis and the Muftis, but after the dismissal of Shaikh Abdun Nabi, the Qazi at the court assisted by Mir Adl constituted the highest court of justice. This inference is suggested by the (i) tenor of the counsel administered by Akbar to Shah Beg Tabrizi, Mir Adl of the camp and also (ii) by the appointment of a special tribunal consisting of the Sadr Mir Fatehullah Shirazi, Bakhshi Shahbaz Khan and Shah Beg Tabrizi for the trial of Shiqdar Alahwardi Khan of Sialkot. Under Jahangir the Qazi and the Mir Adl of the court occupied positions of high honour and were exempted from making *sidah*. Under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb they acted as high priests in the weddings in the royal family. But during the same period the High Sadr continued to function. For instance, during the term of Abdul Wahhab as Chief Justice²⁷ Abid Khan and Rizvi Khan acted as Sadr. How, then, the statement of certain writers that the offices of the Sadr, the Qazi-ul-Quzat and Mir Adl rolled into one can be taken as correct?

THE IMPERIAL CHARITY

Charity administered through the Sadr was on a scale befitting the high state of the Emperors. The recluses and the needy who thronged at the royal gate were given liberal bounties by Akbar and Jahangir. The former kept small bags of coin on his person and in the royal palace ready for distribution among the suppliants. Jahangir ordered crowds of these needy people to be brought to his presence after two watches

of every night. All the Emperors made gifts of the articles including gold and silver against which they were weighed on their birth anniversaries. Akbar included the Brahmins as well within the circle of beneficiaries. He and his successor Jahangir set up poor houses throughout the empire. Almost every year the Emperors made endowments of land to the Ulema which rose to high proportions. For instance, Jahangir in the ninth year of his reign gave away 1,90,000 bighas of land, fourteen entire villages.²⁸ Shahjahan on his accession granted 4,00,000 bighas of land and twenty entire villages,²⁹ a large bulk of which must have been awarded to the scholars and theologians.

THE RYOT AND LAND REVENUE SYSTEM

The munificent charities, the high state of public officials and the grandeur of the court were maintained out of revenues derived from a variety of sources of which land revenue was the most important. In this sphere as well Akbar, assisted by the genius of Raja Todar Mall gave shape to a system that continues to be the superstructure of our present land revenue organisation. His system defined as *Zabti* was based upon three things: (i) a survey and measurement of the land for which the unit of measurement was fixed; (ii) the classification of land on the basis, not on the quality of the soil but the continuity of cultivation and (iii) the fixation of the assessment rates on the basis of the prices current during the ten years preceding the settlement of cash price, for which Akbar gathered a vast mass of statistical information regarding the gross yield of the various kinds of crops and their relative value in cash price during a period of 19 years (1561-1580).

Akbar's main concern in introducing this system was to secure a contented and a civilized existence for the poor ryot upon whom rested the chariot of the *Juggernaut* of the empire. He put the peasant in secure possession of his holding, made provision for necessary loans in cases of need, and relieved him of the burden of innumerable cesses. As a consequence the poor husbandman could enjoy the fruits of his own garden, graze his own livestock, effect the sale of his house without paying any cess whatsoever to the government. An era of agricultural prosperity ensued, but this seems to have been limited mostly to the crown lands, which formed a fragment of the total land under cultivation, the bulk being set apart in assignments to the Mansabdars. In the latter regions the assignees were under orders of constant transfer, specially from the time of Jahangir onwards, so that the officers tried to screw out as much money out of the peasants as possible, in violation of the regulations in force. As Sir William Hawkins points out:

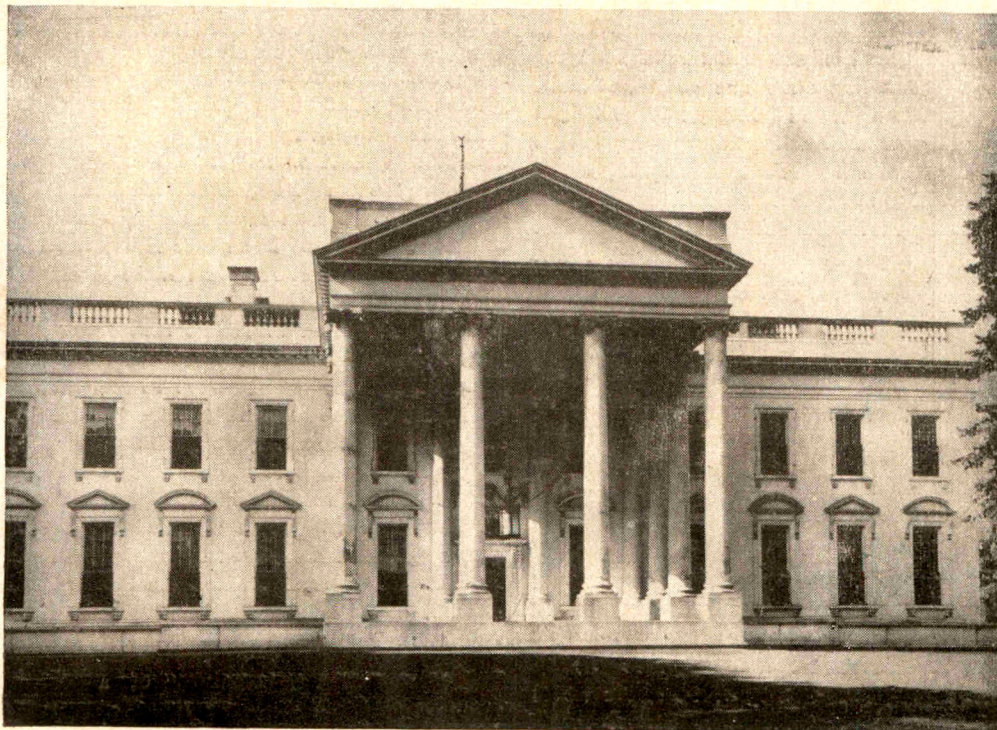
25. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

26. Sarkar: *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*: pp. 101-103.

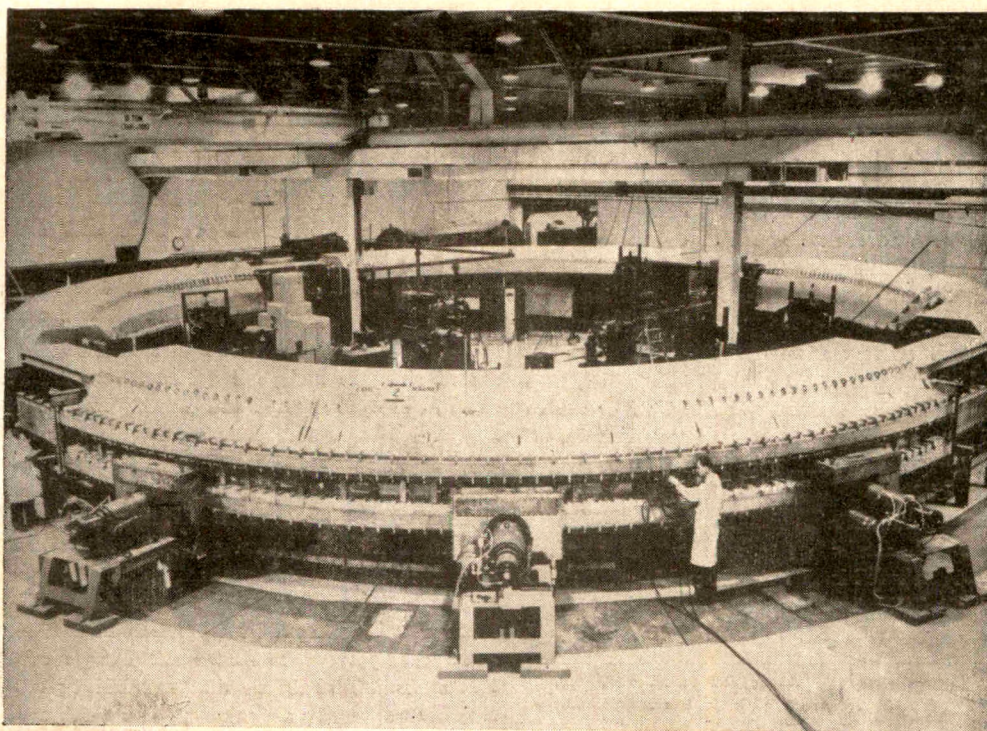
27. Sarkar: English translation of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 88.

28. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Ibid.*, p. 138.

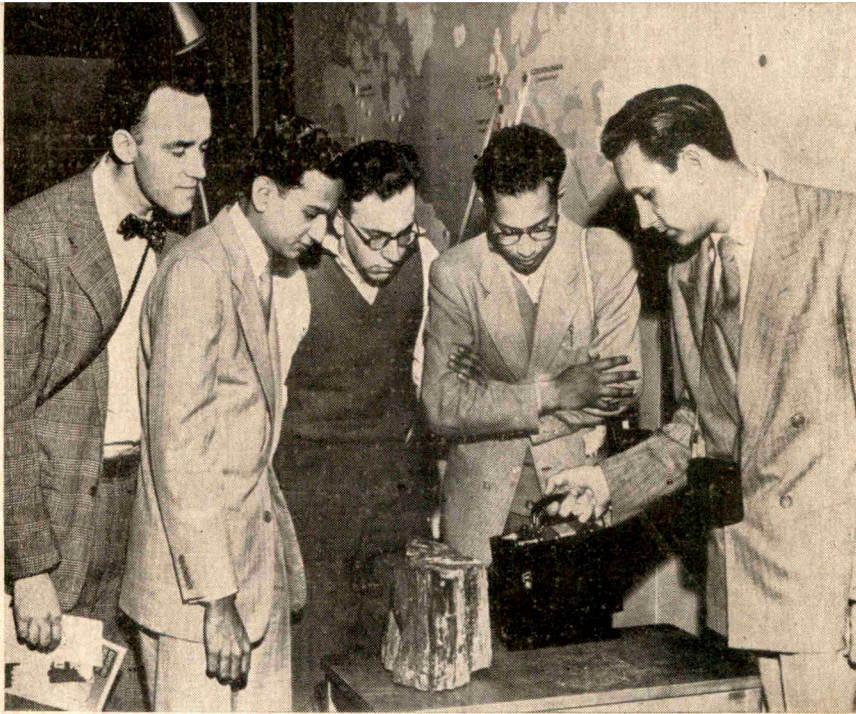
29. Abdul Hamid Lahari: *Badsahnama*, p. 251.



The White House, official residence of the U. S. President in Washington, as it nears completion of its renovation



The giant cosmotron at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, Upton, New York, the first ever made by man to generate a billion-volt charge, can lead to the creation rather than the destruction of matter, reversing the process of the atomic bomb



Andres M. Sada of Mexico, far right, is checking the radio-activity of a piece of petrified wood with a Geiger counter at the museum with S. T. Shah of Bombay and Pares Bhattacharya of Calcutta who were among the 15 Massachusetts Institute of Technology students who recently visited the American Museum of Atomic Energy at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, U.S.A.



Members of a unique goodwill delegation, consisting of eleven students from the University of California, reached Bombay recently and were welcomed on their arrival at Santa Cruz airport by G. N. Desai, Mayor of Bombay

"A man cannot continue half a year in his living, but it is taken from him and given unto another, or else the king taketh it for himself. . . By this means he racketh the poor to get from them what he can. . ."

Thus notwithstanding the vigilance of the Emperors and their exertions, the pincers of the revenue officials were applied on the hapless man behind the plough so that Pelsaert writes, "So much is wrung from the peasants, that even dry bread is scarcely left to fill their stomachs."³⁰ Bernier states :

"The land was seldom tilled otherwise than by compulsion and as no person is found willing and able to repair the ditches and canals for the conveyance of water . . . the whole country is badly cultivated and a great part rendered unproductive for want of irrigation."³¹

The peasant's lot was not, therefore, as joyous as we are told to believe by certain authors. He lived his life amidst abject poverty, yet did not necessarily lose the mother-wit and joviality which distinguishes him even under the present *system of control*. He still indulges in repartee with his fellowmen in the fields and on the highways ; he still sings full-throated songs in chorus when he reaps the harvest and shows his curiosity and interest in his neighbours' affairs. The caravan of the Indian State has passed from age to age without materially affecting the lot of the ryot, until the sweeping agrarian reforms sponsored by the Free Republican Government foreshadow the dawn of a new era for him.*

30. Moreland Ceyl : *The Remonstrance of F. Pelsaert*, p. 45.
31. Bernier : *Ibid.*, pp. 226-7.

* My thanks are due to B. S. Kesvan and Y. M. Mule, C. R. Banerjee and the Assistants of the National Library for the facilities of study granted me in course of the preparation of this paper.

HAROLD LASKI'S CONCEPT OF LAW

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I

THE object of this paper is to deal with the nature and object of law as conceived by Professor Harold Laski. According to the concept of law, as developed by the traditional school of jurisprudence, law is a command of the State-Sovereign who, as will appear from what follows later on, knows no legal limit to his power. Laski's view of law appears to be a challenge to that of the traditional school.

II

Before, however, we deal with Laski's view-point, we may refer to Austin—perhaps the best representative of the classical or traditional school of jurisprudence.

"Every positive law," says Austin,¹ "or every law simply and strictly so called, is set by a sovereign body of persons, to a member or members of the independent political society wherein that person or body is sovereign or supreme. Or (changing the expression) it is set by a monarch, or sovereign number, to a person or persons in a state of subjection to its author." "Even though," he continues, "it sprung directly from another fountain or source, it is a positive law or law strictly so called, by the institution of that present sovereign in the character of political superior. Or (borrowing the language of Hobbes)² 'the legislator is he, not by whose authority the law was first made, but by whose authority it continues to be a law'."

Again³, "Every positive law, or every law simply and strictly so called, is set, directly or circuitously, by a sovereign person or body, to a member or members of the independent political society wherein that person or body is sovereign or supreme. Or (changing the expression) it is set, directly or circuitously, by a monarch or sovereign number, to a person or persons in a state of subjection to its author."

Austin also says⁴ in this connexion that the sovereign power is "incapable of legal limitation." "Supreme power limited by positive law," he observes, "is a flat contradiction in terms." And a political society, according to him, cannot "escape from legal despotism." "The power of the superior sovereign," he maintains,⁵ "immediately imposing the restraints, or the power of some other sovereign superior to that superior, would still be absolutely free from the fetters of positive law." In short, the State is, *juristically speaking*, unlimited in power and authority.

Such a conception of law does not appeal to Professor Laski. He repudiates the traditional view that, because the State is the ultimate, co-ordinating and unifying authority, one must accept its orders unquestioningly and give one's unqualified allegiance to it against the demands of any other body or association of which one may happen to be a member,

1. See John Austin, *Lectures on Jurisprudence or the Philosophy of Positive Law*, Fifth Edition (Robert Campbell), 1911, Vol. 1, Lecture VI, p. 220.

2. See in this connexion Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Ch. XXVI.

3. See Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

4. See Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

or irrespective of the moral adequacy or otherwise of the orders themselves. Nor does he accept the view that a rule of conduct laid down by the sovereign authority is law simply because it has been so laid down.

"Law for men", says Laski,⁷ "is not the voice of an authority related permanently to some given organ, but the voice of the authority they are prepared to accept."

Further, law for them "has the authority of its substance and not the authority of the legal organ that is its source of reference."⁸

"It is my activity," he maintains, "which gives legality to the law."⁹ Elsewhere he has said,¹⁰ "that positive law must run in the leading-strings of principle, that it is the thing it is seeking to establish which makes it binding upon those whose behaviour it is to control. Men struggle, in fact, against being imprisoned in the categories of formal law because they realise that unfettered authority as such cannot give rise to an obligation which, *a priori*, is entitled to claim allegiance. The very ideal of a *Rechtsstaat* is an effort to make the legal sovereign the subject of purposes outside itself. It is a denial that it can will what it pleases. It is an insistence that it is justified in willing only what satisfies the demands of those over whom it rules."

"Law is, of course," Laski admits,¹¹ "the origin of social peace," and he does not deny for a moment the value of social peace. But he will judge its implications by experience of their result in terms of his own life.

"Law will, in general," he holds,¹² "only appeal as legal to the citizen according as it seems to him genuinely, and not merely on *a priori* grounds, the reflection of a moral order. He will mean by that an order in which the rights he recognizes as valid find place and sanction." And "where they are absent he will," Laski maintains,¹³ "feel entitled to rebel against the demands of law. The experience of citizens, in other words, is the true maker of law."

"Admittedly," he declares,¹⁴ "this involves the thesis that the exercise of authority is surrounded by a penumbra of anarchy."

"Law, therefore," according to Laski,¹⁵ "has to make its way to acceptance through the channels of the mind. And it will convey a different meaning to each mind it encounters because the experience of each mind, the system, therefore, of its wants, are different."

"We can, therefore," he continues,¹⁶ "never guarantee respect for law. We can never say, for instance, that because the King in Parliament has spoken, therefore its will is bound to prevail."

"The real problems," however, he points out,¹⁷ "occur at the margin and not at the centre of law-making." But "those margins are the urgent and controlling facts in any political philosophy which seeks to be true to its total environment."

"Legal right," he insists,¹⁸ "has no meaning for the individual save as he himself makes it have meaning. It has no sanctions save the authority he lends to it by articulating it with his own experience. We are loyal to the demands of the State just to the degree that the articulation accomplished results for us in a satisfied activity." A law to be valid must, therefore, be made "by compounding it from the experiences of its citizens."¹⁹

"Justice," he also observes,²⁰ "implies law." Laws, however, he thinks²¹ are morally neutral; "they are merely decisions which get accepted in the presence of social forces." Laski rejects²² that view of law "which regards it as just merely because of its source of origin."

He even refuses²³ "to take as urgent in the estimate of its claim the fact that it proceeds from good intent." For "good intent may be ignorant or mistaken. It may come from a view of the facts too narrow to hope for adequacy. It may be blind to the extent of the forces it is its business to satisfy."²⁴ "For the end of law," according to him,²⁵ "is the satisfaction of human wants." But that means "not the wants of a few, not the wants deemed right by those applying the law, but the totality of wants encountered by law." Law, therefore, "to be justice, must be the expression of relations found adequate in the experience of men." And "the body of members in a given society" who "desire that their desires should be fulfilled," are the proper judges of its adequacy. "Law, therefore, to be found adequate must," he maintains,²⁶ "be built upon an induction from the widest possible experience it can know. It must attempt 'the reciprocal fitting of needs one to the other.' And this 'reciprocal fitting only takes place where there is equality of power between the parties to the adjustment.'"²⁷

But, although Laski holds that laws "must be built upon a right induction from human experience," so as to "order human relationships rightly," he is aware of the practical difficulties in the making of laws.

No such human experience, he says,²⁸ "can be rightly interpreted unless it is systematically organised and systematically recorded." For "to co-ordinate the innumerable and often conflicting"

7. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 250.

8. See Laski, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

9a. See Laski "Law and the State," *Economica*, November, 1929.

10. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 250.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

23. *Ibid.*, p.p. 275-276.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

social interests into a sufficient wholeness for the purpose of order is the most subtle and delicate of all tasks."

Laws under the present social order seldom express the 'general will' of the community. It is the industrial class which has been controlling the law-making machinery since the beginning of the nineteenth century and the result has been that laws have been passed in favour of those "whose genius has been specialised to the acquisition of fortune under the intricate conditions of a world-market."

These people, Laski points out,²⁸ "sell their service as they can and for what they can, and if public difficulty is involved in their activities, that is no concern of theirs." And "because they are involved in a narrow circle of special interest, they are too limited in their view to grasp the multiform relation of which law must be the expression."²⁹ "Their power," he observes,³⁰ "to equate their partial experience with the total social need inevitably results, not in the making of effective adjustments, but in the undue precipitation of conflict."

Laws passed in such circumstances, fail to meet the needs of the situation.

That is why Laski suggests that an "approximate equality of property" is necessary in a state for enabling "the individual to make his experience duly felt" and for ensuring that its law is "suffused with justice." For, according to him,³¹ "law is not found but made. It is written out of the experience brought home to those who have its ultimate definition in their hands." Otherwise, the law becomes "biased against those whose speech, as law is formulated, goes unheard."³² As a consequence, the law "loses authority because they do not recognise it as implicit with the substance also of their own desires."³³ Further, "it fails to bind them to allegiance because what it ordains benefits, not themselves but others."³⁴

Thus, according to Laski,³⁵ "only when it is based upon an induction to which each interest in the community has contributed does it truly co-ordinate, by creating a genuine, because general, satisfaction." All men, therefore, must "have an equal right to share in the making of law."³⁶ For "the sharing is important to the sanction needed" by the law. Further, "only as our social arrangements make provision for that sharing will they win the loyalty of citizens."³⁷

Moreover, this will make "the concepts of jurisprudence grow out of the facts of life" and thereby

enable us "to supplement the special perspective of the jurist by bringing him into contact with experiences and ideals from which his own environment is alien."³⁸

"Law has," he emphasizes,³⁹ "no moral appeal in any other terms. The legal order only makes itself valid by being the expression of the social order; and the social order means not one only, but the whole of the myriad forces in our midst which are striving to fulfil their wants."

Laski thus refutes the idea that "law is a simple command" of the State—"legal by virtue of the source from which it comes." It is, in truth, "not the will of the State, but that from which the will of the State derives whatever moral authority it may possess."⁴⁰

"It assumes," Laski continues,⁴¹ "that the rationale of obedience is in all the intricate facts of social organization and in no one group of facts . . . It insists that what is important in law is not the fact of command but the end at which the command aims and the way it achieves the end." It views "society not as a pyramid in which the State sits crowned upon the summit, but as a system of co-operating interests through which, and in which, the individual finds his scheme of values."⁴² This alone gives to law "whatever moral rightness it contains." Law, therefore, according to him, is made valid by one's experience of it, and not by the fact that it is presented to one as law.

"Law then," Laski concludes,⁴³ "emerges as the evaluation of the interests by the inter-weaving of interests. It is a function of the whole social structure and not of some given aspect of it. Its power is determined by the degree to which it aids what that whole social structure reports as its desires."

Thus we find that Laski deals with law not so much as a jurist but as a political philosopher. Rather he has often mixed up political philosophy with jurisprudence. While jurisprudence recognizes no legal limit to the power of the State, political philosophy puts a limit to it. Further, he has laid emphasis not on the legal, but on the moral aspect, of law. The authority of the State's will, according to him,⁴⁴ should have "not merely a legal pre-eminence but also a moral pre-eminence, as the fountain of social peace." Thus he becomes a virulent critic of what he considers to be the view of the traditional school of jurisprudence.

III

It may be interesting to note here that, although Austin belongs to this traditional school of jurisprudence, his conception of the purpose or end of law

28. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

does not materially differ from that of Laski. (Austin has never said, as is generally believed, that brute force is the basis of obedience to law.) He has repudiated any idea of compulsion or coercion as the cause of such obedience. He makes this very clear when he declares in his *Lectures on Jurisprudence*⁴⁵ that:

"The proper purpose or end of a sovereign political government, or the purpose or end for which it ought to exist, is the greatest possible advancement of human happiness." "Though," he continues,⁴⁶ "if it would duly accomplish its proper purpose or end, or advance as far as is possible the weal or good of mankind, it commonly must labour directly and particularly to advance as far as is possible the weal of its own community." Further, he maintains⁴⁷ that, although the "habitual obedience" to the sovereign by the bulk of a society "is partly the consequence of custom," or although this "habitual obedience is partly the consequence of prejudices," it "partly arises from a reason bottomed in the principle of utility."

"It partly arises," he continues,⁴⁸ "from a perception, by the generality or bulk of the community, of the expediency of political government: or (changing the phrase) it partly arises from a preference, by the generality or bulk of the community, of any government to anarchy."

The permanence of every government, Austin observes,⁴⁹ "depends on the habitual obedience which it receives from the bulk of the community."

For "if bulk of the community were fully determined to destroy it, and to brave and endure the evils through which they must pass to their object, the might of the Government itself, with the might of the minority attached to it, would scarcely suffice to preserve it, or even to retard its sub-version."⁵⁰ And though "it were aided by foreign governments, and therefore were more than a match for the disaffected and rebellious people, it hardly could reduce them to subjection, or constrain them to permanent obedience, in case they hated it mortally, and were prepared to resist it to the death."⁵¹

Austin has also stated⁵² that

"In all or most cases of human superiority, the relation of superior and inferior, and the relation of inferior and superior are reciprocal. Or (changing the expression) the party who is the superior as viewed from one aspect, is the inferior as viewed from another."

For example, he adds,⁵³ "to an indefinite, though limited extent, the monarch is the superior of the

governed: his power being commonly sufficient to enforce compliance with his will." But "the governed, collectively or in mass, are also the superior of the monarch: who is checked in the abuse of his might by his fear of exciting their anger; and of rousing to active resistance the might which slumbers in the multitude."

All obedience, therefore, according to Austin,⁵⁴ is ultimately *voluntary* or *free*, and "every party who obeys *consents* to obey." In other words, he says,⁵⁵ "every party who obeys *wills* the obedience which he renders, or is determined to render it by some *motive* or another." And "that acquiescence which is purely involuntary, or which is purely the consequence of physical compulsion or restraint, is not obedience or submission."⁵⁶

Lastly, he remarks⁵⁷ that

Since "a government continues through the obedience of the people, and since the obedience of the people is voluntary or free, every government continues through the *consent* of the people, or the bulk of the political society . . . and that, if the bulk of the community ceased to obey, it habitually, the government would cease to exist."

It is, therefore, evident from what has been shown above that Laski hardly does justice to Austin when he says⁵⁸ that

"The State for Austin is a legal order in which there is a determinate authority acting as the ultimate source of power;" that "its authority, . . . is unlimited;" that "it may act unwisely, or dishonestly, or, in an *ethical sense, unjustly*" that "for the purpose of legal theory the character of its actions is unimportant;" that "if they emanate from the authority competent to issue the particular command, they are the law;" and that "*command . . . is of the essence of law*."⁵⁹

The implication of this view of Laski is that, according to Austin, the power of compulsion possessed by the State is the basis of obedience to law on the part of the subject.

But, as we have shown above, this is not the view of Austin, according to whom, the object of law is the greatest possible advancement of human happiness. Thus there is no fundamental difference between the view of Austin and that of Laski so far as the question of the purpose of law and the basis of obedience to it are concerned. Austin has dealt with the question of law as a utilitarian jurist, and Laski has dealt with it as a political philosopher.

45. See Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 290.

47. See Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 294.

49. See Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

52. See Austin, *op. cit.*, Lecture I, p. 97.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

54. See Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 296. (Lecture VI).

55. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

58. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, pp. 50-51.

59. The italics are mine.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MAHATMA GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY OF NON-CO-OPERATION AND NON-VIOLENCE

By PROF. K. RAY CHOWDHURY, M.Sc.,
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I. INTRODUCTION

(a) *Origin of the Paper* : To begin with it may be mentioned that I was made ambitious to write such a paper by the remarks of Dr. Gardener Murphy, Professor, City College, New York, on Mahatma's personality as something obscure during his lecture over the topic "Culture and Personality" under the auspices of the Lucknow University on October 5, 1950. I am quite afraid to draw psychological significance of the philosophy of non-co-operation and non-violence lest it should lose some of its properties. Of course, I shall only deal with one aspect of the principle which has appeared to me due to a sort of reaction to Dr. Murphy's remarks over Gandhiji's personality as revealed from his philosophy of non-co-operation and non-violence. It is rather too much to deny the multifarious aspects the philosophy of non-violence and non-co-operation has, and the magnificent role it has to play for the progress of human society. The first grade nations are quite conscious of that today. And as it does not support Darwin's principles like "struggle for existence" or "survival of the fittest," the capitalistic countries like America or England, etc., cannot realise its importance. Nor even can Russia swallow it in full.

(b) *Frustration-aggression-hypothesis and Gandhiji's Personality* : From a careful analysis of the philosophy it can be well understood that Gandhiji's very weapon of non-co-operation and non-violence is nothing but his firm belief in co-operation as a constant factor in the progress of human society. While discussing about the personality set-up, Dr. Murphy pointed out :

"Frustration without aggression is a lost personality. A child must show the expression of aggression after he has been frustrated. But Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of Non-violence seems to show the contrary view. Hence his personality remains obscure to the European and American writers."

In fact, Dr. Murphy failed to understand the relation between non-co-operation and non-violence as understood by Gandhiji. Non-co-operation is surely an expression of aggression and so non-violence, which is rather a rational way to avoid destruction, cannot cause repression over the mind of a growing child to develop into a successful personality.

II. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

(a) *Personality-traits-approach Not Suitable* : Strictly speaking from the social psychologist's viewpoint it is not possible to draw an overall description of Mahatma's personality as according to their definition of personality, we find that it includes a total

quality of an individual's behaviour. Allport defines personality¹ as "the individual's characteristic reaction to social stimuli* and the quality of his adaptation to the social features of his environment."

Now, for an overall description of an individual's personality, one of the methods the psychologists pursue is the measurement of the commonly recognised personality traits. Allport brings them under the following five heads : (1) Intelligence, (2) Motivity, (3) Temperament, (4) Self-expression, (5) Sociality.²

But, for the study of these traits of Mahatma's personality we have no scope after his death. In spite of that, from the success in his life it can be assumed that Mahatma's personality traits were definitely of a much higher degree than any one of the normal Indians of his time.

(b) *Psycho-analysis as a Suitable Approach* : So actually speaking one of the methods we can use is the analytical study of the mechanisms which regulated the energy of Gandhiji's tendencies and thereafter we can understand the nature of his personality from the analysis of the mode of social life apparent in his philosophy. The study of these mechanisms is possible with the help of Psycho-analysis. Some of these Mechanisms are : (1) Deflection and Sublimation, (2) Canalisation, (3) Objectification, (4) Subjectionification, (5) Idealisation and (6) Platinisation.³ Of course, we can analyse these mechanisms from his life-history.

(c) *Freudian Psycho-analysis Misjudges Gandhiji's Personality* : The mechanism of deflection consists in merely resorting to a substitute activity, whether socially desirable or undesirable. And sublimation is a special case of it. Thus sex-energy may be sublimated into music, religious devotion to a personal deity, etc. The evidence of Mahatma's devotion to Rama, a mythological figure can be obtained from his song *Raghupati Raghava Raja Ram*, etc. Self-assertion may be sublimated into the fight of spirit against the flesh, and pugnacity may be sublimated into fight against the inner or social evil. So, Coffin rightly says :

"It is not simply a redirection but a transformation. It is energy lifted from the bio-psychological level to the psycho-social level; it represents a reorientation not just a substitution."

Even Freud and Unwin say that civilisation itself

1. F. H. Allport : *Social Psychology*, Chapter on Personality.

* A social stimulus means a person or a thing which has a social significance. A red traffic light is as much a social stimulus as a policeman is.

2. *Ibid*, Chapter on Personality.

3. Thouless : *General and Social Psychology*.

is a deflection of sex-energy. If sex-behaviour had not been regulated, man would have remained at the primitive level.

Comparing the shortness of the paper reference to all the mechanisms mentioned above may be omitted. But the mechanism of subjectification is unavoidable for the study of Gandhiji's personality in the context of our subject-matter. Subjectification means turning a tendency on to oneself. For example, aggression may be turned upon oneself resulting in self-torture and delight in self-torture. Now, how should we account for Gandhiji's fasting without the help of subjectification-mechanism? Definitely his aggression turned upon himself was expressed through his habit of fasting. And, how often did he not fast when he had launched his non-co-operation movement during the twenties of the twentieth century.

(d) *Influence of Darwin's Principles and Defects of Freudian Analysis*: Still, the question remains unexplained as to why Gandhiji became masochistic in his adjustment to the environment? The answer of this question and any explanation of his behaviour from Darwin's principles of "struggle for existence" and the "survival of the fittest" will surely fail to grasp the new aspect of human adjustment in the evolution of the society. The answer of the question should really be derived from Peter Kropotkin's view that mutual aid (i.e., co-operation) is a very important factor in the evolution of animal species. If the answer of the question is sought over the background of mutual aid (i.e., co-operation) the sense of humiliation attached to the process of masochism will lose much of its generally accepted and expected value. In fact, the defect of Darwin's theory in organic evolution has been rightly observed by Kimball Young who says:

"Perhaps Charles Darwin overstressed open conflict for survival, but the work of Peter Kropotkin and a host of students of animal behaviour since has shown us that mutual aid also plays a part in the development of both species and individuals."⁴

Hence the theory should not always be tried upon the social phenomena in connection with the evolution of the society or, in other words, upon the personality of an individual who is a component of the society. For, it is liable to make the same kind of error as observed in the organic evolution.

(e) *Justification of the Present Method Adopted*: Now as regards our method of analysis the objection may be raised that the explanation of a personality with the acceptance of the principles like "struggle for existence" or "mutual aid" is not psychological but rather biological. In fact, the objection is not genuine. For, we know that psychology has now-a-days become a science that deals with human experience and

behaviour. As such any expression of behaviour of an individual can be studied under psychology. Moreover, there is a branch of psychology which is known as Genetic and Comparative psychology. For the better understanding of human behaviours this branch of psychology collects facts about the behaviours even of the animals from its simplest form to the most complicated one in different life-situations. So, the modes of social life of the human beings can be traced back to the lower animals. Hence the knowledge of the evolutionary ideas is used for the explanation of human behaviours. Even the sociological or political ideas may be utilised for the better understanding of the workings of the human mind. So far psychology utilises these evolutionary or sociological or even political ideas and thoughts for the understanding of the human mind, it does not lose its own entity. Here also in this paper these ideas will be utilised just after getting a brief account of the different modes of social life of the human beings.

III. CO-OPERATION Vs. OPPOSITION AS A FACTOR OF EVOLUTION

As regards the human beings' modes of social life Kimball Young says that

"Two basic social and individual interactional processes are revealed in the relations between in-groups and out-groups: opposition and co-operation. Opposition may take the form of competition or conflict."⁵

The same thing has been told in different languages by Katz and Schank. They have classified these human responses into co-operation, competition (rivalry), conflict and accommodation.⁶

The social modes like competition, conflict and accommodation confirm Darwin's principles, "struggle for existence," and "survival of the fittest." It has been a very common practice for the sociologists and social psychologists to draw the analogy of struggle for existence in almost all the aspects of social evolution. To show the union of two cultures it has been a dangerous practice to talk of fight between the cultures. One dominates and the other becomes submissive. Evidences can be obtained from literatures of almost every first grade nations. Very often they speak of cultural conquest. In fact, such explanations prepare only an attitude for fighting. What could be best termed as a union over a co-operative basis is most cautiously depicted as a conquest of one culture over another. Not only that even a personality like that of Mahatma Gandhi remains a puzzle for them. It is because they cannot see it from the angle of co-operation. They are ready to commit blunders but not ready to correct their path.

4. Kimball Young: *Handbook of Social Psychology*, p. 14.

5. *Ibid*, p. 6.

6. Katz and Schank: *Social Psychology*, Ch. II, p. 100.

IV. CO-OPERATION AS A SOCIAL MODE OF BEHAVIOUR

Co-operation as a social mode of behaviour is not an invention of the human beings. The tendency to co-operate seems to be as much fundamental as those of competition, conflict and accommodation. It is found in animals, in primitive people, in children and in civilised adults. Empedocles, Shaftsbury, Espinas, William Patten and many others advocate that along with a drive for self-preservation these are also drives that go beyond personal advantage. Cells remain attached together even after their division. W. M. Wheeler asserted that among insects there is "a general reservoir of pre-social traits from which, given the proper opportunities, society really emerges." He pointed out that even the "solitary" wasps are co-operative members. Now about the nature of the co-operative response Alec has said that at the lowest levels it is unconscious, a sort of "automatic mutualism" but its effect is the same, namely, an advantage to all concerned.⁷

V. GANDHIAN NON-CO-OPERATION AS A POSITIVE AGGRESSION Vs. PSYCHOTIC'S NON-CO-OPERATION AS A NEGATIVE AGGRESSION

So in terms of W. C. Alec co-operation gives advantage to all the members of the society. In other words we can say that it constructs the society and non-co-operation is what destroys it. Non-co-operation, therefore, is surely an expression of aggression. In this sense the expression of non-co-operation on the part of an individual does not imply that his libido energy is withdrawn from the objective reality and made to reside in the subjective reality as the psychotic patient does. But rather the individual is in a position to punish the society by stopping his interactional process of co-operation even without applying any physical violence. In this sense the philosophy of non-co-operation and non-violence is no longer a philosophy of divine nature and must be avoided by worshipping it (as it is now-a-days happening in the hands of the present Indians) or a philosophy of a lost personality (as it is understood by Dr. Murphy and others) but rather a scientific truth. If the scientific value of the philosophy is any day realised and accepted, it shall give a knock-out blow to many of the psychological theories which are based upon Darwinism and compel a revision of many of the mechanisms in an individual's life-adjustments, which have been forwarded by psycho-analysis—say, for instance, subjectification associated with the process of masochism which again carries a sense of humiliation. In fact, the error of interpretation is due to an error in the angle of approach to the problem.

VI. GANDHIAN NON-CO-OPERATION IN KROPOTKIN-SITUATION Vs. PSYCHOTIC'S NON-CO-OPERATION IN DARWIN-SITUATION

The situation where non-co-operation is a sign of positive aggression (*i.e.*, opposite to the negative aggression over the self) and needs no physical violence further, differs from the situation where non-co-operation means the loss of interest in the environment and signifies the behaviour of a lost personality (*i.e.*, a result of negative aggression). In the former the society primarily depends upon the individual whereas in the latter the individual primarily depends upon the society. In the former the individual is in an advantageous position to help the society whereas in the latter the individual seeks help from the society. In the second situation the individual lives in fantasy or imaginary world after he has met frustration, being deprived of the help from the society. But in the first situation the individual stops giving help to the environment after he has met frustration. For simplification let us term the first situation as Kropotkin-situation and the second situation as Darwin-situation. It can be best explained with the help of an example from a unitary family composed of husband and wife only. Say for instance, if a loveable wife upon whose management the whole household affairs depend suddenly stops co-operating for any reason whatsoever, the husband will surely be punished as an act of this kind threatens the very existence of his comfortable nest. So in the Kropotkin-situation the process of non-co-operation is accompanied by the process of non-violence. In the Kropotkin-situation, the type of aggression is non-violent and constructive as well, for it can be controlled to a large extent if it is properly handled within certain limits whereas in the Darwin-situation the aggression through the physical force is violent and destructive, for it cannot be controlled against destruction of some degree, be it major or minor.

VII. NO EQUIVALENT INSTINCT FOR GANDHIAN NON-CO-OPERATION IN FREUDIAN LITERATURE

Now as regards the corresponding instincts for the aggressive behaviours in Kropotkin and Darwin-situations, Freudian literature stands vague. Hence the explanation of Mahatma's personality remains obscure. In Freudian literature the non-violent and constructive aggression meets no equivalent instinct although the violent and destructive aggression finds its equivalent instinct in Thanatos. Thanatos is the death-instinct. While proposing death-instinct in opposition to Eros, the principle of life and growth, Freud said to himself :

"Very well, the instincts of self-preservation and propagation of the species, though having different immediate goals, are ultimately alike in being aimed at growth and increase of life. Let them be combined into an inclusive life instinct, and what have we got left to oppose them? What indeed, except a death instinct!"⁷⁸

7. W. C. Alec : *The Social Life of Animals*, Ch. II.

To speak in Woodworth's language, Freud's explanation of the two polarity principles, (1) Eros, the principle of life and growth, the loving and constructive and (2) Thanatos, the principle of decay and death, the hateful and destructive, we may say :

"Just as the libido is generated within the organism but attaches itself to the external objects, so also with the death instinct. It maintains itself for the most part not as a desire to die but as a desire to kill. Turned outward it is the urge to destroy, injure, conquer. It is the hostility motive, the aggressive tendency, which certainly manifests itself abundantly. Finding something outside to destroy, it does not need to destroy the self. But when frustrated in external aggression, it is likely to turn back upon the self as a suicidal tendency."

All through these explanations, it is clear that Freud based his psychological theories derived from Darwin-situation and has confused the Kropotkin-situation by merging it into the former. That is why Freud thinks, "Man's constructive activities are at the same time destructive."⁸ In fact, it should be clearly defined and instincts should be classified for both the situations. That is why we find that the non-violent and constructive aggression of Gandhiji's non-co-operation or better say, aggression in Kropotkin-situation, finds no equivalent instinct in Freudian literature. Moreover, in Freudian literature there is no suitable mechanism to explain the life-adjustment in Kropotkin-situation. For, we have already tested the sense of humiliation which the subjectification-mechanism imports through a process of life adjustment, better known by the psycho-analysts as masochism, i.e., the passive form of Allogagnia.

Now, questions may be raised against the view that Freud's psycho-analytical theories on many occasions fail to explain the social phenomena as they are mostly based upon Darwin's theories of organic evolution. To prove this point it is necessary to understand Freud's conception of the human society and the nature of its leader from the quotations of Freud himself where he admits that he has taken the help of Darwin's conjecture. Freud says :

"In 1912, I took up the conjecture of Darwin's to the effect that the primitive form of human society was that of a horde ruled over despotically by a powerful male."⁹

So Freud sees the leader as the most powerful male in the group. He must have the power to subjugate all the members physically. That is to say, Darwin's "struggle for existence" and the "survival of the fittest" have been fully supported by Freud. That is why Freud can write :

"He (leader), at the very beginning of the history of mankind, was the Superman whom Nietzsche only expected from the future. Even today the members of a group stand in need of the illusion that they are equally and justly loved by their leader ; but the leader himself need love none else, he may be of a masterly nature, absolutely narcissistic, but self-confident and independent."

In fact, from the angle of co-operation and with the theories of Kropotkin it is possible to say that the members of the group sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously select their leader for the safety of the society. It is unfortunate that Freud never tried to understand the nature of a leader like Mahatma Gandhi who never tried to subjugate his followers with physical force. Once there was a conflict between Deshabandhu Chittaranjan and Mahatma Gandhi during the session of A-I. C. C. at Gaya. Mahatma Gandhi approached Mr. Das thereafter with folded hands and said :

"We are the two brothers of Mother India. If I am on the wrong side of the track, just lead me. I shall follow you."

Mr. Das accepted the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. This type of leader cannot be realised from Freudian angle.

Rather with the conjecture of Darwin's,

Freud "attempted (in Totem and Taboo) to show that the fortunes of this horde have left indestructible traces upon the history of human descent, and, especially, that the development of totemism, which comprises in itself the beginnings of religion, morality and social organisation, is connected with the killing of the chief by violence and the transference of the paternal horde into a community of brothers."¹⁰

Well, if this be the interpretations of Freud as regards religion, morality, or social organisation, what more can we say except that Freud's theories are influenced by those of Darwin.

VIII. CONCLUSION

So we find, Psychology in its present structure cannot do justice to Mahatma's philosophy of non-co-operation and non-violence. We see that Freudian literature has been influenced by Darwin's writings and again that the modern schools of psychology have been influenced somehow or other by Freudian principles. So psychology requires modifications in the "Frustration-aggression" hypothesis, in the two opposite classes of instincts, i.e., Eros and Thanatos, in the subjectification-mechanism, in the masochistic type of sexual perversions and in such other things before we attempt any such analysis of Mahatma's personality or his philosophy. Otherwise his philosophy that can give peace to every fighting nation and lead them to the road of co-operation and construction for the safety of the humanity will ever remain a philosophy of a lost personality in the hands of the psychologists.

8. Freud, S. : *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, 1st Ed., German, 1920 (G., XIII).

9. Woodworth, R. S. : *Contemporary Schools of Psychology*, p. 184.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

11. Freud, S. : *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, translated by James Strachy, p. 90.

12. *Ibid.*, page 93.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

IN THE LAND OF THE GADDIS

By DHARM DEVA SHASTRI

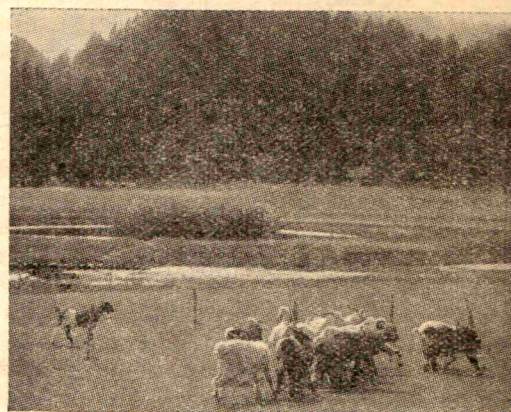
GADIYAR in Himachal Pradesh is the home of the Gaddis, an aboriginal tribe. This poor and backward tribe is spread over the entire Tahsil of Bharmour. Previous to its merger with Himachal Pradesh in 1948 this Tahsil formed part of Chamba, a tiny native state. Chamba was founded by Raja Sahil Varma. And he named it after his daughter Chambawati. Raja Sahil ruled about A.D. 920. Bharmour was the capital of the State. In the wake of Mahammad Gazanavi's invasion there was wide-spread disorder almost everywhere in the country. Up in the hills and difficult of access Bharmour was but little affected and remained undisturbed. This led some Rajput families from the foot of the Himalayas to seek shelter and settle down in Bharmour Tahsil and areas adjacent to it. As time went on, the settlers adopted the language, customs and costume of the original inhabitants. Culturally more advanced and intellectually better equipped they soon came to rule over the natives. And with that the racial factor asserted itself; the settlers began to regard themselves as Shuchis (unpolluted) and the aborigines as Ashuchis (polluted). While negotiating an ascent I met an old Gaddi, a shepherd who traced his descent back to Chauhan Rajputs. A Gaddi doctor, a man of reformatory views told me that his ancestors had migrated to Bharmour at the time of Aurangzeb to save their honour and religion. To-day you cannot tell a Suchha (settler) from a Bhitta (original inhabitant), by the language he speaks, by the dress he wears, or the customs he observes.

Bharmour has had historical importance. On the top of a beautiful hill there is a Siva temple built in the fourteenth century. It has stood well the ravages of time. Not far from the Siva temple, is the temple of Narsingh Bhagawan as old as its neighbour. It is a fine specimen of ancient Indian architecture. Exquisitely carved the idol of Narsingh Bhagwan inspires reverence. In front of the temple on a raised platform stands a full-size image of the Nandi-bull in brass. Bharmour has always been the nerve-centre of Gadiyar. In the lap of the Kailas valley, Gadiyar, though just 7000 ft. above sea-level, has a post-office, a government dispensary, a junior middle school.

The famous sacred place Man Mahesh which is in the lap of Kailas is only twenty miles ahead of Bharmour. Pilgrims by thousands go there every year to have a dip in the sacred lake there. Their mind is lifted up as their body is braced up. On their way back pilgrims break journey at Bharmour and

visit the eighty-four shrines there built by the then Maharaja to commemorate the pilgrimage of the sages to Kailas who had likewise on their way back broken journey at the place.

At Bharmour I met a saint known as Naga Baba. He is well-built and wears his hair long. The aborigines regard him as the Avatar of Man Mahesh. Verily He is the spiritual head of Gadiyar. I had half-an-hour's talk with him. And he impressed me as having great respect for the constructive activities initiated by Gandhiji. Gadiyar is a virgin field for social work. It eagerly awaits social work. Ashoka Ashram has recently started a Gandhi Vidyalaya there with plans for social work in other directions.



Khajiyal Lake in Chamba

EDUCATION IN GADIYAR

Chamba district has a population of 168938, in its 2316 sq. miles. Bharmour Tahsil is rather thickly populated. Bharmour which is Gadiyar has 16398 males and 14547 females as its population. Literacy figure is low, as low as it can be; 273 souls in 30,945 or less than one in a hundred. Of 14547, three can read and write. The Gaddis are averse to education. They think that if education spreads in their community they would cease to rear sheep and goats.

LIFE OF THE GADDIS

Theirs is a very hard life. They live hardly four months in the year in their dwellings. During the rains they ascend the higher hills towards Lahol, with their flocks. During winter they descend to Kangara and Gurdaspur. Gadiyar does not yield enough food-grains to feed its people. It has no industries. Cattle-rearing is their main-stay. Land revenue is paid out of the proceeds they get from selling wool.

The physical features of Gadiyar have made the

Gaddis a nomadic tribe. A roving people have but little opportunity to send their children to school. To constructing dwelling houses they prefer the open country. The reason is obvious. They have to roam about grazing their flocks. The junior middle school that Bharmour has, owes its start to Naga Baba. Attendance during winter is very poor, often not as many as there are teachers.



In a village in Gadiyar

Under State rule education was free. Books were supplied to needy and deserving students. Now they have to pay school fees up to class V. Even poor students do not get books and stationery. Not fond of learning, this has provided them with a pretext to keep away from school. The Himachal Pradesh education department should recommend to the State Government that education be made free up to class VIII. The State should also give stipends and scholarships to Gaddi boys and girls. If any one need incentive and State patronage more than any other, it is they. Everything should be done to induce girls to attend school.

SEX-WISE DIVISION OF WORK

At Khanni a school-master was holding his class under a green-wood tree. There were some 25 boys in the class. Not many yards from the class a group of girls were playing. I gave them biscuits and sweets. And then in a persuasive tone I pleaded, "Why don't you join the class?" Readily the following answer came from a quick-witted girl, "That is a man's business, not ours." And she proceeded to add, "We women have to fetch water, collect fuel, gather grass and leaves, spin wool, wash clothes, manure fields, weed plants, harvest crops and graze cattle." "And a man's work," she added, "is to weave the spun wool, cut wood and plough the field." The man's work is so light and easy. Gadiyar must be an idler's paradise. As the conversation was going on some Khanni men and women gathered round me. They were amused listeners. I asked the dear child, "Well, will you just tell me whose work, man's or

woman's, is it to eat food, to smell with the nose, to see with the eyes, to hear with the ears?" The pretty little thing paused a moment and then returned smartly, "These are no works at all. They are done by men, as by women." I remarked, "To read and write, is just so the concern of both men and women."

The argument worked amazingly well. In a moment she took a front seat in the assembled class, her liquid eyes seeking the approval of her father which he signified with a nod of the head. An old Gaddi with a hundred cubit long woollen girdle round his waist could contain himself no longer. He said as he tended his sheep, "All's well with the Congress regime! To-day our girls are going to school, to-morrow our lambs will sit for learning."

THEIR COSTUME

The costume of the Gaddi is all woollen. His typical attractive dress is made up of a carefully stitched loose-fitting coat flowing to the knee, a *kaupin* is used as under-wear, and a circular cap as head-gear. Besides these, a woollen cord some fifty yards long which the Gaddi girds round his waist is an inseparable part of his or her dress, as shoes are a necessity in towns of the plains. This girdle gives comfort to the body and also makes movement easy. The cord is of another important use. It provides the Gaddi with ample bags or, if you like, big pockets waist upward in his loose-fitting coat for carrying a world of things from cooked food and dishes to young lambs. I



A village school of Khanni

saw a Gaddi, who was preparing to stay with his flock for the night on a mound, take out from inside his coat as many as four justborn lambs. He took nearly ten minutes to remove the girdle. He arranged his goats and sheep in a circle, kept the dog on watch, and made room for himself amidst his cattle. He fell asleep in a minute, his great coat now covering his legs bent close to his stomach. The coat pieces are so closely woven that a Gaddi's coat serves him as well during the rains as a rain-coat.

The woman's costume, as man's, is again all wool. It consists of a long kurta, a long kerchief that protects her head and hair from dust and frost, a bodice and a Lahanga much like a petticoat. She also wears the woollen long girdle. At Gahara I found a girl in woollen dress weighing about eight pounds even in mid-June when temperature is pretty high there.

The principal industry is the shearing and processing, the curding and combing of wool. Weaving is also there. You meet a Gaddi, and he is twisting yarns with a Takli. Even in a public meeting most of them were found twisting. Spinning is the woman's work. There are charkhas (spinning wheels) in every home. I found some women spinning pretty fast in spite of interference by their children. To one I said, "Give me your charkha for a while. Let me try my hand on it." Men never do spin there. So half in disbelief and half in curiosity she moved her charkha towards me. Wool-spinning was not new to me. I began and span as fast as she. I could notice surprise in her face. I said to her, "A charkha is no small thing. It is through the charkha that Mahatma Gandhi made the British quit India." "Ah, he span, such a great one as he span! Did he do that tiresome job of the woman?" She enquired. "Yes, he did," I said in reply adding, "If men will wear clothes, they must spin also." In every Gaddi hut many a ball of combed wool, big and small, are seen hanging from the thatched roof. They spin at night, as they sing folk-songs in soft low pitch.

Gaddi women are fond of wearing strings of red, white and green beads. Silver ornaments of old style are much in use. Gold ornaments are rare. They insert in their braids green leaves and flowers. It is almost invariably champa. Silver rupees and eight-anna pieces go to make necklaces for Gaddi girls. Gaddis always have with them a flint and striker to strike fire when they want to smoke.

THEIR PHYSIQUE AND FEATURES

The Gaddis resemble to an extent the Jats of Hissar in the East Punjab. They are as tall, robust and well-built. Other tribal people of the Eastern Himalayas though as good-looking are short in stature. The Gaddis are attractively beautiful. This difference is probably due to the fact that they never marry before they have reached full maturity. Parents take good care in the character-building of their adolescent boys and girls. Promiscuity is almost a thing unknown. There is, therefore, absolutely no venereal disease there. Outsiders working in the forests are now importing this evil there.

CULTURE

The Gaddis are poor in riches, but are high in character. At two different stages of our journey we met two young girls, with ornaments on, each going by herself, from their husbands' homes to their mothers'.

Between start and destination, the distance in one case was eight miles, and in another nine. And the way lay through jungles. That young girls move about without the least apprehension of discourtesy from men bespeaks a moral excellence of the Gaddis of a very high order. With one of them I had the following conversation :

"Where are you going to?"

"To my mothers'."

"Don't you fear doing the journey alone?"

"Fear whom? Bears and other animals do not attack in the day-time."

Her concluding sentence left me in a wondering admiration of her race. A beautiful young girl with ornaments on, has no fear from men. She dreads not men, but beasts!



A Gaddi father and his son carrying snow for sale

"You are going alone. Have no apprehensions from men?" I asked the other girl whom we met four or five miles on from Rakh.

"Dare one take liberties with another's wife? Things have not become so dark," the sprightly young maid firmly returned.

To take liberties or cut jokes with any one but one's own wife is not regarded so much as a wrong in the cities and towns of the plains, though a society's culture should be measured by the extent of security it provides to women and their honour. If that be the ideal desired, the Gaddis, the aborigines, provide it. The Gaddis do not lock their houses when they go down to the plains during the winter to graze their flocks. They fasten a short iron chain in an iron hook

fixed in the door and seal it with goat-hair and mud. When they return, they find everything intact.

RELIGION AND LANGUAGE

Hindu by religion the Gaddis observe Dashera and other Hindu festivals. Marraige rites are gone through with sacred fire as witness. They wear long pigtaails hanging loose towards the back. Brahmans, as illiterate as they themselves, are consulted on ceremonial occasions.



A Gaddi girl

Bharmouri is their language. It has no script of its own. It is being preserved by its songs and folklores. Punjabi and Laholi exercise much influence over Bharmouri. Gaddis can follow Hindustani. They worship gods and goddesses. They believe in spirits and ghosts. Witchery is also there. To atone for sins, goats and sheep are offered as sacrifice. Lord Siva is universally worshipped. Wool and woollen clothes are offered to Him. There is not anything like daily prayer or worship in their society. They attach no importance to bathing. They bathe once or twice in the year. The climate is semi-arctic in winter and temperate in summer.

MARRIAGE

Marriage is quite a problem there. To get a wife a young man—he marries at mature age—must furnish cash to, or must serve as a serf with, the girl's father for a term sometime extending to years. Three types of marriage are in vogue there.

Marriage in exchange is known as *Santa*. The family you seek a girl from, you must give a girl of yours to, in betrothal. In such marriage the girls are often unhappy. Ill-treatment meted to your girl

by her husband's relations at that end leads to counter-ill-treatment of their girl at yours.

A Gaddi who has no girl to offer in exchange, has to offer a big sum to the would-be father-in-law or serve him as a slave for at least seven years. His day begins at dawn and ends late at night. He gets two meals to eat. Generally it is Kodra or Elo bread, very rarely wheat bread, that is given. No clothing he gets. Magzi, an aged Gaddi, said to me as he twitched his eyes at his wife sitting by, "For her I had to give twenty years of my life to her father. So invaluable they are." Invaluable certainly, for to a Gaddi death as a bachelor is a dog's death. While he serves as a slave he is not allowed even to chat with his prospective wife. Courtship is out of the question. This second type of marriage like the first type makes the wife's life miserable. Oftener than not the husband exacts labour from her as from cattle. And to the bargain he reminds her now and then that she has not come to him as a gift, he has had to slave for seven years for her.

The third type, Jhanjara, is a forcible form of marriage recognized as valid. If a young man takes away by force the young wife of another with her consent and makes a round of a temple with her, the marriage is complete. The young man need not wait for the consent of the parents of the girl even. To avoid prrsuit they go to a distant temple. The former's husband is, however, entitled to compensation, if only he will go to court.

CONSCIOUS OF FREEDOM

At the residence of Shri Daulat Ram Gupta, a reputed leader of Chamba, a Gaddi woman named Nepali gave us the story of her married life. It was piteous. Her husband beat her inhumanly. She left him. She now worked for wages and span to maintain herself and her two children, a son and a daughter. The girl she had given in marriage to a young Gaddi without taking any money. "My girl shall, therefore, be happy," she said, her face wearing an expression of happy satisfaction. She added, "Congress Raj has come to us as a blessing. We are now free and shall no longer have to submit to brutal treatment." A Pangwal who was nearabout protesting said, "Ugh, we shan't then get wives to marry. And that will be the end of family life." His remark caused laughter.

DIVORCE

Divorce is practically unknown. But since the merger of the State with Himachal Pradesh the courts at Chamba have been receiving quite a great number of maintenance petitions. Gaddi women are taking full advantage of the opportunity to escape from their husbands' ill-treatment. Rather than pay monthly allowances, the husbands relieve them for a small consideration. They are then free to marry any one they like,

After marriage, girls stay at their mothers' homes for full one year. At the end of that period the husband (Lada) goes to the wife's home with two of his relatives, and requests her (Ladi) to accompany him. The members of her family, as also her near relatives accompany her to her husband's home. As they go they play on musical instruments. The whole thing looks like a procession. They stay for three days at the Lada's house feasting and drinking. Goats are killed. They ferment Kodra bread, powdered herb, Muktakeshi, walnuts and other local fruits in molasses to distil the liquor they drink. This ceremony is known as Sadnoj. Persons making up the Sadnoj sometimes number over three hundred.

BANGLORE

Every village has a number of constructions, roofs of wood or thatches without any walls. They are called Banglors, and are erected to commemorate dead relatives. Panchayats are held in them, and any one may use them as resting place. On application, wood for this purpose can be had from the forest department free or at nominal cost.

MUSIC

Music is in the very make of a Gaddi. He or she is full of song and dance. No sooner new songs are composed and set to music than they are on the lips of all, men, women and children. Gaddi women sing as they graze their flocks, as they gather leaves, or as they work in the field. Seated on a raised platform keeping watch on her maize field a Gaddi lady was cheerfully repeating a strain. It made us stop. We drank the melody. She paused.

"The healthy, green, growing maize plants have filled me with joy and out of that fulness I have been singing."

She said, as it were, an explanation was necessary. She added :

"God willing, we shall get to eat this year."

SCARCITY OF WATER

Following a stiff ascent of clear three miles on the road to Bharmour is the village Khanni. There is no water there. A pitcherful of water costs eight annas. And that too is not easily to be had. For water they have to go two miles down to *khad*. The attention of the authorities at Chamba has been drawn to this. The village is willing to contribute labour as well as some money.

The Tundah area of the Bharmour Tahsil is badly infected with leprosy. There is not a house that has not a leprosy case. Squalor and ignorance were responsible for the spread of the disease. A doctor at Bharmour

interested in leprosy relief work is willing to volunteer his services. Let the Gandhi Memorial Trust's Leprosy Wing start leprosy clinics in Himachal Pradesh.



A Garba dance-party at Chamba

AN APPEAL

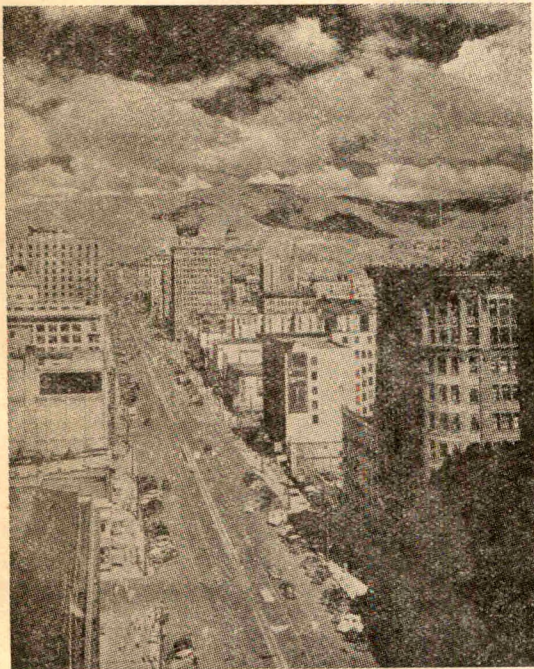
Our land is large in area. And big is its poverty. But the poverty of Himachal Pradesh is appalling. As regards ignorance and want of education they in Himachal Pradesh may come first. Access to it being difficult this part of the country has failed to draw social workers. I beseech social workers and leaders taking interest in social work to visit this man-forsaken part of the Union. I earnestly request Shri Sushila Pai, Secretary, Kastur Ba Gandhi Memorial Trust, to go to Gadiyar, Kinnar Desh and Jaunsar-Bawar to see for herself the plight of the women there and do something to ameliorate their condition.

Ashok Ashram, Himalayas,
July 18, 1952.



SALT LAKE CITY : CAPITAL OF UTAH

SALT Lake City, the Capital of the State of Utah, one of the large cities in the western United States, is claimed by those who live there, and by many who have visited it, to be "the most beautifully situated city" in the nation. The only metropolitan area in the thousands of square miles of the Rocky Mountain region between the State of Colorado and the Pacific Coast States, the city is the natural distributing point and shopping center for at least 1,000,000 people living in the region.



This busy street in the heart of Salt Lake City, capital of Utah, appears to extend to the foot-hills of the nearby Wasatch mountain (a Rocky Mountain range) which partially encircle the city

Salt Lake City is also the world capital of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons). It is important culturally, as well as industrially and commercially, to the western States.

Its site once a desert valley, this modern metropolis of a vast mountain region in western United States, was designed by its pioneer builders to be a city of churches, schools, and homes ; it is the world religious capital for hundreds of thousands of Mormons.

In July of 1847 the Mormon pioneers, after a long and arduous journey of 1,500 miles across the western plains from the Missouri River in the central part of the United States, were told by their leader, Brigham

Young, that they had reached the end of their travels. Some of his followers were incredulous. What they saw was a barren valley, a dreary waste lying at an altitude of more than 4,000 feet above sea level, with Great Salt Lake gleaming in the distance and the Wasatch Mountains (a Rocky Mountain range) in the background. They wanted to push on. Their leader, however, believed they had reached the promised land, the realization of a vision he had carried in his heart all those weary miles.

Brigham Young was resolute ; he set his followers to work to put into effect his definite plan. The city they were to build was first dedicated to God. It was to be a city of churches and homes. The desert was to be made to blossom with gardens and parks, and education and culture were to keep pace with the beauty of the land and the life of the spirit. Only four years after they staked out their municipality, which they had decided was to be called "City of the Great Salt Lake," they ordered to be brought by ox teams the nucleus of an impressive library carefully selected and purchased in New York City, the Atlantic Coast metropolis.

By the summer of 1849, the pioneers had surveyed 8,000 acres of land and divided it into five- and ten-acre farms. These parcels were given by lot to families who were expected to build their houses, fence their land, and help dig irrigating ditches from the main canal. The family produced the necessities of life. All its members had their special duties, including tending flocks and herds ; weaving and dyeing, and cultivating the garden.

Every family, too, was a religious center in which the day began and ended with a gathering for religious devotions. There was a healthy rivalry between families in the beautification of the homes as trees were brought from the canyons and planted in the gardens. Above all, every family was made to feel that it must contribute to the welfare of the whole community. It was the rule to build the meeting house (church) and school-house immediately after locating the homes and planting crops. The intention was that education should have a spiritual basis and that education in turn might further enlighten the spirit. By 1852, there was a "Social Hall" where drama was performed and the young people were encouraged to study the classic writers. Ten years later the Salt Lake Theater was built ; it became known as one of the great playhouses of America.

Salt Lake City today is the result of the labors of those pioneers who had faith in themselves and a definite plan of action. It is a city of churches. Many social and religious centers have been created there. All denominations have their own edifices. The city

mayors have been Mormon and non-Mormon; Protestants and Jews and Mormons have all been elected and have served as governors of the State of Utah.

selected and had to be hauled about 300 miles by ox teams over mountains and deserts.

Salt Lake City lies directly on main railway, motor bus, and air transport lines. It is the natural distributing point and commercial center for a vast area. It is located in a region that is rich in minerals, many of which are shipped elsewhere for conversion into various commodities. But more and more, in recent years, the city has attracted plants and manufacturing concerns which transform the ores into finished metal products, and which fabricate the metals in tools, furniture, and the many types of goods typical of a technical age.

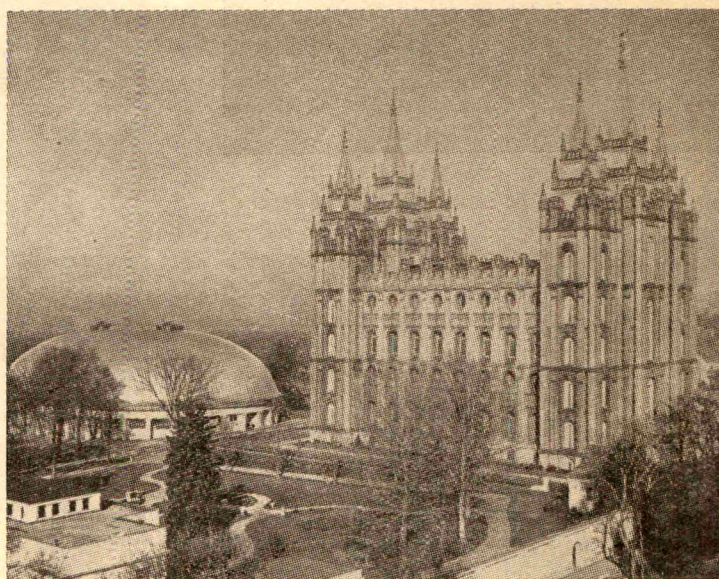
The sturdy efforts of the early pioneers in their struggle to build their own civilization are memorialized in the Church Museum which was founded in 1860 by a son of Brigham Young. Here are to be seen the press which printed the *Deseret News*, one of the first newspapers of the American West, established in 1850; two large square pianos hauled across the plains by ox teams in the



Utah State Capital at Salt Lake City

Education has kept pace with other phases of civic development in the city and the State. A recent survey showed that 93 per cent of the youth of Utah (ages 6 to 18) were enrolled in the schools and that 95.6 per cent of its young people of high (secondary) school age were attending schools. On a hill above the city are the impressive buildings and campus of the University of Utah, founded in 1850, only three years after the pioneers reached their chosen site.

The great Tabernacle of Salt Lake City, which seats 12,000, was begun in 1863 and was 40 years in the building. It was a labor of love and devotion. Considering the crude facilities of transportation and construction in that region a century ago, the achievement reminds a visitor of the origin of the medieval cathedrals. The acoustics of this auditorium are worldfamous and concerts by the 300-voice choir and organ recitals given there are heard by radio listeners throughout the United States. The organ was handcarved and hand-built; the materials which went into it were carefully



The Tabernacle (left) and Temple of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) are outstanding features of Salt Lake City, capital of Utah and world capital of this religion

late 1850's; and relics of the old Salt Lake Theater. Here too is a treasured relic bearing this inscription: "This plough was used by Elder William Carter to plough the first half-acre in Salt Lake Valley, July, 1847."—From *Think*.

SWEDEN

Sweden is one of the oldest nations in Europe. For centuries its population has shared the same dangers, the same difficulties and the same good fortune. From a linguistic and ethnological point of view the country as such is exceptionally uniform.



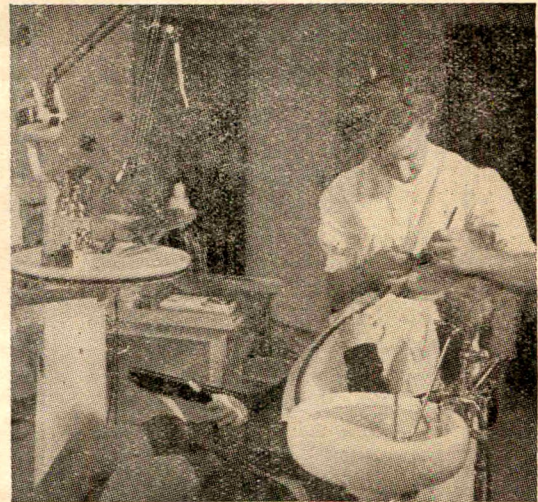
An ultra-modern Apartment House of Sweden. Ultra-modern business complexes are the order of the day in big Swedish towns

Its geographical position, too, has been largely responsible for a pronounced national culture. Sweden for the greater part is surrounded by water, while in the north-east comparatively desolate tracts join it to Finland, and in the west, mountains and forests cover the area all along the Norwegian frontier. If this geographical position has helped to create and preserve certain customs and traditions which still characterize Swedish life, it has not, however, brought about any cultural or economic isolationism. The sea not only separates countries, it also provides vital routes of communication. For the very reason that Sweden is situated on the periphery of Europe, Swedes throughout the ages have felt a specially strong need of maintaining and developing their contacts with the rest of the world.

As far back as the Middle Ages quite a number of Swedish students went to the leading university towns in Europe to acquire a more complete and

qualified education than their own land could offer them. Even after Uppsala University was founded in 1477 and Sweden during the 17th century had another university at Lund, it remained a tradition amongst the upper classes and the intellectuals if possible to supplement their education at home by studying abroad. The same tendency was, of course, much more noticeable when Sweden, after the industrial revolution, was changed from a poor to a comparatively rich country.

Industrialization took place in Sweden later than in western and central Europe. At the end of the last century it was still mainly a nation of small farmers, hardly able to support its population, even though this was rather sparse. Today Sweden possesses perhaps the most modern and efficient organised production in Europe. Its foreign trade embraces all parts of the world. Housing shows a high standard of living, and the great work of social construction which has been carried out during the last decades has given the whole population a feeling of security and well-being in the community.



All Swedish school children have free dental care. The picture shows a typical Swedish school clinic

When explaining how Sweden, from being a poor country, could in such a short time become quite a rich one, judged by European standards, it must be remembered that it has enjoyed an unbroken peace for more than a century. Even if it is true that the importance of peace to social, economic and cultural development cannot be overestimated, it must not be forgotten, however, that this transformation of Swedish life is based on several concurrent factors.

Of these perhaps the most important are the technical inventions which have made possible the exploitation on a big scale of Sweden's foremost

natural resources: forests, iron and water power. Thanks to new methods about the turn of the century, production in the paper and wood-pulp industries, which give Sweden some of its chief articles of export, was doubled many times over. At approximately the same time a way was found to exploit the great iron-ore deposits in the far north. As these come right up to the surface, mining could take place under particularly favourable circumstances. Kiruna and Gallivare, both lying north of the Arctic Circle, soon became important communities. Swedish iron ore was shipped to the industrial countries of the old and the new world, and the Swedish engineering industry developed rapidly.

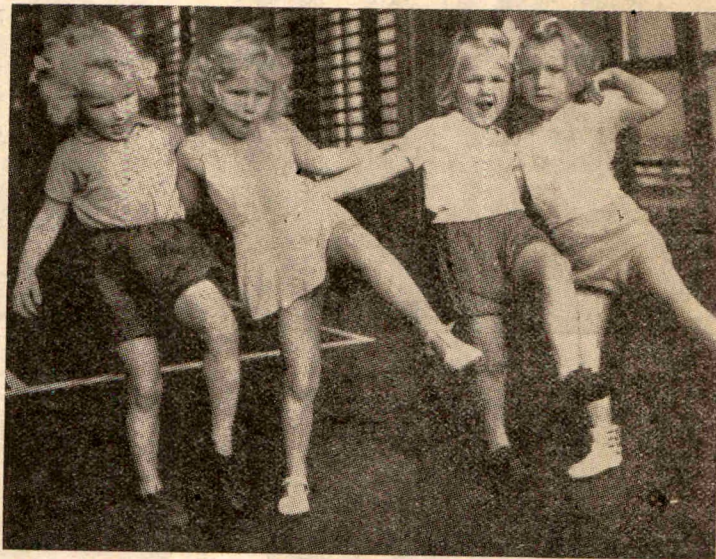
If material progress has greatly improved the living conditions of the Swedish people and if the intensive building activity thereby made possible has given Swedish cities an entirely new appearance, this does not mean that the modern Sweden has pushed aside the old. Not only the form of government and structure of society, but also the mentality and way of life of the people evince a homogeneous and harmonious development. This continuity and stability is partly based on a pronounced civic spirit, which is also no doubt one of the reasons why modern Swedish life has developed the way it has.

It is obvious however that Sweden at the same time has become more and more dependent on her connections with the outer world. Every crisis in the rest of Europe affects the country's economic and political life. Even if it was possible to preserve the traditional Swedish neutrality during the Second World War, Sweden has not been able to escape the international economic difficulties of the post-war period. And with a new world conflagration threatening, the prospects of being able to keep the country's peace are very uncertain.

While actively supporting all efforts to safeguard peace and surmount the severe crisis facing international trade, Sweden therefore is compelled annually to set aside considerable sums in order to maintain a strong defence. It is worth pointing out that in this connection unity prevails between the Social Democrats and the Farmers' Union, the government parties on the one hand, and the two leading opposition parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals, on the other. The additional fact that the above parties have very much the same views regarding the aims of social policy justifies the statement that Sweden, more than

most European countries, is spared the internal discord so apt to weaken a country's defensive spirit and to hamper its social progress.

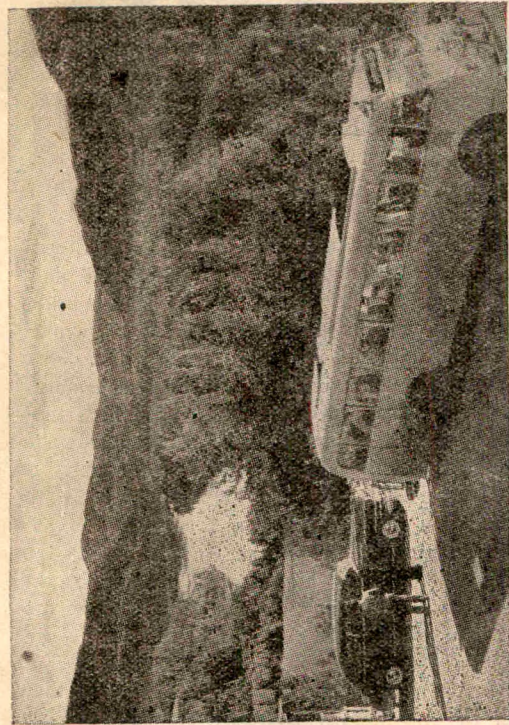
Sweden is rightly known as a country of vast forests. But the first thing seen by the tourist arriving from the south is a fertile plain with thriving plants and trees usually only to be found further south. If on the other hand he arrives by boat at Sweden's chief port, Gothenburg, he sees, as the coast-line rises out of the water, a treeless archipelago whose innumerable rocky islands have been polished smooth by the sea. If his journey then takes him from Gothenburg to Stockholm, he goes through a varying countryside of gentle plains, woods and lakes, containing some of



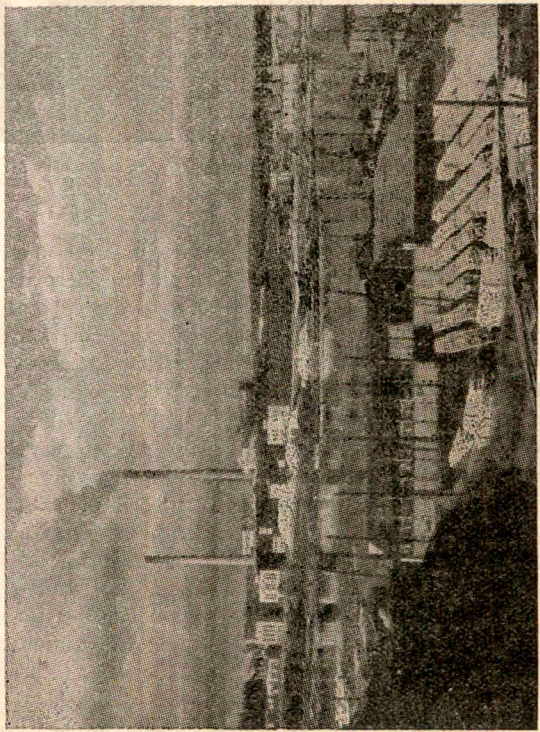
Nursery-school pupils are taught gymnastic movements in a Stockholm gymnasium

Sweden's richest agricultural land. North of Stockholm the scenery becomes more severe; firs and pines gradually replace the deciduous trees, and the towns and villages are few and far between. It is wrong, however, to imagine that these forest regions are gloomy or monotonous; on the contrary, the country is much grander than further south. It is here that several of Sweden's foremost natural resources are concentrated, and although this part of the country is sparsely populated, it is of exceptional importance to its economic life.

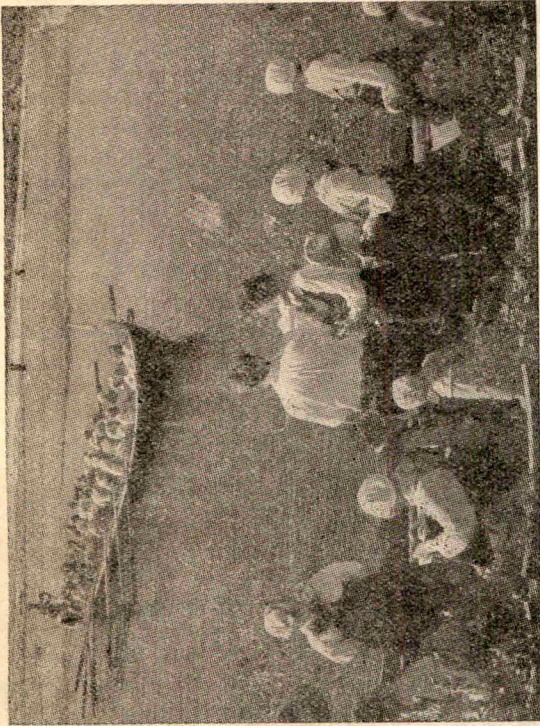
The mountains on the Norwegian frontier to the north-west have no very high peaks and lack the rugged outlines typical of the Alps, but they are extremely beautiful both in the winter, when they form an Eldorado for skiing, and during the short but intensive summer. It is not surprising, therefore, that several of the mountain villages are among the most frequented tourist resorts in Sweden.



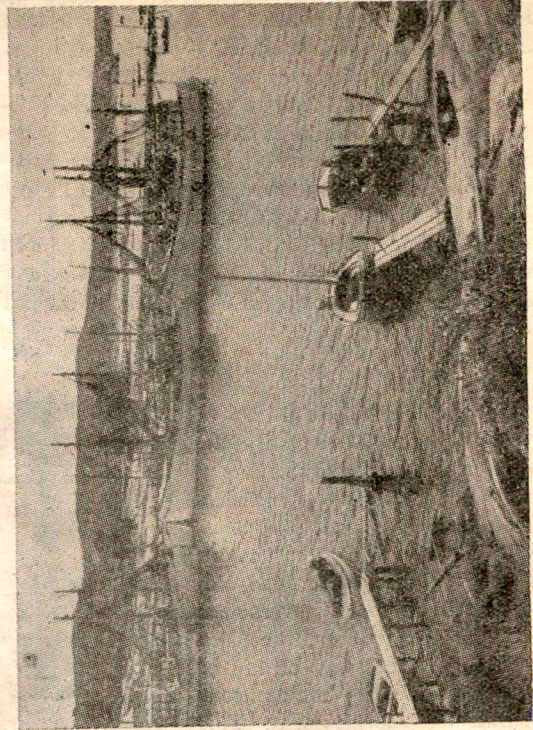
Sweden is traced through by innumerable rivers, along which many of its most picturesque sight-seeing routes wind their way



Ostrand sulphate mill in North Sweden belonging to the Swedish Pulp Co., one of the many similar establishments in Sweden, producing sulphate paper pulp for wrapping and kraft paper



Swedish holiday-makers out on a joy-ride in boats



Fishing trawlers at one of the many fishing villages on Sweden's West Coast on the North Sea

The visitor seeing Stockholm for the first time is perhaps chiefly struck by the Swedish capital city's unusually beautiful position. Stockholm has been called "The City Swimming on the Waters," and "The Capital in the Middle of the Woods," and both names are undoubtedly true up to a point. But for those who remain in Stockholm for some time its beautiful position is only the frame surrounding the daily life. And

the more opportunities there are of getting to know how modern Swedish society works, the more it will be realised that this country has gained its present position by hard work, and that it is not only open to impulses from without, but itself contributes in no small way to international cultural development, both intellectual and material.—*The Swedish Institute, Stockholm.*

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VINOVA BHAVE

By BIRENDRANATH GUHA

"A powerful soul lives in a weak body. As the soul advances in strength, the body languishes," Gandhi wrote, in *Navajivan*, June 5, 1924. If it is acceptable, Vinayak Vinova Bhave may very well possess a powerful soul. And he does. Vinova stands five foot eight and weighs just seven stones. He works hard. He walks a lot, not less than twelve to thirteen miles in the average. His day begins at 3 A.M. and usually ends at 9 P.M. He and his associates pray as they work or now as they walk.

As the writer first saw him he had the feeling that had not there been a Gandhi to draw him to the service of man as service of God, he might well have been one of the very highest order of recluses of whom India has ever had a succession. But very soon he came to revise his estimate. For, like all the great souls of India who had something new to give, Vinova also has a commentary of his own on the Gita. And it emphasizes immaculate service as the road to unity with the Maker. Vinova has a complete philosophy of life. And that philosophy, if not the whole, quite a large slice of it, must be akin to Gandhi's. For ascribing to Gandhi all that he is doing, and the great change that has come in his manners, he says, "It is Bapu's blessings that have wrought this miracle. I believe, the work I am doing would please his soul wherever it might be." And again, "This day, I feel the presence of Bapu, as I feel the presence of God."

Who will now say which of the two estimates is the correct one! Vinova only can.

"Makest me thy slave, effacest my ego, erasest my name," so prays Vinova just as the master did, "I want to be His willing slave." Vinova wants to reduce himself to a zero.

The dumb millions are his masters as they were to Gandhi. Gandhi would not go to the Himalayas to see God. So too, Vinova would not go to sacred places to seek his God. ". . . But for me the place where you all live is the sacred place. To me your bodies are not just compounds of the five elements. I look upon you as my God. Long journeys tire out this frail body. But when I get an opportunity to serve you my fatigue vanishes."

Yet Vinova is not an echo. It is fortunate he is not. For it is not given to an echo to walk a new way, to give a thing a new shape such as the times demand, to fulfil a historical necessity. Vinova has to fulfil a historical necessity. Vinova is original. Vinova is a



Sri Vinova Bhave

revolutionary. Gandhi gone, India needed such a one as he. India has half the Swaraj. The other half remains to be constructed. If it is to be as it was envisaged by Gandhi and as alone can lead to the true emancipation of the masses, it needs a revolutionary. Vinova's *Bhoo-dan yajna* is the first step to the realization of that economic independence—the Sarvodaya.

One's work is one's life. Vinova's work is just now before the public. And it is an ample page. Yet men look backward, as they look forward to size up a thing. It is in them.

Born in 1894, Vinova will complete his fifty-seventh year on September 11. Vinayak Vinova Bhavé was the eldest of five children, four sons and a daughter born to Narahari Bhavé and Rukmini Devi. The Bhavés of Gagoda, Tahsil Pen, District Kolaba in Maharashtra are fairly well-to-do Saraswat Brahmins. The youngest of the four brothers died young. Balkrishna Vikaji Bhavé the second brother is in charge of the Nature Cure Centre, started by Gandli at Uruli Kanchan. The third brother Shivaji, a great Sanskrit scholar, lives at Dhulia unattached to any Ashram or institution. He takes order from the eldest brother and is engaged in language reform work. Under instruction of Vinova he has given shape to the *Loka-lipi* which avoids use of compounds.

Rukmini must have been a wise lady, a sensible mother. Vinova got a lot from her. He often fondly refers to her in his writings. In the obituary notice in Sarvodaya of Raman Maharshi the following occurs: "One day while reading *Bhakta-Vijaya* I remarked, 'Mother, such saints were there only in ancient times.' 'Mother said,' Vinova continues, 'they are there even today. Only we do not know them. Without such as these the world cannot go.'" *Gita-pravachan* contains many a like reference to his mother. Vinova writes:

"Like so many, I also once said to mother, 'Here is a beggar strong and plump, come to beg. To give alms to such a one is to encourage indolence and lassitude. And I cited in support the *Deshe kale cha patre cha sloka* from the Gita. Mother said, 'The beggar that is come is God Himself. Now distinguish the deserving from the undeserving. Would you rate God as undeserving? Who are you and who am I to distinguish one from the other. I do not see there is much to consider. For me he is the God.'" And then Vinova observes, "I have not to this day found a fitting reply to what mother said in meeting my objection."

Instances such as these could be multiplied. But that is unnecessary. She died rather young in 1918, a victim to the influenza scourge.

In childhood Vinova was most unmannerly. He had possibly in him an extra dose of surplus energy that led him to monkeyish things which often invited a fastidious father's birch. But morally Vinayak was all right, all high.

Father Narahari secured a diploma in dyeing from the Maharaja Gaekwad's Kala Bhavan. He belonged to the first batch of students. He served for some time in the dyeing department of the Buckingham Mills. British India khaki was a contribution of Kala Bhavan. In order to give his children proper education Narahari left the Buckingham Mills job and shifted to Baroda as a typist clerk in State Government service.

Narahari was a man of modern outlook and had a bias for industrial education.

Up to sixth standard Vinayak always stood first. He then lost interest in routine studies, and somehow passed his examinations. Nevertheless his store of knowledge kept increasing in volume. He was selective in his studies, things enduring appealing rather than things transient. A great Sanskrit scholar, he has not read *Sakuntala*. Mathematics and philosophy were his favourite subjects. Of mathematics only recently (*Sarvodaya*, March 1952) he wrote, "Next to God if I love anything best it is mathematics." And mathematical precision marks all his actions as *anasakta* actions enjoined by the Gita should be. A marvellous memory aided by selective studies laid the foundation of his profound scholarship. Vinova had French as his second language. His father had a mind to send him to Europe.

In those days there was no spiritual or ascetic trend in him. Politics drew him. And politics then meant getting rid of the British. It was partition days then. Chiplanker and Tilak were his heroes. Young Vinayak and friend started a Vidyarthi Mandal which might any day become a bomb-throwers' association.

Vinova was to appear in I.A. examination in 1916. Ostensibly he left for Bombay for the purpose, but went to Sabarmati instead. He joined Mahatma's Ashram.

Gandhi wrote about him thus:

"... He is a Sanskrit scholar. He joined the Ashram almost at its inception. He was among the first members. In order to better qualify himself he took one year's leave to prosecute further studies in Sanskrit. And practically at the same hour at which he had left the Ashram a year before he walked into it without notice. I had forgotten that he was to arrive that day. He has taken part in every menial activity of the Ashram from scavenging to cooking. Though he has a marvellous memory and is a student by nature, he has devoted the largest part of his time to spinning in which he has specialized as very few have. ... Being a born teacher he has been of the utmost assistance to Asha Devi in her development of the scheme of education through handicrafts.

"... He is responsible for producing a young-man who has dedicated himself to the service of lepers."

This Gandhi wrote introducing Vinova to the public as the first individual Satyagrahi.

"In 1917, when Mr. Andrews was at the Ashram," wrote Mahadev Desai in *Harijan*, October 20, 1940, "I remember Gandhiji describing to him Vinova in these terms: 'He is one of the few pearls in the Ashram.' They do not come, like others, to be blessed by the Ashram, but to bless it, not to receive, but to give."

Did he not get anything in return from the Ashram? Let Mahadev say. In *Young India* of 1923 he wrote:

"... Though Gandhiji said that he had gone to the Ashram to give and not to receive, this is what Vinova said in a talk: 'Only I can know what I have got in the Ashram. It was an early ambition of mine to distinguish myself by a violent deed in the service of the country. But Bapu cured me of that ambition. It is he who extinguished the volcano of anger and other passions in me. I have been progressing every day of my life in the Ashram. Every year I have been making one of the *mahabratas* my own'."

Vinova was not keeping well at the Ashram. He got one year's leave. He first went to Wai, a health resort in Satara District and thence to Banaras. Wai is a sacred place, a beauty-spot on the Krishna river, and at the foot of the Mahabaleswar hills. There the Bhaves of Gagoda have a temple dedicated to Sankara. At the time Narayan Shastri Marhatta, a great Sanskrit scholar, had his Prajna Pathshala there. During his stay at Wai, Vinova took lessons from the Shastri not as a regular but a casual student. From there he went to Banaras for further studies in Sanskrit referred to by Gandhi in his *Who is Vinova Bhave?*

Marhatti is his mother language. Vinova speaks English, French, Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu and possibly Kanarese and Oriya. At Sevapuri he opened his talk with Sarvodaya Sevak from Bengal with a Bengali sentence: "I do follow Bengali, but can't speak it." He is learning Bengali. He learns the languages of the people of India, because he wants to appeal straight to their heart, which you never can unless you do speak to them in their own. And this also induced him to learn Arabic, the language of the Koran, the sacred book of Muslims, our neighbours. And he has a peculiar language sense. He will detect in your speech flaws of language even it be that his acquaintance with your language is of the slightest. His language is simple and direct. The words he chooses are appropriate and are such as any one would understand. There is no verbiage in him. He has a rare economy in the use of words. The following excerpt from him will give an idea of the literary skill he prizes:

"Choose every word carefully. For, if the words you choose are not appropriate, your expression instead of being substantial may be just airy. Some words carry inadequate sense, some more than the adequate, and some again have contrary connotations. One must avoid all these three defects and express a thing exactly as it takes shape in the mind."

Gandhi initiated the people into truth and non-violence, and through them (Satyagraha) gave India political freedom. It has been left to Vinova to initiate the people into *aparigraha* (non-possession) and *asteya* (non-stealing) and through them (Sarvodaya) to construct the other half of India's freedom—economic independence.

"Shri Vinova saw that the root of the malady of the present world lay in its faith in wealth. It was therefore necessary to depose Money, the symbol of possession (and of power, if we are permitted to add) from its sovereignty over life. After deep reflection accompanied with fast, Shri Vinova made a resolve not to accept money gifts. And there never was with him a question of earning money."

"Labour and money are the two forces in the world. In order to escape from labour one has to lay by money. As long as money occupies the place of pride, labour cannot attain dignity, however much it may improve in its quality and volume. Vinova has deposed money and raised the dignity of labour. Only after bringing about this transformation in his own person Vinova has earned for himself the right to preach non-possession, i.e., curtailing the possession of wealth. And owners of land have supplied the proof that Indian nation has not forgotten its ancient tradition of being influenced by the higher law—the law of Spirit."—Kaka Kalelker.

At Paramdham Pavnar, Vinova's Ashram, they produce by body-labour primary necessities of life. They forgo for the time being the use of any such item they need but have not produced. They do not go to market for it. Vinova defines this effort to depose money, the realization of this ideal as *Samya-yoga*. And his *Bhoo-dan yajna* is an extension of this ideal to society, for without returning lands to the tillers of the soil, there is no doing away with the sway of wealth. Vinova attributes his achievements in Telangana and Uttar Pradesh to this experiment, of his at Paramdham Pavnar. He says also:

"But for that experiment, I might not have the confidence which marked all my actions; but for that I might not have shed my timidity, and my shyness might have perished. Then too the labour I put on good earth acknowledging the cultivator as my *guru*, has given me a humility I never have had."

Vinova was not what he is today. According to Tukdoji Maharaj, the celebrated *bhajan*-singer from Maharashtra, Vinova was not accessible. He writes:

"God is for the good of all. What was Bapu if he was not god. Today revered Vinova has become god. Vinova was not what he is today. His was a secluded life. He did not meet any one, nor did he talk to any. Had Bapu been with us today, you would not have found Vinova going from village to village. He talked at you, never talked to you. He has now come to realize that seclusion, cold reserve, does not pay. He now addresses people as brother, as cousin. To some he says he is his brother, to some other he says he is his son. Who will say this Vinova is that Vinova? Father gone, the son has now to shoulder the burden. Now Vinova to us is what Bapu was to us then. After Gandhi's death he has become as loving as he."

With all his humility—he ends his speeches and letters with *Vinova ke pranam* (Vinova's salutation)—a little ruggedness seems still to persist in him, which

time and his daily increasing contact with people will round off. Or it may be, he retains something of the old reserve that is mistaken by casual visitors as ruggedness. The character of that reserve is revealed from the following written by Mahadev Desai in *Young India* of 1917 :

"You may stay days and days with him without knowing him and even when you know him you only begin to know him. You meet with a reserve which you cannot easily break. He does not talk much, rarely does he say anything about himself. And yet if you could get at the bottom of his profound depths, you are sure to exclaim, 'Nowhere have I struck such treasures!'"

The Gita has been and is his guide. He turns to it at every corner for direction and he gets it. The Gita sustains him, gives him energy, gives him drive. In his own words :

"I have no words to explain the place the Gita occupies in my life. It has done me infinite good." And again,

"In all my actions the Gita has been my guide, as it is today. It has always given me peace of mind, energy and wisdom. Whenever I needed an incentive or the drive to do a thing, it came from the Gita."

And what, according to Vinova, the Gita teaches? To him the Gita does not emphasize action alone, or devotion alone, or realization alone. Neither would he accept the opposite view which regards it as an amalgam of the three. A little of all the three has also no appeal for him. That it is a gradual progress from action to devotion and from devotion to realization is neither acceptable to him. Nor does he like the view that seeks to reconcile the three. "I would rather say," he writes in his commentary, "what is action is devotion and what is devotion is realization."

Vinova's *Gita* is a good seller. Of it Mahadevbhai wrote : "He has produced a Marathi translation of the Gita in parallel verse which reproduces the haunting music of the original in an amazing degree and hundred thousand copies of it have been sold in Maharashtra." His *Gita-pravachan* in Hindi, a translation from the original in Marathi, has gone through five editions, number of copies running to sixty-six thousand.

Now a brief reference to his work that is just now before the public and that has given him publicity. *Bhoo-dan yajna* initiated in Telangana has now spread to Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Three lakhs of acres have come to him. More important than acres is the atmosphere that he has created. Every post brings him land from all parts of the Union. Next he enters Bihar. Then he comes to Bengal, and goes to Orissa and Tamilnad. He hopes to cover 25 thousand miles, that is India, in six years and collect 5 crores of acres.

Establishment of equality, to bring about Sarvodaya (the greatest good of *all*, and not the greatest good of the *greatest number*) is the object of *Bhoo-dan yajna* which Vinova has called his five-year plan. Vinova says :

"Now that political freedom has been attained, we have to work for the establishment of equality. I have called that Sarvodaya. You may, if you like, call that Samyayoga or Sarvodaya. It is for the establishment of this Sarvodaya that I have been going from village to village.

"I call this my five-year plan. If all of you take up this work for the next five years and during that time succeed in transferring five crore acres of land, then a great non-violent revolution has taken place in India."

It is a historical necessity.

"What I am doing is not against the trend of history. You have to recognize that what have not happened before may happen. Russian revolution had had no precedent, yet it came. So too this may come about. Whatever that may be, what I am doing is not against history, but is a historical necessity."

Vinova does not beg, he teaches :

"I demand land," Vinova says, "as of right on behalf of the poor . . . I do not beg it of you. I say I am here to teach you to do the right thing." For, "if the thirsty do not get clean water to drink, they quench their thirst with foul water."

His is the third way, the non-violent one.

"A great revolution is taking shape in India. I see it before me. Russia passed through a kind of revolution. America is passing through a second kind. I have observed the both. Either of them is foreign to the culture and genius of India."

India's is the third way, with its embryo in the *Bhoo-dan yajna*. Vinova is confident of success. And his confidence—confidence of a man who has reduced himself to a zero, speaks :

"Those who do not give me land today, will give tomorrow. They cannot but give. There is none who may refuse me."

Vinova is resolute. It is always "do or die" with him. Appealing to all for support he says :

"I invite you all to work for this revolution. I seek to revolutionize thought, to revolutionize the means. The sages say, youths delight in new creation, new mission. Here is a mission for them, a new world to create."

Vinova is beginning to draw masses as Gandhi did. He is forging a tremendous sanction. It is in us to make it compelling. When it is, the people straying away from Gandhian way, shall walk back. Or there is struggle. And struggle will only add to Vinova's stature.

EAST-WEST COLD WAR AND A WAY OUT

BY DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,

University of Lucknow

It was with no inconsiderable effort that the diplomatic unity of the war years was maintained by the Allies up to 1947, but from 1948 onwards a new period of post-War clarification began as a consequence of which the world has become more and more dis-united than it has ever been before in peace-time particularly between the Russian-directed East Europe and the American-inspired West. This so-called East-West cold war has become increasingly intense as each side attempts to exercise direct or indirect pressures over its neighbours.

This amazing change in the world situation is, however, no accident, for it has been the inevitable aftermath of the situation created by World War II. It is only necessary to remember that the so-called Grand Alliance of 1941-45, whatever the nature of its war-time propaganda, was in fact a make-shift combination of Powers with different, if not contradictory, interests, united only by the common danger from Nazi Germany. So, once the war was over, one disagreement gave way to another, and within three years the memory of the Grand Alliance had all but disappeared and a situation had followed wherein the rival blocs have grown accustomed to picturing the world in terms of black and white.

This East-West cold war has now become a potential threat to peace and civilisation as each side is busy preparing for an atomic warfare in anticipation of the coming World War III. As a matter of fact, many have now begun to think that in the circumstances created by East-West tensions a final show-down is unavoidable and may not be put off indefinitely. While this sombre feeling is gaining ground day by day, the great debate goes on, "Is War inevitable, and is there no way out?" The more familiar assumption is that the third world war between the capitalist and communist blocs is not far off, for the world is aware of the fact that the rival blocs are arming on a scale and with the speed that could not be dreamt of before.

Now, let us see how the Western Powers justify their stand. Their chief argument is that their war preparations are intended actually to avert world war and not to bring about one. They maintain that atomic preparations cannot be given up at present and that the need is all the more pressing as the morale of the democracies has to be sustained in the present situation. The sorely tried Western peoples are mortally afraid of Communism, and they believe they should rather brave all the risks and sufferings of a vast war programme than be a slave of Communism. Even the horrors of war seem to be preferable to dictatorship and concentration camps.

To the Communist bloc, the nations of the West seem to be no better than imperialist war-mongers.

So, Soviet Russia and its satellites explain their own war preparations as an essential move to catch up with the West and counteract the so-called aggressive intentions of the Western Powers. Thus, what to the West appears to be a threat as dangerous as the menace of Nazism, is, from East's viewpoint, nothing more than mere military security and economic reconstruction.

To the detached observer, it would seem that fear is the underlying cause of East-West tensions, for the talk about ideological conflict is, in fact, more plausible than convincing. All propaganda for or against Communism and capitalism is at this moment inspired more by suspicion than by anything else. This sense of suspicion has permeated even the sacred precincts of culture. Literature, art, music and even science have been made to conform to the orthodox tenets of rival ideologies. The growing apprehension that the maintenance of one's cherished ideals and way of life are at stake accounts for the growing war propaganda on both sides, even though this apprehension has little basis other than probably the fear that ideological differences cannot co-exist.

Before one may talk of finding a way out, it is necessary to understand certain fundamental facts of history. War is never inevitable, yet it always results from preventable circumstances. In the midst of suspicion and fear even a petty mistake can produce a war, and in a state of tension and also misunderstanding it is scarcely likely that Powers would go on year after year without making a mistake. Between two Powers, one may always feel inclined or tempted to hope that it could dominate the other and then find, when it would be impossible to go back, that the other party is as determined to fight against odds as it was itself when the roles were interchanged. Besides, people have always been moved in the last resort by ideas, although they decide to fight for an idea when it is blurred or distorted by hate, prejudice or fear. It is only when psychological tensions generate fear and hate that war mentality comes in. History, however, proves that the dynamics of any idea cannot be crushed by anything other than intrinsic frustrations.

It is easy to argue that logic is not a dependable basis for reasoning in the tense situation of today, yet that is in reality, and at any rate is at present the only basis, for it is only through a rational approach that peace can be preserved and tensions can be relieved. There is a certain cynical scepticism about the possibilities of an East-West rapprochement. But why? Perhaps this is chiefly a result of the perverse and irrational way of thinking which the cold war has encouraged. As the last war merged rapidly into the cold war, the illogical arguments about the inevitability of a show-down have been freely bandied about

with such zeal that war talks have gripped the public mind. No one would deny that another global war would destroy humanity along with the civilisation it has built up during thousands of years. It is likewise undeniable that war and fear always constitute a vicious circle of cause and effect.

What then is the way out? The peace-loving peoples all over the world have reason to think that a way must be found. But, the ever-yawning gulf can be bridged, only if there is right thinking on both sides. And, right thinking in this case demands that we initially agree on certain basic postulates:

First, no particular way of life should be regarded as necessarily superior to others.

Second, no political organisation is inherently good or bad in itself.

Third, imposition of one's own way of life on others against their own free will amounts to imperialism.

Fourth, imperialism is an outmoded policy which no freedom-loving people will willingly tolerate.

Lastly, any two ideologies, no matter how antithetical they are, can co-exist, if there is no undue fanaticism or intolerance on either side.

Having accepted these assumptions, one has to admit that the fear-complex must be resolutely fought and got rid of. It was the late President Roosevelt who had once uttered these prophetic words, "The only thing that we need fear after the war is fear." Indeed, peace is impossible, unless mankind achieves freedom from fear. It is worthy of note that although the present situation is cheerless in every respect, there are certain hopeful features which might tend to lessen fear and suspicion on either side. East and West are both in agreement on the need for maintaining world peace. Both are agreed on the urgency for the promotion of human welfare, and both have duly subscribed to the great objectives of the United Nations. Both profess to find an end of war in collective security, and each has proclaimed its desire for peace in Korea, for the abolition and regulation of atomic weapons, for a general disarmament, for a unified Germany, for the removal, in fact, of all those obstacles which are at present perpetuating East-West tension. Now, if there could be so much of agreement in basic principles, one fails to understand why the gulf cannot be bridged.

It will be no exaggeration to say that the cold war has now become a struggle for world opinion, and it is in this fact that there may lie a way out. World opinion in favour of peace and unity may yet bring the East-West wrangles to an end. It is heartening to think that the Asian Powers in general, and India in particular, have been playing an historic role in focusing world opinion on the need for an East-West understanding. India has always cherished the ideal of unity in diversity throughout her long and chequered history, and that is why India is peculiarly fitted to throw all her weight on the side of peace. India's non-

alignment policy has been misunderstood at times, but the fact remains that the policy is basically sound, and it alone is likely to strengthen the forces of peace and mould the public opinion in smaller countries. It is in deference to this growing world opinion that even East has lately come out with new proposals for the abolition of atomic weapons on lines which bring it a little closer to the Western Powers.

Thus, the crux of the matter lies in the growth of world opinion, and it is possible for the neutral parties to exert their combined influence in favour of peace and unity. After the last war, world opinion has become the strongest single compelling factor of peace, and it is worth remembering that both East and West are aware that they cannot afford to disregard, much less defy it. The only danger is that the economically less advanced Powers may be misled by the kind of double propaganda, which has replaced the cruder propaganda of the pre-war years. Still, it is a fact that a mass of public opinion has been growing up against the talk of war, and against such public opinion even the atomic bomb is of no use.

But, when all is said, the fact remains that there are no short cuts to a speedy solution of the outstanding disputes. Impatience, in fact, will aggravate the malady, rather than lessen it. A reckless armament race as an ostensible method of averting war will hasten rather than postpone it. History shows that there cannot be an armament race without leading into the war it was meant to avert.

As a matter of fact, the gulf has to be bridged slowly and gradually, step by step and agreement by agreement. It is through a process of progressive agreement that a basis for co-existence may be found. Let us face the facts in a realistic spirit and concede that real unity will not be easily or quickly attainable. But, it is more than likely that even partial agreements will lead to a better state of affairs. In other words, we must be prepared to go through a fairly long period of lessening tension by accepting local and even limited settlements, and, above all, by scrupulously avoiding needless provocation. It is through preliminary agreements in small matters that gradually a wider agreement to live and let live might eventually emerge. At any rate, it is good to remember that there is no magic-wand which could produce a real agreement all at once.

Thus, a pre-condition for the desired consummation is an offensive on the moral front. This need not be confined to the diplomatic level alone, or even in the debates of the United Nations. It should mean the universal promotion of those ideals of human welfare without which peace can have no meaning. If mankind is to be spared a collective destruction, the great powers must see to it that all political action is founded on the welfare of the common man. The lasting basis of a new world unity lies perhaps only in this direction.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE AFTERMATH 1818-1826 : By R. D. Choksey. Published by New Book Co., Bombay. Pp. viii + 360 and three plates. Price Rs. 16.

Dr. R. D. Choksey is to be congratulated on his having brought his chosen task to completion. People outside Bombay State (and many even there) do not know that the historical papers of the Peshwas' record office down to the year 1783 (when the first Anglo-Maratha War was ended by Treaty) and a vast mass of family documents all over the province which were seized by the Inam Commission, have been edited by G. S. Sardesai and published by the Bombay Government in 45 volumes named *Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar*. Then came the English letters sent out and received by the British Residents at the Maratha Courts (Holkar excluded) from 1784 onwards, which have been completely published by the same Government in 15 volumes, entitled *Poona Residency correspondence (1785-1818)*. After the fall of the Peshwai in 1818, the Maratha districts were administered by a band of exceptionally able British civil officials and "politicals" who sent valuable reports while they organised a new administration for ten years. Of these Elphinstone is best known, but Chaplin Briggs, J. Grant Duff and Robertson are second only to him. Though these reports and letters have been typed, their printing by Government is now not to be hoped for.

The public ought to be satisfied with the four volumes in which Dr. Choksey has printed the cream of these records, illustrating the economic condition, education, state of society, law and justice, and attempts at social reform during that period. These volumes ought to enrich the library of every serious student of Maratha history.

J. SARKAR

A RIGHTEOUS STRUGGLE : By Mahadev Haribhai Desai. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. October, 1951. Pp. vii + 97. Price Re. 1-8.

This 'Chronicle of the Ahmedabad Textile Labourers' Fight for Justice' in 1918 was originally published in Gujarati. It has now been translated and compressed for the sake of a wider circle of readers into English.

Gandhiji's greatest contribution was the method of collective action which he eventually came to designate by the term Satyagraha.

There have been numerous Satyagraha movements in India for the removal of social, economic and political disabilities; some of them directly under

Gandhiji, while others were by others, but definitely under his inspiration. Gandhiji claimed that Satyagraha was an infallible remedy and a complete substitute for war, capable of being wielded by either small or large groups of men for a right cause. War is one of the most urgent problems which beset the modern world, and it is therefore all the more necessary that its moral substitute in the form of Satyagraha should be subjected to critical examination wherever it has been tried, either successfully or unsuccessfully. The conditions under which it succeeds have to be investigated with scientific precision.

The present study by Mahadev Desai should not however be taken to be a contribution in that direction. It is frankly partisan, and therefore not critical from the point of view of a historian or social scientist.

The Ahmedabad Textile Labourers' Union went on a strike for higher wages, and Gandhiji took up the leadership at a certain point, toned down the demand until he felt that the rock bottom had been reached from the point of view of pure justice, and then advised the strikers to hold on even under the severest prospects of suffering. The employers, in the meanwhile, lifted the lock-out, and, as a result, some of the strikers began to waver in their determination. At this stage, Gandhiji went on a fast in order to touch the heart of the workers and steel them in their determination to continue the struggle. The employers felt, on their part, that they had been hit below the belt by the fast and quickly came to terms in order to get out of an ugly situation. In any case, a victory was ultimately registered on behalf of the workers.

But what is significant is that success in the struggle under question was contingent upon the presence of a very superior type of moral leadership. It is not clear if the labourers themselves, or their Union, gained in strength in so far as their own fighting ability was concerned. It is not also clear how far the heart of the employers was touched in regard to the justice of the workers' cause; and, even if it did so for the time being, if the effect of it endured for any length of time. In a critical account and assessment of any particular Satyagraha campaign, these are the points which require special consideration. The present book, however, leaves an exaggerated impression of the moral eminence of the leader and does not carry us very far in regard to the other questions relating to the character of Satyagraha as a social instrument to be used by common men and women.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

GANDHARVAS AND KINNARAS IN INDIAN ICONOGRAPHY: By R. S. Panchamukhi. *Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. Pp. 58 and twenty plates. Price Rs. 2.*

The Gandharvas and Kinnaras with other fabulous creatures in our mythology have played a large part in our literature and plastic art throughout their history. With the exception of the late Dr. Coomaraswamy's amazingly learned monograph on *The Yakshas*, however, the subject has not been systematically treated so far. The omission is now sought to be made good to some extent by the author of the present work. It consists of six chapters of which the first three deal respectively with reference to "the Gandharvas and Kinnaras in literature" (really, Sanskrit literature from the *Vedas* to the *Puranas*), in the Buddhist and Jaina texts, and lastly, in North and South Indian inscriptions from the 1st to the 13th century A.D.: the fourth chapter consists of literary references to the iconographical peculiarities of these deities as set forth in the texts "from the Vedic hymns to the literature of the 17th century A.D.": the fifth chapter deals with sculptural representations of "Gandharvas and Kinnaras" in *Gandhara Art*, in *Gupta, Chalukya and Pallava Art* and in *Mediaeval Art*, as well as those of "Kinnara figures" in "pre-historic and historic periods." The sixth and last chapter has a short note on the iconometry of these deities according to the testimony of the technical treatises. The imperfections of this work have been pointed out in the friendly and discerning criticism of the well-known scholar, Sri O. C. Gangoly, who writes a Foreword to it. These consist of imperfect literary references, inadequate list of illustrations and lack of comparison with the parallel figures of European art. To the above we may add a few more, *viz.*, inadequacy of the epigraphical and other archaeological references, occasional lapses in chapter-headings (as in the title of the first chapter referred to above), and a few slips in the detailed descriptions (as in the inclusion of Kushan sculptures from Mathura under the caption "Gandhara Art" and that of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri sculptures under the head of "Gupta, Chalukya and Pallava Art"). In spite of these and other deficiencies, the book is a notable addition to the growing literature of Indian iconography.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MUGHAL GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION: By Principal Sri Ram Sharma. *Published by Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. xvii + 290. Price Rs. 6-8.*

During the last two decades, the study of the political theories and institutions of our country under Hindu, Mughal and British rule has engaged the serious attention of our scholars. Of the Mughal period more than half a dozen treatises have appeared, of which Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* and Ibn Hasan's *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* hold the pride of place in relative value and importance. Another tome, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* otherwise a good work has, however, fallen off the scholarly standard by the author's tendency to show off his learning. I have shown casually in the paper published in the present issue that his hit against the master-historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, in connection with a point about judicial administration has no justification.

The present work under review embodies the result of the author's years of study and teaching in Lahore, Srinagar (Kashmir) and now in Sholapur College in the State of Bombay. The author claims the present work to be "the first systematic attempt to cover all phases of Mughal governmental practices during the entire Mughal period," and incorporates here the substance of some of his earlier writings, *e.g.*, *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, along with certain topics, such as the assessment and collection of land revenue, organization of public services. He has laboriously collected the data from printed and manuscript sources and given us very interesting information here and there. For instance, on the Zabti system he strikes a new note when he writes, "Instead of striking an average of the last ten years' assessment rate, the prices current in the dasturs during the last ten years were averaged and the resultant prices of various crops were used for the purpose of converting the demand in kind into demand in cash." (p. 73) On the Mansabdari system he points out the admission of comparatively lower employees, such as the news-writers, postal messengers, the superintendent of the royal beds, into varying ranks (Mansabs), the ratio between the Hindu and the Muslim Mansabdars and the number of Mansabdars receiving salary in cash and in assignment (1690) and so on; but we are constrained to point out that the author has indulged in generalisations and statements which do not accord with facts. On many points, such as his views about the nature of the Mughal polity, and its resemblance with that of the West, relative position of the high dignitaries at the Centre, the interpretation of the *Sawar*, the consequences of the Law of Escheat, the continuity of the Qazi at the Court (Chief Qazi) under Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, the lot of the peasantry, I could not agree with the learned author and have set forth my views in the paper published in the present issue. There are also other matters to which the attention of the author is respectfully drawn, *e.g.*, according to him, the Diwan-i-Bayutat "at the capital and in the provinces worked under the supervision of the Mir Saman and were his assistants." (P. 49). But Ibn Hasan in his learned work writes, "The Mir Saman and the Diwan-i-Bayutat were jointly responsible for the management of the *karkhanas* and the working of the department; but in spite of the joint responsibility . . . the Mir Saman had a somewhat higher position . . . but the Diwan cannot be considered his subordinate." (P. 243). Professor Sharma's observations on the Diwan's functions are misleading. He writes, "If his (the Diwan's) advice tendered (in private) was not accepted, he could still raise the question in public." (P. 42). The position of the utter subservience of the Diwan to his royal master is shown by the position of Islam Khan under Shah Jahan, (vide *Ibn Hasan*, p. 194). The author evidently overlooks this fact which is known to him.

Secondly, he writes, "The Diwan put money at the disposal of the Khan-i-Saman for roads, buildings, works of art"; but I have come across the following statement in Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* on this point: "All *parwanahs* for cash payments in the imperial household department were issued by the Khan-i-Saman; the Diwan merely endorsing them." (4th Ed., p. 37). Some of his headlines 'the Mansabdars are not nobles,' 'designation of Mir Saman as Minister of Agriculture and Industry,' 'Mansabdars

as contractors for military labour, and so forth, are both sensational and fictitious. The author's stand as to Sher Shah being given more credit as a reformer and administrator is fully justified.

N. B. Roy

INDIAN MEDICINE: By Dr. Julius Jolly. Translator C. G. Kashikar, M.A., 196-27 Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2. Published by the translator. Size 1 in. X 7 ins. X 10 ins. approximately. Price Rs. 15.

The encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research founded by Buhler and continued by Kielhorn is well known amongst workers in this field as a valuable contribution towards the scientific exposition of ancient Indian culture and learning. The original book forms a part of this important series compiled by the German workers with their characteristic thoroughness. It was written in 1901 and has hitherto been read by only a privileged few of those interested in this section of Indian culture. Shri C. G. Kashikar has rendered us a valuable service by translating into English this highly interesting book. It is really amazing how the original author has condensed in this small space so much of the important Ayurvedic literature written in Sanskrit and spread over several centuries of Indian history. The mode of ancient Indian thinking is greatly different from that of the Western schools and this frequently gave rise to serious confusion amongst the Western scholars when they tried to grasp the Indian thought. Modern Indian scholars too, being

more Westernized in their education and outlook and having lost most of their links with the ancient culture of India, are liable to misinterpret the functional concepts of the ancient Indian writers as a product of the speculative imagination of a primitive civilization. In this respect German Indologists have always been nearer the correct interpretation than their English colleagues. The translator's account of Jolly's *Medizin* confirms the above opinion over again.

Apart from such minor defects as printing and spelling mistakes which have crept into some places in spite of an 'Errata,' the book is very usefully presented. It will be of help both to the teachers and students of Ayurveda as well as to the teachers and research workers in modern medicine of this country who are seeking to re-establish the continuity of scientific thought between what is our past heritage and what is our legacy for the future, not merely on sentiments but on the confidence of knowledge too.

The supplementary Ayurvedic bibliography wisely given by the translator over and above that mentioned by Jolly, has considerably improved the reference value of the book. It is a pity that the translator could not find a publisher for his work, but unfortunately in India it is no new experience for the writers whose works have no commercial appeal. It is high time that cultural leaders of our country should find some solution for this problem.

B. Bose

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ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE

CALCUTTA-13.

CURRENT AFFAIRS (1952) : Edited by A. R. Mukherjee. Published by A. Mukherjee and Co. Ltd., Calcutta 12. Pages 650. Price Rs. 4.

This is the fourth year of publication of the useful Year Book by a firm of well-known publishers of Calcutta, dealing practically with all political, economic and educational topics in which the educated public are interested. The publication is divided into three parts : Part I is divided into eleven chapters, viz., General Survey of World Affairs, World Gazetteer, Communication and Transport, Economic Survey of the World, Commercial Directory, Science and Technology, Art and Literature, Press and News Abroad, World Information, Sports World and World Statistics. Part II is twelve chapters (India and Pakistan) viz., India : State of the Republic, Political Review, Economic Survey of 1951, Science and Technology, Education, Art and Literature, the Press, India and Indians, Constitutional Directory, Sports-India, Statistics-India ; Pakistan and Pakistanis ; and Part III contains Who is Who, India and Pakistan and a few maps.

In the present-day world, nations are so inter-dependent that an intimate and wide knowledge of the different countries of the world is a necessity for every educated man. But such a vast knowledge can only be acquired by a long study but the time available to each is very limited. Thus it becomes a necessity for an ordinary man to refer to publication of this nature for handy and dependable knowledge which can be of help in our day-to-day life. Since its first publication in 1949, there has been a great improvement not only in the selection of subjects presented to the readers but also in the manner of presentation and statistics and as such *Current Affairs* will prove useful to a large section of people of all classes throughout the country—India and Pakistan. We have, therefore, no hesitation in recommending this Year Book to the interested public for all current information and references.

The publishers intend to supply to purchasers of this book, free of charge, a supplement containing names of members of different State Assemblies and Councils, House of the People, the Council of States, Parties, Party Position, Ministers, etc., and other relevant matters in near future. This announcement is certainly very welcome and will help wider circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

PRANAYAMA : By Swami Kuvalayananda. Published by Kavalayadham, Lonavla, G. I. P., Bombay. Third impression. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 5-8.

Swami Kuvalayananda's researches in the science of Yoga are original and unprecedented in the history of Indian therapeutics. In pre-monastic life he was a qualified doctor and learned practical Yoga from his guru, the great Bengali Hath-yogi Madhavdas. His experimental researches in Yoga have been widely recognised in India and abroad and serially published in his quarterly *Yoga-Mimansa* journal for several years. Mr. K. T. Behanan, Physical Instructor of Yale University, U.S.A. had come to India in 1932 and lived with Swami Kuvalayananda for one year and learned the practice of Yogic postures and Pranayama. On returning home ever since he has been preaching and practising popular Yoga in his University.

In order to popularise Yoga, Swami Kuvalayananda has brought out two hand-books named *Asanas* and *Pranayama*. The second one, the book under review, describes with scientific precision and traditional accuracy some breathing exercises that anybody can practise without any fear of injury and improve his health and longevity. The book contains as many as forty illustrations nicely printed on fine art paper. Not only breathing exercises but also Asanas appropriate to Pranayama are also described with adequate illustrations. Technique of Ujjayi, Kapalbhata and Bhastrika Pranayama is separately given with practical details. In the chapter on Pranayama in general many pertinent topics are discussed in the light of statements of both ancient and modern authorities. The experiments carried on by Swami Kuvalayananda in his equipped laboratory at Bombay have challenged some of the conclusions of Haldane and Priestley recorded in Halliburton's *Handbook of Physiology*. The chapter on physiological and spiritual values of Pranayama is particularly interesting to the general readers. In this chapter it is clearly shown that some simple breathing exercises immensely strengthen the respiratory and digestive systems and enrich health. Yogic Asanas combined with preliminary Pranayama can certainly make the human system free from diseases and prolong life. Dr. Erving Fischer and Dr. Eugene Fisch of Life Extension Institute of America after conducting scientific experiments for years in this line of research have come at last to the conclusion that rhythmic breathing exercises are among the best means of extending life.

In the Appendices full, short and easy courses in Yogic physical culture are added. Both males and females are entitled to the practice of Asanas and Pranayama. Practical experience as well as experimental accuracy of the learned author has made this book a most reliable self-instructor in physical and spiritual health. A perusal will convince the reader about the usefulness and efficacy of Yogic postures and breathing exercises. The general public may safely use this book as a dependable guide and derive the benefits of Yoga which is now so much misused and misunderstood.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

ZOHRA : By Zeenuth Futehally. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 324. Price Rs. 4-12.

It is a novel of manners and society of fast vanishing upper-class Muhammadan life in Hyderabad, Deccan. The author has given a vivid picture of the old Muslim society ; and its struggles with the impact of Western influence and the ferment of an uplifting nationalism, of which the Congress movement was the spearhead. Zohra, the heroine, typifies the struggle of a soul between the rigid, traditional morality of a Muslim household and an emotional upheaval that defies and transcends all conventions. She is in the words of Mr. E. M. Forster "both charming and convincing."

A careful reading of the novel gives us an inside view of Muslim psychology over matters of which we have no idea. As a novel it is a good novel, and it is a creative achievement on the part of the author.

J. M. DATTA

BENGALI

HUGLI JILAR ITIHAS: By Sudhir Kumar Mitra. Sishir Publishing House, 22-1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta 6. Pp. xii + 997. Price Rs. 15.

We congratulate both the author and the publisher on bringing out such a big volume in this time of stress. The part of Bengal, which now covers the Hugli district, was well-known to the people both in and outside India, for its cultural, religious and economic prosperity. The European adventurers beginning with the Portuguese wooed its people as well as its rulers at different times to serve their selfish ends. The district passed through many vicissitudes of fortune till it passed into the British hands. Many villages in Hugli were the seats of Sanskrit learning. Such eminent Sanskrit scholars as Pandit Jagannath Tarkapanchanan of Tribeni extracted praise from the scholars of both the East and the West. The Maths and Mandirs, the Imambara, the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches tell the story of Hugli's glory in different times. During the British period, too, the people of this part excelled in scholarship. Their contribution to the making of modern Bengal can never be overestimated. The social, religious and economic revolution that has transformed the face of Bengal during the British regime was not a little due to the intelligent part played by the children of its soil. Raja Rammohun Roy of hallowed memory belonged to the district of Hugli, where are confined his earlier life and movements.

To attempt an history of such a district, pregnant with past relics and present achievements, is, simply speaking, a gigantic task. Its ancient and modern political history, cultural and religious activities, system of education prevalent in the Muslim period, modern literature, art and journalism, modern education in its different aspects, with special reference to vernacular and female education, etc., are some of the subjects, the mere narration of which would require enough time and industry for many an individual. The author has taken upon himself this herculean task, and it is no wonder that his collection and sifting of materials leave much room for improvement. We fervently long for the second edition of the volume when the author will be able to revise it in the light of up-to-date researches. Want of an index is keenly felt by the reader in such a big volume. The book is illustrated.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

HINDI

AURANGZIB: By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Hindi translation of the "Short History of Aurangzib." Pp. xvi + 676, Portrait. Published by Hindi Grantha Ratnakar Office, Hirabagh, Bombay 4. Price Rs. 7-8.

Sri Nathuram Premi, the enterprising populariser of Hindi in Bombay, rightly claims this book to be a valuable addition to Hindi literature. Sarkar's well-known *Short History* contains nearly half the substance of his big authoritative work in five volumes. The present translation has been made in an easy and pleasant style through the constant care of Kumar Raghuvar Singh of Sitamau. The original author has made in this Hindi version many corrections and additions, so as to embody all the discoveries of fresh

materials and conclusions gained by him since the English book was printed 20 years ago. The political lesson taught by the fall of the Islamic State even when administered by an extraordinarily active, intelligent and pious ruler like Aurangzib, can be learnt with profit by the rulers of modern India—on both sides of the Indo-Pak border,—and the most convincing proofs are given here from the best Persian, Marathi and European sources. The Hindi-speaking millions of India cannot ignore such a book.

B. N. B.

GUJARATI

JIVANNUN PARODH: By Parbhudas Chhaganlal Gandhi. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad, 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 644. Price Rs. 8.

This outstanding work, called the Dawn of Life, is written by a family member of Mahatmaj who had occasion to live with him and came in direct contact with him. Almost every activity of Gandhiji in South Africa has come under the writer's survey, and in consequence not a page reads dull. There are several valuable photographs printed also. Those who desire to know how the seeds of Gandhiji's tremendous activity had been sown should not miss reading this remarkable book of reminiscences.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

MESSAGES OF SRI AUROBINDO AND THE MOTHER (Second Series): Published by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Pp. 27. Price Re. 1.

WORDS OF THE MOTHER (Fourth Series): Published by the same. Pp. 25. Price Re. 1.

KENA UPANISHAD: By Sri Aurobindo. Published by the same. Pp. 134. Price Rs. 2-8.

First the Text and Translation (pp. 1-15) and then the Commentary thereon by Sri Aurobindo (pp. 17-134) are published in this book.

ON EDUCATION: By the Mother. Published by the same. Pp. 62. Price Re. 1-8.

The first chapter is on the Science of Living and the rest on Education, general, physical, vital, psychic and spiritual.

A SCHEME OF EDUCATION: By Pranab Kumar Bhattacharya. Published by the same. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 3.

This book was written by the author to help a group of people who wanted to organize a scheme of physical education. But as physical education cannot be divorced from all other kinds of education, mental, moral, spiritual and general, he has touched on all the branches of Education and conceived and formulated a Scheme of Education worth the name in this highly instructive book.

WHAT IS BUDDHISM?: By Venerable Narada Maha Thera. Published by Mahabodhi Society of India, Calcutta. Pp. 46. Price three annas.

THE DHAMMA-CAKKA PAVATTANA SUTTA (The first Sermon of Buddha delivered at Sarnath): By Sister Vajra. Published by the same, Sarnath, Banaras. Pp. 35. Price four annas.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Indians in South Africa

Prof. Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji writes in *Careers and Courses* :

In the general elections of 1948 Field Marshal Smuts was thrown out of power and the Nationalist Party under Dr. D. F. Malan came to power. The election manifesto of the Nationalist Party gave an indication of the shape of things to come under Malan regime. The manifesto said, *inter alia*, that the Indians were an 'outlandish' and 'unassimilable' element and that 'the basis of the Nationalist policy was the repatriation of as many Indians as possible.' But are the Indians really 'outlandish' and 'unassimilable'? Even F. M. Smuts, no friend of Indians, thought otherwise. He said years ago, in a different context, however: "They (Indians) were brought here by us, the European population, and they have lived here. Generations have grown up here. They do not know India or any other country; they are South Africans, South-Africa born, they do not even know their language; they have only the South African outlook: they have been subjected to all influences which transform a human being into a citizen of another country. Can we simply take away the right from them and give nothing in return?" India too poses the same question before the bar of world opinion and pauses for an honest reply.

The Group Areas Act passed by the Nationalist Government in 1950 is a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter. It divides the people into three categories—the white, the native and the coloured. The last, which may be further sub-divided, includes Indians. The Act authorises the Government to establish 'Group Areas' for the exclusive ownership or occupation by both of any of these groups. All areas other than 'Group Areas' and native location will be 'controlled' in which transfer of ownership or occupation between members of different groups can be effected only under the authority of a permit. Trade licences are to be issued or renewed only on proof that the applicant can lawfully occupy the premises where the trade is to be carried on.

The limited franchise granted to Indians by the 'Ghetto Act' of 1946 has been withdrawn. The coloured people are to elect their representatives to the Parliament on the basis of separate electorate. This last provision has since been declared *ultra vires* by the South African Supreme Court. Dr. Malan however was not prepared to accept the finding of the Court. A High Court of Parliament with members drawn from the Senate and the House of Assembly was set up. The Court will deliver final judgement on legislative matters. Its authority will be limited to fundamental constitutional issues where the validity of an Act of Parliament is questioned. It is empowered to set aside any judgment of the Supreme Court on any Act of Parliament since the Statute of Westminster 1951.

Various other laws passed by the Malan Government since 1948 have imposed humiliating restrictions on Indians. The prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Population Registration Act deserve more than a passing notice. Under the first all marriages between whites and non-whites have been declared null and void. Government

officials officiating at such marriages are to be fined. The second Act mentioned above empowers the executive to take any step it likes not only against Communists, but against those as well, who, in the opinion of the executive, encourage hostility between Europeans and non-Europeans. Under the third Act a register was to be compiled after the 1951 census showing whether a man was a Union citizen, domiciled in the Union or on a temporary visit to the Union. It requires every person over 16 years of age to carry an identity card giving a description of his person and the ethnic group to which he belongs. The identity card is to be produced for inspection on demand by authorised police officers.

The Department of Social Welfare of the South African Government has stopped family allowances of Indians although 70.2 per cent of Indians in the city of Durban live on bare subsistence standards. Indian education is utterly neglected. Separate classes spread over 4 years and offering almost exclusively arts courses are held for Indian students at nights and during week-ends. Libraries are inadequate and there are no hostels for Indian students. There were only 183 students in the University of Natal in 1946. There were besides some in the Universities of the Transvaal and the Cape in the same year.

The South African Government has been trying for some time past to foment inter-racial discord by setting Africans against Indians and one African tribe against another. The Durban riots of January, 1949, was a logical result of the racial policy and the policy of 'divide and rule' pursued over years by the Union Government.

White South Africa seeks to justify its racial policy on the plea of the preservation of white civilisation. What it really aims at is the perpetuation of white domination—of white economic and political privileges. The freedom of the African, the heritage of the coloured and the equality of the Asian, have all been sacrificed to the interest of the white settler.

The situation in South Africa today is a dangerous one. The Group Areas Act threatens the Indian community with economic ruin. They are mostly traders. But the Group Areas Act has been enforced, they will be violated from all other racial groups and their trade will be confined to Indians alone. Many firms and traders will have to wind up their business. Deprived of their only means of livelihood these Indians will have to come back to India. The Act thereof is a clever device to get rid of the Indian population.

Education in India

Dr. M. N. Saha writes in *Science and Culture* :

India has accepted, after independence, the ideal of a secular democratic State which means that the will and capacity of the people will form the directive forces for the administration of the country. But it has been the great lesson of history that democracy cannot properly function unless the voters are nearly hundred per cent literate. Nearly hundred years ago, when democracy was first coming to England, John Stuart Mill made the prophetic remark that '*Universal suffrage without universal education would be a curse*'. (Italics ours)

The analysis of the working of democracies in different parts of the world during the last and present centuries shows that Mill was a true prophet.

Take for example, the U.S.A. Until education had been made free and compulsory, elections were managed by party bosses, and democracy was a mockery. Tammany Hall disappeared only when the citizens became nearly 100 per cent educated, and a voter could realize the meaning of his vote. The U.S.A. papers say, "A well informed public and an enlightened citizenry are the best security of a democratic State."

In all western countries, it is only the introduction of free and compulsory education for boys and girls from the age of six to fourteen which has rendered democracy possible.

The first elections in free India under universal suffrage had shown that a large proportion of voters had voted not for any particular cause, or person, but for the sacred bull.

It cannot be said that the Congress which now holds the power had been unmindful of the importance of educational reforms in its days of struggle for independence. As far back as the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress of 1931, a resolution was passed, "defining the fundamental rights of citizens which states in its Preamble *inter alia*, that to enable the masses to appreciate what Swaraj, as conceived by the Congress, will mean to them, the Congress declares, that in order to end the exploitation of the masses any constitution agreed to on behalf of the Congress should provide, among other things, for free and compulsory primary education."

The National Planning Committee in its memorandum on Education says:

"Western Education in this country aimed at making out of the educated section of the Indian people recruits for the military defence and for conducting the British Administration. Clerks and soldiers, with a small leaven of professional men made up the bulk of the educated who acted as the agents of the British in this country. Animated by the ideals and influences which inspired the Britisher in his own country, these indigenous recruits and agents in India observed the same traditions, and carried out the same policy, though in a more intensive form. Class, rather than mass, education became rather the rule or fashion, and remains so to this day."

It further stated that when the people of the land would come to shoulder direct responsibility and wield authority in their own governance, the problem of mass or national education, would wear a wholly different aspect.

After independence, the National Government has been thinking furiously to tackle this problem. A large number of Committees were appointed to ponder over general educational matters. I need refer only to the report of Kher Committee, presided over by Shri B. G. Kher, till recently Chief Minister of the State of Bombay. (Bureau of Education pamphlet No. 60—"Education in Free India"—August 1947—August 1948—issued by the Ministry of Education, Government of India.) Shri Kher's recommendations were:

(1) A fixed percentage of Central and Provincial revenues—about 10 per cent of the Central and 20 per cent of the Provincial—should be earmarked for Education by the respective Governments.

(2) About 70 per cent of the expenditure on Education should be borne by Provincial Governments including Local Bodies and the remaining 30 per cent by the Centre.

(3) All contributions for Education approved by the Provincial and Central Governments should be exempted from income tax.

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I have tried to find out how far these recommendations have been implemented but I regret to find that leaving aside Mysore which was already spending a larger percentage on education, no other major State excepting a few like Bombay and Madras have given any serious attention to Shri Kher's very salutary recommendations.

The comparative statement of States' education budgets (revenue account) for 1951-52 as given in a Government of India publication, *The Education Quarterly*, September 1951 is given below. This will reveal the truth of the above statement.

State	Total Education Budget in lacs of Rs.	Percentage of Education to the total State Budget
Part A		
Assam	1.70	16.0
West Bengal	3.47	8.9
Bihar	3.29	10.6
Bombay	11.98	19.8
Madhya Pradesh	3.20	15.6
Madras	11.39	17.6
Orissa	1.36	11.8
Punjab	1.93	11.5
Uttar Pradesh	7.37	12.0
	45.69	
Part B		
Hyderabad	4.83	14.9
Jammu & Kashmir	.49	10.4
Madhya Bharat	1.47	13.0
Mysore	3.09	21.8
Pepsu	.67	13.7
Saurashtra	1.13	14.0
Rajasthan	2.59	16.6
Travancore	2.88	16.7
	17.15	
Parts C & D.		
Ajmer	.29	26.0
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	.2	1.3
Bhopal	.16	10.9
Bilaspur	.2	14.4
Coorg	.7	9.6
Delhi	.68	17.4
Himachal Pradesh	.19	10.3
Kutch	.8	8.0
Manipur	.6	14.7
Tripura	.12	12.4
Vindhya Pradesh	.46	17.9
	64.99	14.8

Thus the total Education Budget of the States together comes to Rs. 65 crores which is about 14.8% of the total budgets of the various States against the Kher Committee's recommendation of 20%.

It is to be noticed that amongst the major States, *West Bengal spends the least percentage of its budget on its Education*. During the regime of the first Congress Government, it went down as low as 6½% of the budget, while the next Congress Government grudgingly increased it to about 9½ in course of 3 years. Nothing can be more tragical for West Bengal than the fact that it should be her fate to be the most *Backward State* in India in Education.

From these figures it is obvious that in spite of promises made by the Congress for years together, the attempts to liquidate "Illiteracy" in the Indian Union has fallen far short of the mark.

HIGHER EDUCATION

When Shri B. G. Kher's Committee recommended that 10% of the Central budget should be spent on education, he certainly meant that bulk of it should be spent on higher and professional education. Now 10% of the Central budget comes to between 30 to 40 crores of rupees while the actual expenditure by the Centre has varied between 3 to 6 crores.

The University Commission, appointed by the Government on November 4, 1948 was presided over by the great educationist and philosopher of international reputation Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as its Chairman, and a number of American, British and Indian educationists of eminence as members. It supported the National Planning Committee and Kher Committee's recommendations in the following words:

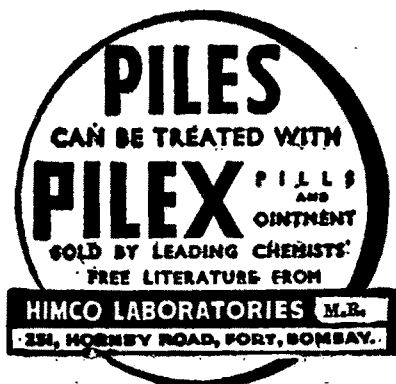
"Democracy depends for its very life on a high standard of general, vocational and professional education. Dissemination of learning, incessant search for new knowledge, increasing effort to plumb the meaning of life, provision for professional education to satisfy the occupational needs of our society are the vital tasks of higher education".

"The academic problem has assumed new shapes. We have now a wider conception of the duties and responsibilities of universities. They have to provide leadership in politics, administration, the professions, industry and commerce. They have to meet the increasing demand for every type of higher education, literary and scientific, technical and professional. They must enable the country to attain, in as short a time as possible, freedom from want, disease and ignorance, by the application and development of scientific and technical knowledge. India is rich in natural resources and her people have intelligence and energy and are throbbing with renewed life and vigour. It is for the universities to create knowledge and train minds who would bring together the two, material resources and human energies. If our living standards are to be raised, a radical change of spirit is essential."

The Commission found that the Universities were unable to carry out these responsibilities because their finance was extremely inadequate. It says:

"Finance: As we have repeatedly shown in earlier chapters our universities are grossly under-financed for the tasks they are attempting. More building, more staff, better-paid staff, more scholarships, more facilities for research, more books, more equipment—all these are elemental needs. We see no possibility of the Provinces providing the whole of the necessary expenditure, burdened as they will be with the no less acute needs of extending basic secondary and technical schools."

(p. 405)



Like the Kher Committee, it recommends that the Centre should make large grants for higher education through a properly constituted agency. It says:

"Generous grants from the Centre must be forthcoming; and these grants the Centre will not, and should not, allocate blindly or mechanically. A Central University Grants Commission working through the Ministry of Education must allocate the sums made available by the Central Government, in accordance with the special needs and merits of each university."

CENTRAL RESPONSIBILITY OF UNIVERSITIES

The system of State grants and Federal grants to universities obtains in the United States of America. State grants are given to universities situated within the State or Province, but with a view to meeting all-India needs as well as to bring about uniformity in regard to higher education, it is necessary and desirable that the Central Government should give grants for the various objects mentioned above, taking into consideration such Provincial grants as may be made available.

To sum up, as the President's address to the Indian Parliament contains a general statement of the policy to be pursued in the current year, it is regrettable that it contained no directives for the educational policy. It ought to have contained,

(a) A directive that the States should spend at least 20% of their budget on education;

(b) That the Centre should spend 10% of its budget on education; and

(c) That the sums allotted in the Central Government's budget should be spent through properly constituted agencies.

A National Academy of the Arts

James H. Cousins writes in *The Indian Review*:

The recent press announcement presumably official, that the Government of India has decided to establish an academy of dance, drama and music, brings a long-desired acknowledgement of the place of art in national life a step nearer. It is necessary, however, that the declared intention of those concerned in the formation of the academy be scrutinised for their affinity or otherwise with the natural principles involved in the arts included in the academy—and also in the academy of immobile arts (architecture, sculpture and painting) which it is assumed will be created in due time.

The intention the academy is succinctly stated in the first paragraph of the press announcement. The Sangeet Natak Academy (why such a mongrelised name?) is to be formed "with a view to fostering and developing Indian dance, drama (including films) and music to promote through them the cultural unity of the country."

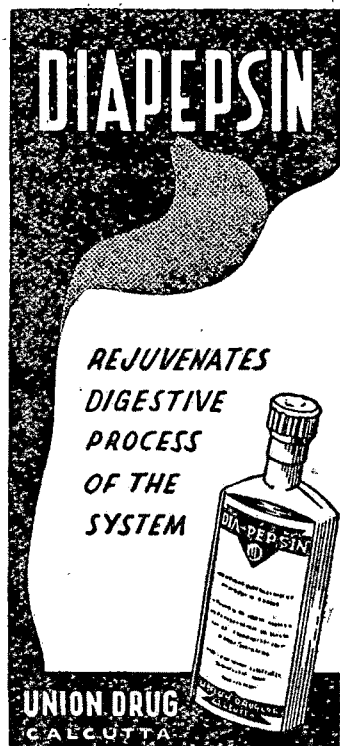
The sense of unity herein expressed enters largely nowadays into public speeches and political writings. It was given the weight of a finding by a conference in New Delhi on March 17, 1951. Item 4 of the report of that conference is:

To consider the question of a comparative study of the different schools of Indian music with a view to bringing out their affinities and encouraging the development of a national system of music.

Here the desired unity is in a particular art.

Now it happens that unity in either of these phases of human life—art and culture—is impossible. Any art exists through its distinctive instruments. These may range in music from the simple collaboration in India of a voice followed by a fiddle and timed by a drum, to a western choir of 300 voices in four parts (soprano and alto, tenor and bass) accompanied by 40 or more instruments in groups—first and second violin, viola, violoncello, double bass, brass and wind instruments, cymbals and drums, performing Handel's "Messiah." Collaboration in the parts is here the life of the art; unity in the parts would mean the death of the art; a band of saxophones would fittingly play its funeral dirge. This is the mechanical aspect of the matter.

The development of Indian dance, drama and music which the coming academy is to have in view, must be along the line of its own genius, environment and history. "Exchange of ideas" is desirable and inevitable. "Enrichment of techniques" will come with the increase of knowledge through practice and the elevation of taste in both the composer, the performer and the listener. But there is a distinction of expression innate in the Carnatic and Hindustani system of music and others elsewhere in India, whose development must be natural, spontaneous, from within: not in response to any artificial impositions, or inducements but stemming from their own roots. This applies still more emphatically between Indian music and western music. Attempts have been made to bring the harmony of western music into the melodic music of India; but these have failed mainly because western music is an art whose four-abreast movement along the single melodic line of Indian music would be as uncomfortable and dangerous as four performers trying to walk side by side along a single tight-rope. Any efforts by the academy towards (to quote the announcement) "the promotion of cultural exchanges in the fields of dance, drama and music with other countries," will (if the countries referred to belong to the western area) only bring into the music of India a degenerating influence comparable to that let loose over the country by films brought or imitated from other countries. I do not use



the word "degenerating" here in reference to the lowering of the quality of an art, but to the reduction of the vitality and conviction of an art by the lure of "cultural unity" or by any other lure such as that of providing a wage-earning occupation, that would tend to move an art away from the full and uncontaminated force of its own generative power. Such a movement is degenerative; demoralization and denationalization will ensue without any direct effort. Regeneration is called for; and one of the first needs of regeneration is clear thinking.

We turn now to the "cultural unity" and the "cultural exchanges" anticipated by the announcement of the new academy. Half way between the instruments of art-expression and the cultural unity that they are intended to promote there is the æsthetical and emotional response that they arouse in degrees varying according to the temperament and experience of the hearer. This, in western music, is a complex matter. Differences in the instruments of expression set up differences of emotional reaction. The emotional effect of a percussion instrument, such as a pianoforte with its hammer-struck wires is very different from that of an instrument of stretched strings, such as a violin whose drawn bow is in the hands of a Menuhin. And this difference is emphasised if we turn over from the art of music, which speaks through the movement of sound to the art of sculpture, which speaks not at all, but exists in the immobile silence of a statue that would fall to inartistic pieces if it attempted to argue a point, as in a drama, or strike a succession of Bharata-natya postures, and yet has much to say to those who have eyes to see.

Now it is characteristic of the æsthetical reactions of any activity—and particularly of reactions to the beauty and patterning, the rhythm and aspiration, that are inherent in the arts—that they do not fulfil themselves in the special pleasure of the moment of their expression, but penetrate into the profundity of the consciousness, and are ultimately absorbed into and, minutely alter, the quality and response of the consciousness to new impacts and to new creations and expressions in the arts and other activities.

This is a purely subjective state: universal as growth in nature; grouped in affinities in the wild, like Wordsworth's ten thousand daffodils, or in the designed lay-out of a botanical garden; individual and exquisite as the push in a single lotus to be its perfect self according to its ancestry. There can be no "cultural exchanges in the fields of dance, drama and music with other countries." There can be no exchange between the idealistic and interpretative dance of India and the realistic and sensuous dance of the West. The harmonic music of Europe has nothing to exchange with the melodic music of India.

The foregoing considerations would appear to have brought us to a dead end. If there is, in reality, no possibility of art-expression because difference and variety

are inescapable essentials of their nature, and these have grown up under a number of historical circumstances in time and place, that have stamped them with an indelible character that cannot be transplanted or hybridised; and, if cultural unity is unnecessary as an object of an academy, seeing that culture is intangible and out of reach—where exactly are we? As a matter of fact we are where we are: it is the announcement that does not know where it is when it declares that the purpose of the academy is to promote "the cultural unity of the country" through dance, drama, films and music. If it had declared that the intention of the academy was to promote, through the arts, the cultural responsiveness, and to raise the cultural quality of the people, it would have said the right thing the right way.

Art and culture are not the same thing under a different name. Art belongs to the objective aspect of life; culture belongs to the subjective. Neither can exist without the collaboration of the other to some extent.

In our human situation as joint inheritors of who knows what stupendous legacy from our incalculable ancestry, and also joint investors of it in works that will carry us on towards who knows what destiny "pinnacled dim in the intense inane," we are perpetually subject to what William James, the propounder of the Pragmatic Philosophy, called "the total push and pull of the universe." This push and pull are other ways of saying the creative impulse in humanity, and its release through the implements of the arts. But the same apparently opposite influences show themselves in other phases of life, and these, being pronounced and widespread and long-lived, offer us a working example of the danger that exists in setting objective expression in the place of subjective impulse.

The future of music in India is not in the technique of a "national system" which an academy is expected to evolve, but in the release of the spirit of music and the fostering of its expression in its own location and manner. Objective form is essential to expression in the arts; but subjective impulse is primary. "The secret of art is in the artist," said an ancient Chinese sage—not in an academy of Arts.

I am all for an Academy of Indian Arts. There is no cold water in these reflections. But I repeat, as I asserted in 1923, when I made, as far as can be ascertained, the first public plea for an academy, that such an institution should be entirely a clearing-house, gathering and scattering information on art movements and achievements, building up a permanent collection of works of art of nothing short of the highest rank, and creating a body of "academicians" from men and women who have achieved supremacy in their particular art. It should in no respect be a centralizing body, a cultural steam-roller; still less should it be a teaching institution.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Modern Developments in Soil Science

We reproduce below the latter part of the Fernhurst Lecture by Sir William Ogg, M.A., Ph.D., Director, Rothamsted Experimental Station, delivered by him in the *Royal Society of Arts* as published in its *Journal*, April 4, 1952:

II

SOIL-WATER-PLANT RELATIONS

Over much of the earth's surface agricultural production is limited through either an excess or a deficiency of moisture, and consequently the study of soil water and its movement has received much attention, particularly the problems of drainage and evaporation.

Removal of the excess water by means of drains is still an art rather than a science and hitherto there has been no satisfactory way in which engineers could calculate from the physical characteristics of a soil at what depth and distance apart tile drains should be laid; but at Cambridge considerable progress has been made by H. H. Nicholson and E. C. Childs, and an interesting mathematical treatment of the problem has been made by the latter. Attention has also been given to the control of run-off water which is a frequent cause of erosion and flooding. An example of this on a regional scale is the vast project of the Tennessee Valley Authority which has secured a large measure of flood control and enabled better use to be made of much valuable agricultural land.

In the study of evaporation, soil science has been fortunate in sharing a common interest with oceanography and meteorology. As a result, good progress has been made in establishing the basic physical principles and applying them to practical ends. At Rothamsted H. L. Penman has carried out investigations on the role of vegetation in the removal of moisture from the soil. It has become clear that when soil water is not a limiting factor transpiration from crops is almost entirely a weather-controlled phenomenon, and that estimates of potential transpiration can be made from the standard weather observations: air temperature, air humidity, wind speed and duration of sunshine—the last being the most important.

This recent development has provided a method for the quantitative study of the problems of land drainage, of water supplies from rivers and wells, and of shrinkage of building and road foundations. It has also given us a rational basis for the calculation of moisture deficits and the control of irrigation operations. From calculations of soil moisture deficits it is probable that the crops over a considerable area of southern England, south-east of a line from the Severn to the Humber, could use 4 to 6 inches more water than falls in rain, and irrigation for agricultural as well as horticultural crops, therefore, deserves serious consideration.

The problem of estimating the capacity of clay soils to sustain the weight of buildings and roads has also been brought nearer solution in recent years, and it is now clear that it is largely a question of the sheer strength of the subsoil. The uneven shrinkage of clay when dried by

the action of the roots of trees and shrubs causes much damage to buildings and roads, and on this problem there has been useful collaboration between the Building Research Station, the Road Research Laboratory and Rothamsted. A soil shrinkage gauge designed by the Building Research Station has given results in excellent agreement with Penman's calculations based on estimation of evaporation.

Considerable progress has been made in recent years in our understanding of cultivation processes. Research work at Rothamsted and elsewhere has shown that the pore space in soils consists of cells rather than capillary tubes and, after rain, when surplus water has drained away, the remaining water moves very slowly and over quite short distances.

This knowledge throws fresh light on the effects of cultivation on soil moisture. A great deal of hoeing and inter-row cultivation is done in the belief that the loose surface layer checks the evaporation of moisture from the soil. It has been shown, however, that this is not the case and that the benefits obtained are largely due to the destruction of weeds which compete with the crop. Even seedling weeds take up a great deal of both water and plant food and have a markedly depressing effect on crop growth in the early stages, a check from which crops seldom fully recover. Hoeing and other surface cultivations are, therefore, of great value in killing weeds, but they are apt to damage the roots of crops and should be restricted to the minimum necessary for weed control. Some of the cultivation operations for this purpose may now be superseded by the use of the very effective weed-killers recently introduced.

Some mention has already been made of soil erosion. Although not a serious problem in this country, its effects in many parts of the world have been devastating. The surface soil over vast areas has been carried away by wind or water, and the process is still going on. Much research has been done, particularly in America, on the cause of erosion and on methods of prevention, and soil conservation services have been established in many countries. The dynamics of wind erosion, for instance, have been studied in Saskatchewan by means of wind tunnels and the results have found application in the prevention of erosion in the Canadian prairies and elsewhere. Although erosion is very often due to unsuitable farming practices or the cutting down of forests, it also occurs naturally through floods, fires and overgrazing by wild animals. The preventive measures include the practice of suitable rotations and methods of cultivation, contour farming, strip cropping and the building of terraces. Drainage schemes, both regional and local, and the planting of woods and shelter belts have also contributed to the control of this menace to our food supplies.

MANURES, FERTILIZERS AND TRACE ELEMENTS

Let us now consider briefly the question of manuring. The pioneer work of Lawes and Gilbert on crop nutrition has been supplemented and expanded by experiments in most parts of the world and there is now a fairly good understanding of the principles of manuring, though further investigations are urgently required particularly on tropical and sub-tropical soils.

A good deal of research has been done recently in this country on the recovery of sewage for manurial purposes and on the disposal of the surplus straw resulting from the increased acreage of cereals. The ploughing up of poor permanent pastures and the more general adoption of ley farming have also contributed not only to our food supplies but to soil fertility.

Much of the increase in food production in Britain during and since the war is the result of using more lime and fertilizers, and using them to better purpose. In both Britain and the United States fertilizer consumption has almost trebled in the last ten years, but surveys of fertilizer practice recently carried out in this country have shown that far too many farmers are still using inadequate amounts or unsuitable kinds of fertilizers. E. M. Crowther of Rothamsted, in conjunction with the British Sugar Corporation, has been carrying out very extensive field experiments on the manuring of sugar beet, and similar work has been done on other crops. These experiments have led to modification of what was common practice when they were commenced. For instance, sugar beet now receives more nitrogen and sodium, and potatoes more nitrogen and potassium, than ten or twenty years ago. Cereals commonly need more nitrogen than they receive and in many cases could do with less phosphorus and potassium.

Improvements have been made in soil-testing methods and, through the National Agricultural Advisory Service, farmers can obtain free advice with regard to the treatment of their soils. There is still much to be learnt about the behaviour of fertilizers and the use of radioactive tracer elements is now contributing to the solution of some of the problems. By means of them it is possible to get a more accurate picture of the uptake of plant nutrients and of the way in which fertilizers may become immobilized in the soil.

Advances have also been made in the methods of applying fertilizers, and the advantage of applying them close to the seed instead of broadcasting them has been well established for certain crops. For example, we know now that the amount of superphosphate required for cereals can be cut down to about half by placement. Crops other than cereals have been studied and it has been shown that placement is advantageous also in the case of quickly growing crops with shallow roots such as peas, beans and spinach, but not for deeply rooting crops like sugar beet and carrots which have a long growing season.

Attempts have been made in some quarters to create a controversy over the respective merits of organic manures and fertilizers. It has been claimed by some advocates of organic manures that fertilizers poison the soil and are injurious to the health of plants, animals and human beings. There is no sound evidence to support these views. The merits of organic manures are fully appreciated by farmers and agricultural scientists alike, but fertilizers are also required and without them there would be world famine.

One of the most important advances in recent years has been in the design of field experiments. In the older experiments the various treatments were applied to single or duplicate plots, but most soils are far from homogeneous and it became clear that a better experimental technique was needed. Fortunately this was provided by R. A. Fisher, who was appointed statistician at Rothamsted in 1919. In the new methods the treatments are replicated and randomized and much greater precision is obtained. The replication provides a measure of the experimental error which was previously lacking and the random arrangement ensures that the estimate of error is statistically valid and unbiased. Appropriate experimental designs have been devised to deal with conditions where soil

variation is particularly great. Another improvement has been the introduction of factorial arrangements, by which several different sets of treatments or "factors" are included in one experiment and, in this way, a number of problems can be studied at the same time with considerable economy of space and with the advantage that the dependence of one treatment on the intensity of another can be determined. As Fisher pointed out, it is often useless to ask nature only one question at a time because she may refuse to answer unless some other topic is discussed. The new methods are not, of course, limited to field experimental work in agriculture, but have also found application in biology, medicine and industry.

An important advance in the study of soil fertility is the recognition of the part played by what are termed the micro-nutrient or trace elements. It has, of course, long been recognized that for normal healthy growth plants require other elements in addition to nitrogen, potassium, phosphorus and calcium, but until comparatively recently it was assumed that these four were the only ones it was necessary to add as manures, and that the others were present in the soil in sufficient amount and in available form. For most soils that is the case, but it has now been shown that deficiencies in other elements are much more common than was supposed and that they give rise to deficiency diseases not only in plants but in the animals which consume them. The work of W. E. Brenchley and K. Warington at Rothamsted about 30 years ago drew attention to the need for boron and it has now been shown that lack of boron is responsible for more than a score of physiological diseases, including "heart rot" of sugar beet and mangolds. Again, deficiency in available manganese occurs in several parts of Britain, and gives rise to "grey speck" in oats, "marsh spot" in peas, and "speckled yellows" in sugar beet. In orchards, magnesium, iron and various other deficiencies are fairly common and valuable work has been done on them by T. Wallace at Long Ashton. Sometimes it is animals that are affected as in the case of the disease known as "pine" in sheep. This has now been shown to be due to lack of cobalt and the amount needed is so small that a couple of pounds of a cobalt salt, mixed for convenience with a fertilizer and applied to an acre of land, is sufficient to cure or prevent the disease for several years.

Although in most places trace element deficiencies are the exception and not the rule, there are regions where they are so severe and widespread that successful agriculture depends on supplying the deficient elements. In South Australia the addition of molybdenum has been found to be essential for the establishment of subterranean

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clover on certain acid podsolised soils and this discovery has brought large areas of formerly worthless land into agricultural use. There are also cases of excesses of certain elements having detrimental effects. The disease known as "teart" in cattle is the result of too much molybdenum and "alkali disease" affecting horses, cattle, pigs and poultry is due to excess of selenium.

In the determination of the minute quantities of the trace elements which are present in soils and herbage, spectrographic methods of analysis have proved very valuable and notable advances in this field have been made by R. L. Mitchell and R. O. Scott at the Macaulay Institute. These methods have also found application in soil advisory work, geochemical investigations and other branches of scientific work.

Soil science is a wide subject and I am very conscious of the fact that there are many other recent contributions which I have been unable to mention. Encouraging progress has been made over the whole field and the new knowledge should assist in the urgent problem of increasing much-needed food supplies throughout the world.

Centenary of the Martyrdom of Qurratu'l-'Ayn Tahirih (1852-1952)

"Oh God that madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive Thy Saints? How long, O Lord, how long?"

—BERNARD SHAW in *St. Joan*

Few misdeeds in history are comparable in their brutality and height of fanaticism to the Martyrdom of Tahirih, the Saint Joan of the East.

This lady, who on this day was martyred by the dark forces of orthodoxy, a century ago, personified the spirit of emancipation of the womankind from the fetters of an old order which had given them a status only a little higher than that of the animals.

Immaculate, clean and with a strength of character, this young revolutionist with the new light came forward with her challenge at a time, when Iran was engrossed in a social order perpetuated under the aegis of a fanatical hierarchy, to whom all sense of rationality appeared heretical.

Born in Qazvin, a city which prided itself on the fact that no fewer than a hundred of the highest ecclesiastical leaders of Islam dwelt within its gates, it was her fearlessness, her skill, her organising ability and her unquenchable enthusiasm, that she led her attack on the old social order from within the portals of this citadel of orthodoxy.

A scion of the highly reputed family of a well-known divine of Persia, Ummi Salma, to call her by her family name, was born in the same year as Baha'u'llah, the founder of the Baha'i Faith. From her very childhood she was regarded by her townsmen as a prodigy, alike in her intelligence and beauty. She was highly esteemed even by some of the most haughty and learned ulemas of her country prior to her conversion to the Babi Faith, for the brilliancy and novelty of the views that she propounded.

It was in a dream that she established her first contact with the Babi Faith which she continued to propagate to her last breath, and even in her hours of greatest peril with all the ardour of an unsubduable spirit. Undeterred by the vehement protests of her father, contemptuous of the anathemas of her uncle, unmoved by the earnest solicitations of her husband and her brothers, undaunted by the measures the civil

and ecclesiastical authorities in Karbila and Baghdad had taken to curtail her activities, with eager energy she propagated the eternally true principles of the Babi Cause.

Her teachings at Karbila, her letters to and discussions with the Muslim divines, her spirited exposition of the new spirit created a storm in Iran. The people in general were magically attracted by her angelic personality and her sweet and straight utterances, that the old orthodoxy began to tremble in fear and wrath.

She had to forsake one city after the other and finally this group of the enlightened and exceedingly oppressed Babis—the torch-bearers of the new World-Order—held a conference at Badaht, situated between Tehran and Mazindran, to review the whole situation. And this was the culmination of a movement of reorientation. Discarding the traditional veil, Tahirih came out and declared that the New Order had manifested itself.

But this all was not acceptable to the old orthodox reactionaries. Tahirih was arrested while returning to Tehran and imprisoned in the house of Mahmud Khan the Kalantar (Mayor).

Tahirih was brought before Nasir'd-Din Shah who on seeing her said: "I like her looks, leave her and let her be." It is related that His Imperial Majesty sent her a letter to the Kalantar's house, the resume of which was that he urges her to deny the Bab and again become a true Muslim. If she will do this, then he will give her an exalted place, the guardian of the ladies of his household; he will make her his bride. She wrote on the back of the letter two couplets:

"Kingdom, wealth and ruling be for thee
Wandering, becoming a poor dervish and
calamity be for me.

If that station is good, let it be for thee
And if this station is bad, I long for it,
let it be for me.

Officials took her from Kalantar's home on the pretext that she was to be taken to the house of the Prime Minister. She herself, that morning had taken an elaborate bath, used rose water, dressed herself in her best white-robcs, said goodbye to everybody in the house announcing to them that in the evening she was going on a long journey, her prophetic soul had made her aware. She was ready and went with them when they came for her that night. They took her to a garden. The executioners hesitated for a while to carry out the orders issued for her death and even refused

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to do it. Then they found a Negro slave who was drunk; he put a handkerchief into Tahirih's mouth and strangled her. Afterwards they threw her down into a well in the garden and threw stones and rubbish on her.

Thus ended at the youthful age of 36 the life of this great Babi heroine, the first woman suffrage martyr, who, at her death, turning to the one in whose custody she had been placed, had boldly declared:

"You can kill me as soon as you like, but you cannot stop the emancipation of women." Her career was as dazzling as it was brief, as tragic as it was eventful.

Indeed the wondrous story of her life propagated itself as far and as fast as that of the Bab Himself, the direct Source of her inspiration. "The Persian Joan of Arc, the leader of emancipation for women of the Orient . . . who bore resemblance both to the

mediaeval Heloise and the neo-platonic Hypatia," thus was she acclaimed by a noted playwright whom Sarah Bernhardt had specifically requested to write a dramatized version of her life. "The heroism of the lovely but ill-fated poetess of Qasvin, Zarrin-Taj (Crown of Gold) . . ." testifies Lord Curzon of Kedleston, "is one of the most affecting episodes in modern history." "The appearance of such a woman as Qurratu'l-'Ayn," wrote the well-known British Orientalist, Prof. E. G. Browne, "is, in any country and any age, a rare phenomenon, but in such a country as Persia it is a prodigy—nay, almost a miracle . . . Had the Babi religion no other claim to greatness, this was sufficient . . . that it produced a heroine like Qurratu'l-'Ayn." "The harvest sown in Islamic lands by Qurratu'l-'Ayn," significantly affirms the renowned English divine, Dr. T. K. Cheyne, in one of his books, "is now beginning to appear . . . this noble woman

. . . has the credit of opening the catalogue of social reforms in Persia . . ." "Assuredly one of the most striking and interesting manifestations of this religion" is the reference to her by the noted French diplomat and brilliant writer, Comte de Gobineau. "In Qasvin," he adds, "she was held, with every justification, to be a prodigy." "Many people," he, moreover has written, "who knew her and heard her at different periods of her life have invariably told me . . . that when she spoke one felt stirred to the depths of one's soul, was filled with admiration, and was moved to tears." "No memory," writes Sir Valentine Chirol, "is more deeply venerated or kindles greater enthusiasm than hers, and the influence which she wielded in her lifetime still inures to her sex. "O Tahirih!" exclaims in his book on the Babis the great author and poet of Turkey, Sulayman Nazim Bey, "you are worth a thousand Nasiri'd-Din Shahs." "The greatest ideal of womanhood has been Tahirih" is the tribute paid to her by the mother of one of the Presidents of Austria, Mrs. Marianna Hainisch, ". . . I shall try to do for the women of Austria what Tahirih gave her life to do for the women of Persia."

Tahirih physically is no more, for her body perished at the hands of the tyrants. But her spirit dominates the orient. The women-folk of Iran, Turkey and other Middle-East countries tore off from the dead past and are marching with the rest of the world.

"You can kill me as soon as you like, but you cannot stop the emancipation of women," shall echo and re-echo as long as the women of the world are not totally emancipated.—*Baha'i Public Relations.*

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U. S. Athletic Union Supervises Activities of 80 Lakh Athletes

In the Olympic Games just concluded at Helsinki, the world's best amateur athletes met on a common field and vied with one another solely for the thrill of competition and the glory of non-professional sport. Their creed is sport for sport's sake.

In the United States the organisation which has done the most to promote and protect these ideals is the Amateur Athletic Union, commonly called the AAU. This sports-governing body, which supervises the activities of about 8,000,000 American athletes, has also done much to encourage international competition.

The AAU not only takes the lead in America's participation in international competition such as the Olympics, but also sends amateur athletes to foreign countries each year to compete at their invitation. The organisation, in fact, played an important role in the revival of the Olympic Games themselves.

The Amateur Athletic Union was founded in the United States in 1888. In 1894, a Frenchman named Baron Pierre de Coubertin found that the character of youth was more highly developed in those countries in which youth took an active part in organised sport than in those where sport was still relatively unknown. While making his study, Coubertin had visited the United States and had observed its newly established amateur athletic programme. Later, when

the first International Olympic Committee was formed and the Games were revived in Athens, the AAU helped to serve as a model of athletic organisation.

The AAU is the only United States member of the International Amateur Federations, which govern such international games as basketball, bobsledding, boxing, gymnastics, handball, swimming, tobogganning, track and field, volley ball, weight-lifting and wrestling.

In 1948, the AAU sanctioned a nation-wide summer playground programme known as the Junior Olympics. American boys and girls ranging from 10 to 17 years of age are eligible to compete. On the basis of successful competition, teams are formed and sent to the city where the Junior Olympics are being held. The Junior Olympics have no connection with the International Olympics. Their sole purpose is to teach American boys and girls how to win well and how to lose well, and to compete against one another regardless of race, colour, or creed.

The AAU plays an important part in the drive to raise voluntary funds to send U. S. athletes to the Olympic Games every four years. This year the cost of American representation at Helsinki, Finland, was approximately \$850,000. The Amateur Athletic Union of the United States took the responsibility of collecting a fourth of that sum.—USIS.



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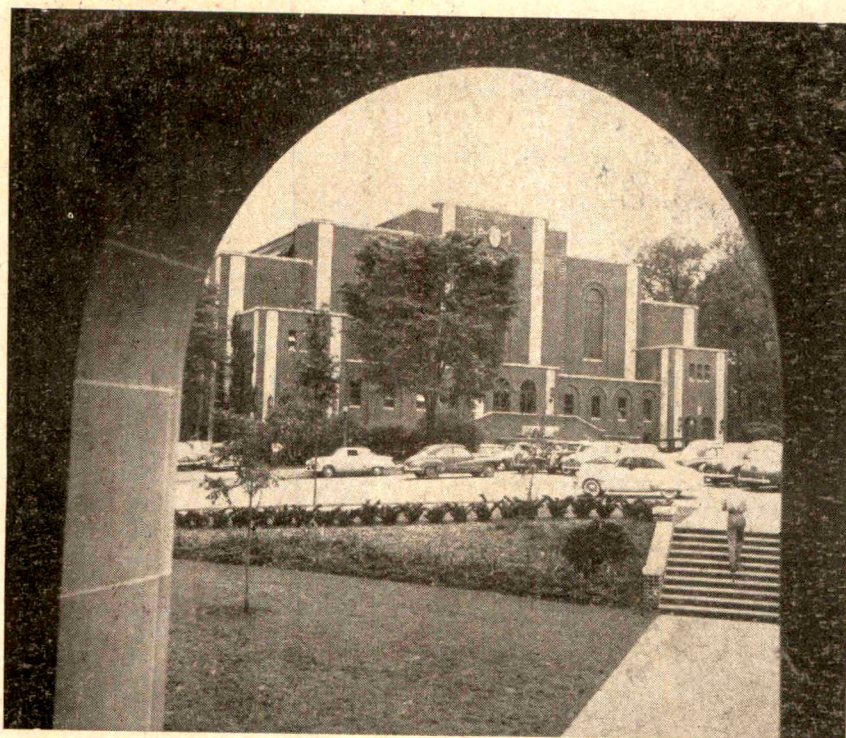
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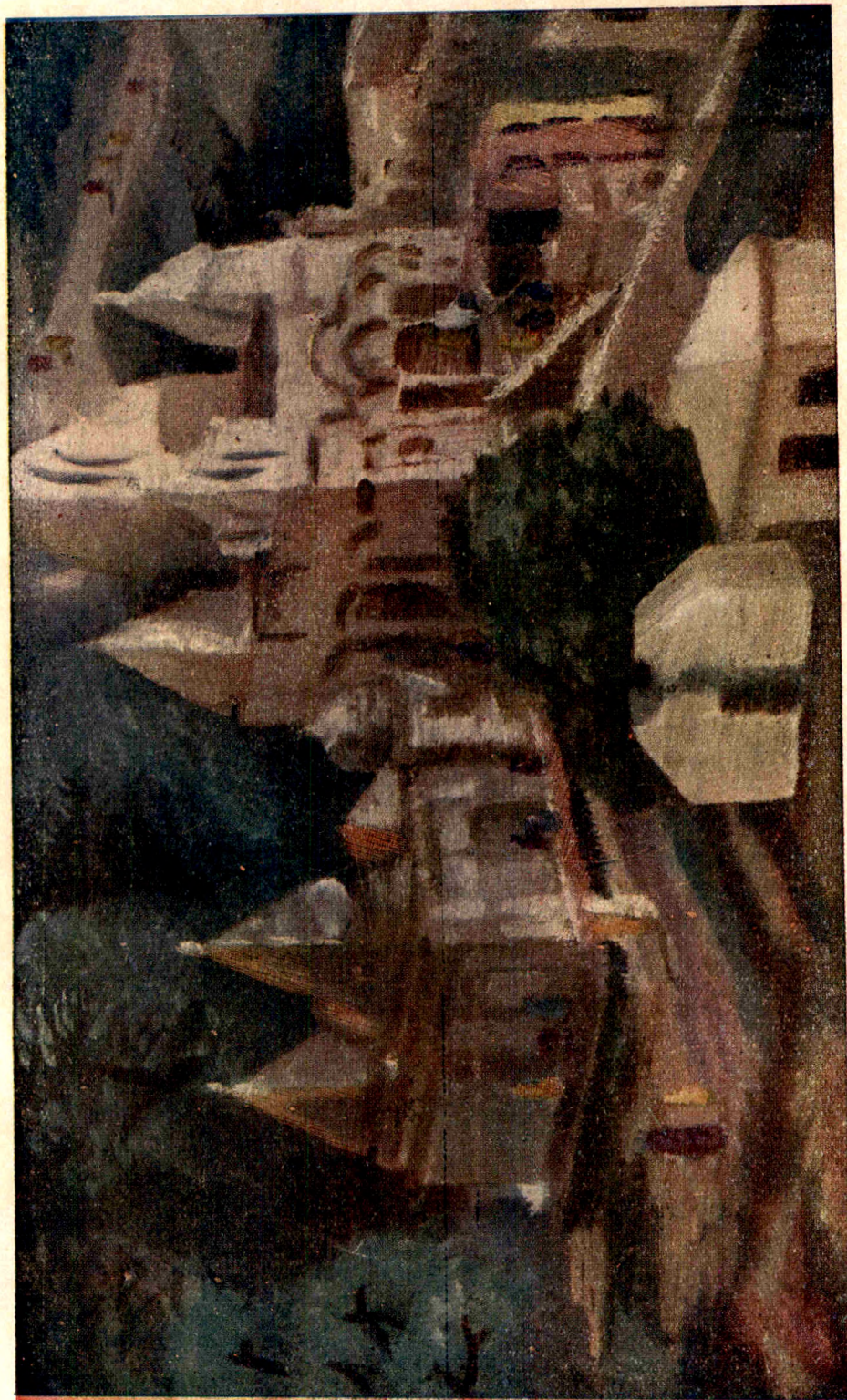
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NOTES

The A.I.C.C. Meeting

The much publicized A.I.C.C. meeting is over. The most strange part of the meeting was that little emphasis—if any at all—was laid in its deliberations on matters purely concerning the common citizen. Apart from laying down some abstract principles, Pandit Nehru seems to have thought that the woes of the people were too sordid a matter for discussion amongst the elect. Of course he has repeatedly reminded his followers about their necessity for maintaining contacts with their people. But even there, he could consider the people only in the terms of the electorate, as for example, in the following exhortation :

"Addressing a convention of Congress legislators, the Congress President, Mr. Nehru deprecated the idea that the party had two wings, one parliamentary and the other doing extra-parliamentary work. Each was complementary to the other and they must function as a whole.

Every member of Parliament or of State Assemblies must function in the respective body but, even more important, he had to function in his constituency. If he forgot the constituency he was doomed because he would gradually become 'rootless.'

Referring to the amendments to the Congress constitution which the Working Committee had finalized earlier in the day, Mr. Nehru said it had been proposed that members of Congress parties in Parliament or in Assemblies should become ex-officio associate members of Congress committees. He thought this was a proper approach to the problem because it gave them better opportunities of working together.

Mr. Nehru reminded the legislators that the Congress had its sanction 'in the grass roots among the people, in factories and fields.' In the measure Congressmen added to that sanction by their work in their constituencies as Congressmen, 'we add to our own strength and our own organization.' There was a dual function to perform.

The present task of the party was to canalize its various activities. Their primary sanction came from the people, from the service rendered to them, and the confidence inspired in them. All this depended on the results which Congressmen produced. Every party was judged by results and not by the long manifestoes and tall promises they made.

'The party must hold together firmly, as otherwise it will be shattered to pieces by various opposition forces that are arising. We have to hold together in Parliament and elsewhere, and more so, in the whole of the Congress organization and function dynamically. We have to devise measures of doing parliamentary work effectively, unitedly and progressively, and profit by each other's experience. We have to do all this within the organization and not as a separate show.'

The convention passed two resolutions, one dealing with the reorganization of the party's parliamentary machinery, and the other recommending that a journal be run to publicize the party's activities."

It will be noted that even here the emphasis is on the duty of the legislators to the Party as a whole, and not to the country or to the people.

Pandit Nehru's attitude to other vital problems is also equally vague and academical. He seems to think that sermonizing coupled with procrastination is the essence of state-craft. The lessons implied by the fall of Mr. Asquith, of the famous "Wait and See" policy, and of Mr. Neville Chamberlain—with his prayers for 'Peace in our Times'—seem to have no significance for him. For example, with regard to the bitter controversy between Bihar and Bengal, over the districts arbitrarily taken away from Bengal, as a punishment for the anti-Partition movement, and ceded to Bihar by the autocratic British Raj, we find the following item in the daily press :

"The Congress President deplored the Bengal-Bihar controversy and said it was unfortunate it should have generated so much bitterness and anger. After partition, West Bengal had suffered much. A large

number of refugees from East Bengal had migrated there, and he well understood the difficulties of West Bengal. But what amazed him was that two States of the Indian Union were criticizing each other as though they were two different countries.

Disputes or differences, if any, between the two States, must be settled peacefully. For a proper understanding and settlement there must be a cordial atmosphere."

We are astonished at the above statement. Does Pandit Nehru ever listen to the speeches of fellow Parliamentarians? Or does he ever read the *Harijan*, the only accredited mouthpiece of the man in whose shadow he has attained his present exalted position? We append below an extract from the *Harijan*, with the note of the late Kishorelalji attached to it for illumination :

"The following speech was delivered in Hindi in the House of the People on the 12th July 1952 by Shri Bhajahari Mahato, M.P., (Lok Sevak Sangha, Manbhum), from Bihar in connection with the resolution regarding linguistic redistribution of provinces :

"I am a resident of Manbhum. My mother tongue is Bengali. I do not know English altogether. My knowledge in Hindi also is almost nil. Having got the luck of jail life in the British regime I took the opportunity of studying Hindi to a little extent. Thereafter outside jail I was trying to learn Hindi. But the overzealous Hindi fadists having made the situation in Manbhum so disturbed for the purpose of forcibly foisting Hindi on Manbhum that we are now busily engaged in facing the repressions following in its wake, and there is no peaceful situation there for the study of Hindi. Though my knowledge of Hindi is very meagre, I am trying anyhow to express myself in Hindi as it is our national language. I hope you would excuse me for the mistakes I commit in doing so.

The question of linguistic redistribution of provinces is very important in regard to Manbhum, as there is going on a reign of repression on this issue. We have never seen this question of linguistic redistribution of provinces with an outlook of provincialism. We in Manbhum have all along worked with amity towards all the communities and sects. We were in the Congress and have built the same in our district. And under the leadership of Atul Babu we were working in that way all the while ; but we were compelled to quit the Congress. So we have always viewed the question of linguistic redistribution with the outlook of administrative facilities in the light of Gandhiji's teachings and judgement, and not with an outlook of provincialism. Yet we ourselves have never raised this matter, for we thought that the leaders of India would themselves take steps in this regard. But now we are appealing to the leaders that they should not tarry over the question, but should finish it without delay. Because the unsettlement of

this question has brought about such a situation in Manbhum that if it be allowed to continue longer, a revolution is bound to arise amongst the people of Manbhum.

Whenever the demand for redistribution of provinces on the linguistic basis is raised, it is attributed to provincialism. But those who lay the charge of provincialism are the persons who are endowed with the administrative power and who themselves, having thus got opportunities to be in power, indulge in provincialism. Our provincial Government is destroying the language of the people of the regions which speak the tongue other than Hindi in order to foist Hindi on them, so that those regions may not go out of the boundaries of the State on the question of redistribution on the linguistic basis. It itself is thus indulging in provincialism.

It is said that the provinces of Bihar and Bengal should settle amongst themselves the problem of the linguistic question concerning Manbhum and such other places. I do not understand how the question may be settled by the complainant and the accused. In the matter of Kashmir, the U.N.O. asks Pakistan and Hindustan to settle amongst themselves. But the Prime Minister of India says that it is not possible ; the people of Kashmir would themselves decide their own matter. Yet the Government of India is saying like the U.N.O. "Let this problem of Manbhum be decided by Bengal and Bihar themselves." Like the demand of the Prime Minister regarding Kashmir, we are also demanding that the people of Manbhum be given the right to decide their own future. Though our Lok Sevak Sangha had its own decision regarding the principle of the formation of the provinces on linguistic basis, it has left the matter to the people of Manbhum for their own decision.

The situation of Manbhum is today like that of Pakistan. As oppressions are being committed on the Hindus in Pakistan, similarly the Government of Bihar are behaving invidiously towards the Bengali-speaking people of Manbhum and are oppressing them like Pakistan. It is imperative to settle this issue soon. Inquiry should be made to see if the Government of Bihar is discharging its responsibility of administration in Manbhum properly or not. When the Government is indulging in provincialism and committing oppressions on the language issue, the administration of Manbhum should be taken from the hands of the Government till the issue of language be settled. The Bihar Government has so oppressed the people of Manbhum, that we, the people of Manbhum, are ready to live under any other administration in India, but not under the administration of the Bihar Government, we want to be relieved from it.

NOTE : Of the various political parties, which took part in the last elections, my information is that the Lok Sevak Sangh of Manbhum led by Shri Atul

Chandra Ghosh was one of the cleanest in its methods. Out of 11 or 12 seats, it captured 7 in the Bihar Assembly and 2 in the House of the People, and it did this by its sheer popularity among the people without any large funds. I have known Atul Babu personally for a long time. There is no narrow provincialism in him. The trouble in Manbhum is to a very large measure due to the narrow outlook and high-handed methods of the Bihar Government. If Bihar wants to retain Manbhum within its boundaries, it must stoop to conquer the Bengali-speaking population of that district by love and just dealing. In most of the problems relating to border regions, the impression left on my mind is that the Central Government and the Working Committee have adopted the policy of yielding to the bully among them, or of trying to shelve the question as long as possible. This weakness is bound to injure their reputation.

K. G. M.

Famine and Want

Meanwhile the State of the Union is going from bad to worse. The hold experiment made by Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari in Madras is being foiled by nature's vagaries, together with some amount of intransigence by man. We append below the words of that much-harassed old guard.

"Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister of Madras, said that economic conditions in the State had deteriorated so badly that it might be necessary for the Government to declare the whole State a famine area.

"Every district was demanding the establishment of gruel centres, he said. Even the district of Tanjore was no exception. He wondered from where the money would come to provide relief against the threatening State-wide famine.

"The achievement of independence, he said, would be incomplete without thorough decentralization of administration. Sizeable areas should be enabled to govern themselves in all respects. But they were in the midst of great difficulties. He himself was in the position of presenting addresses to others for more money. The Chief Minister was replying to an address at a reception by the Chingleput District Board asking for greater allocation of funds and enlargement of powers for the District Boards.

"Given time and peace of mind, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, he could draw up a scheme for decentralization of administration, but he had neither.

"It was officially learnt that widespread failure of the south-west monsoon and the prevalence of acute drought had been reported to the Madras Government from the districts in Rayalaseema and about ten others in the State. The failure of the monsoon—the sixth consecutive in certain districts and seventh in others—had increased the Government's commitments to

undertake urgent relief measures to provide employment to agricultural labour thrown out of work. The south-west monsoon usually commences in June and lasts till September."

Foreign Policy

At the A.I.C.C. the same old rigmarole about our foreign policy has been reiterated. We fail to see what was the occasion to lay so much emphasis on what can only be called a negative policy at the best. The foreign reaction to that, so far as the democratic bloc is concerned, can be best gauged by the following news item that appeared in the daily press:

"A British Foreign Office spokesman said that he had no comment to make on the All-India Congress Committee's resolution calling for a meeting of the world's big Powers. The resolution passed at Indore on September 14 called on the nations to meet 'to take some immediate steps towards a solution of the major problems of the day.'

"Lord Llewellyn, leader of the British delegation, criticized what he described as India's 'policy of non-involvement in world disputes' at the closing session of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association conference. He said Britain could not forget its involvement in the defence of small nations and freedom in 1914 and 1939, and what it had cost. If the U. N. was to succeed it could not 'merely stand cheering on the sidelines.'

"In the past a Russian invasion over the passes into India had been a concern of the British General Staff, he said. It might happen in the future and, if it did, he hoped the U.N. would not adopt any policy of non-involvement.

"Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar of India replied that he wanted to clarify India's 'position on non-involvement.' If democracy were threatened, India would certainly be involved, he said, but she did not wish to enter any bloc. He said India preferred to decide each issue on its merits as it arose. He favoured admission of Communist China to the U. N. and did not believe China was inseparably attached to Russia.

"Mr. McDermott, State Department spokesman, said, the Department was waiting for clarification of a resolution of the Congress Party in India, calling for talks between the USA, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China. He declined to comment on the resolution, saying he had seen several different versions in news reports."

The why and wherefore of the British spokesman's utterances can be well analysed by the following remarks of Dr. Taraknath Das, who is on a visit to India at present:

"Dr. Taraknath Das, Wattumull Foundation Traveling Fellow and Lecturer, delivered an address at the Calcutta University Institute hall on Monday on 'Free India's position in world affairs.' Mr. Justice J.

P. Mitter presided. Dr. Das discussed at great length the various stages of the Indian freedom movement from 1857 to August, 1947 when power was transferred to India. He referred to partition as the culmination of the British policy of divide and rule and said that, as a result of partition, India's national defences had been weakened both in the east and the west.

"In the disturbances which followed partition about one million people were killed, property worth crores of rupees was destroyed and 10m people rendered homeless. He said that minorities in India were enjoying greater political and cultural rights than anywhere else, including America. Dr. Das condemned the South African Government for its racialism. He was critical of India's foreign policy and spoke of the dangers inherent in a policy of neutrality. India, he said, held the balance of power between China and Russia, China and Japan, and Russia and Japan. In peace and war, India's position was of supreme importance. Under present world conditions, her neutrality would affect the democratic forces."

Medical College Strike in Lucknow

In September, 1951, a boy died in the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Hospital in Lucknow immediately after an anaesthetic was applied before an operation. The Chancellor ordered an enquiry into the circumstances leading to the death of the boy and a committee of three was formed. The committee with a dissenting vote by the Director-General of Health Services found the two doctors attending the boy guilty of utter callousness and negligence of their duty. Accordingly, Surgeon S. N. Mathur and Dr. Bahl were called upon to resign their posts. The provincial branch of the Indian Medical Association protested against the Chancellor's action. One thousand students and members of the teaching staff of the college also went on strike protesting against the decision of the Chancellor. The strike was called off on September 18.

The Lucknow University Executive Council has recommended the authorities to fine all the students of the Medical College numbering 1,000, a sum of Rs. 5 each for taking part in the agitation, the *Leader* reports, "The Executive also recommended immediate suspension of the hospital house staff who had participated in the agitation pending orders of the Chancellor."

Mr. C. B. Gupta, Health Minister of the State, visited the hospital on the 18th September. According to the *Leader*, "He was reported to have told staff members that strong disciplinary action would be taken against those who threatened to stop work and against the striking students if they did not go back to their classes." Earlier he told a deputation of seven members of the local branch of the Indian Medical Association that "Chancellor's decision in the matter was irrevocable and had to be implemented."

"He deprecated the spirit of trade unionism in the medical profession and said that the doctors ought to have taken serious view of the demonstrations and strikes by students during the past two days when they had paraded the city's main streets along with some teachers 'shouting slogans' and abusing the Chancellor, Health Minister and the authorities of the university.

"The Association, he said, had passed resolutions only protesting against the Chancellor's action without 'bothering' to know the circumstances in which the decision had to be taken, rather than denouncing the students' 'hooliganism'."

The authorities made arrangements for 40 army doctors to take charge of the hospital in the event of a stoppage of work by the staff.

Of recent, reports are coming from many places which indicate a growing indiscipline among the students. As the *Leader* puts it, "Much of the indiscipline among students results from their participation in active politics. They want to be leaders even before they have prepared themselves for leadership mentally and morally. . . ."

The U. P. Government has finally decided to deal with this growing indiscipline amongst students with a firm hand as the following news indicate :

"After discussions at Cabinet and other levels, the Government has decided to deal firmly with indiscipline in the State's educational institutions and a number of orders have been issued to that effect.

"In Farrukhabad, the Rastogi Vidyalaya, the students of which are reported to have taken the law into their own hands, has been ordered to restore discipline. The Government grant to this institution has already been stopped. Withdrawal of recognition is also being considered. The District Inspector of Schools and the District Magistrate have been asked to locate the culprits and rusticate them.

"In Chandausi, where some students are reported to have pulled the alarm chain of a train and to have beaten up a travelling ticket examiner, the Government has asked the Director of Education to submit a detailed report. Meanwhile, the grant of the institution has been stopped."

"In Janghai, the Government has ordered the closure of the Intermediate College the students of which are reported to have indulged extensively in travelling without tickets and in destruction of railway property. The Government has informed the Principal of the college that the institution will have to be closed unless specific assurances are forthcoming that such offences will not be repeated.

"In Jaunpur, where students are reported to have forcibly taken possession of a building, the District Magistrate has been asked to evict the students, by force if necessary.

"Meanwhile, *PTI* reports that seven of the 1,000

students of the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Medical College, Lucknow, who had led an agitation against the university authorities, have been suspended. These students have been asked to show cause why they should not be expelled from the college. The rest of the students have been fined Rs. 5 each by the university authorities for having taken part in the agitation."

Kashmir

The latest joint conference on Kashmir has proved infructuous, as expected, as the following news item indicates:

"Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, India's Defence Minister and leader of the Indian delegation to the joint conference on Kashmir, said in Geneva on September 11: 'I have been satisfied with the manner in which the discussions have been held, though it is a matter of disappointment to me that better results, especially with reference to basic issues, were not achieved.'

In an interview with the special correspondent of *PTI* he added: "The main thing for which this conference was convened was the settlement of the character and quantum of the forces on either side of the cease-fire line. That question was really not solved, though an attempt was made to define, if possible, the principles on which these matters could be decided. But even this attempt did not quite produce the agreement that seemed, in the early stage of the discussion, hopeful.' The question of local authority in the 'Azad Kashmir' area was understood to have been raised by India at the conference."

In Kashmir itself the position is hardly less complicated, although the following news item shows that Shaikh Abdullah's plans are going ahead:

"Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir has signified his intention of abdicating in favour of his son, Yuvraj Karan Singh. This decision is a sequel to the visit during the weekend of Mr. C. S. Venkatachar, Secretary, Ministry of States, who conveyed to the Maharaja the advice of the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru.

"The Maharaja temporarily withdrew from the State and handed over power to the Yuvraj, who was to act during the Maharaja's absence as a constitutional ruler. Yuvraj Karan Singh formally took over from his father in June, 1949."

Unofficial Western circles have forecast that the deadlock will continue in Kashmir until both India and Pakistan accept the principle of partition in Kashmir.

Iran and the Near East

In Iran too the deadlock continues. The Persian Premier as yet does not seem to have decided to work for a bold solution. He is between the devil and the deep sea and therefore can only fall back on refusals and demands as the following news indicates:

"The Persian Prime Minister, Dr. Mossadiq, got

a unanimous vote of confidence from the Majlis. Sixty-one deputies, including the Deputy Speaker who was in the Chair, were present.

"Asking the House for the vote, Dr. Mossadiq made a five-point proposal in reply to the Churchill-Truman offer and announced that he was prepared to go to The Hague International Court on the question of compensation to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company if certain conditions were agreed upon beforehand. At the same time he said he was prepared to break relations with Britain in order to vindicate Persia's rights. He declared that the Churchill-Truman offer was 'totally unacceptable.' The offer agreed to grant Persia \$10m if she agreed to refer the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's compensation claim to the International Court and to open negotiations with the company on marketing Persian oil.

"Dr. Mossadiq said the proposals he would make were the last basis on which Persia might accept a settlement. He was prepared to go to the International Court to settle compensation, if the A.-I.O.C. did not agree to Persian courts settling the issue, provided the following conditions were agreed upon beforehand:

1. Compensation would be payable only in respect of the A.-I.O.C. installations at Abadan.

2. Disputes and claims by either party between 1933 and 1947 to be settled in accordance with the 1933 oil agreement.

3. Claims and disputes between 1948 and nationalization in April, 1951, to be settled under the supplementary oil agreement of 1949.

4. No claims by the A.-I.O.C. after nationalization to be admitted.

5. The A.-I.O.C. agrees to pay forthwith to Persia £49m 'which it owes Persia,' the payment to be made in U.S. dollars."

The State of Lebanon too is in a ferment. A *coup d'etat* on the lines of Egypt has followed there.

"President Beshara el Khoury of the Lebanon, resigned his post amid allegations of Government corruption and handed over power to the Army. His resignation, which came on the third day of a general strike called by the Opposition against political corruption, makes the Lebanon the third Middle East State to come with the rule of the Army within a year. The others are Egypt and Syria.

"Some sources said the ex-President left the Lebanon by air for France, but this report was later found to be erroneous.

"General Shehab, Army Commander, since the French evacuation of the Lebanon in 1946, immediately on assuming power, issued a ban on demonstrations and appealed for public order."

In the midst of all this turmoil our ship of state is being sought to be steadied and brought into harbour by a new tug. How that will function has been described at length in the *People* of New Delhi, in

its September 20 issue, by Dr. P. N. Soni. We give the following extracts to show the plan :

"Old ways of imparting knowledge are too slow, they happen to be dull," says the report on the *Malmo Seminar*, published by Unesco. This was a gathering of World Experts. They should know what they were talking about.

But is it possible to knit up and arouse quickly through modern techniques, a loose and despairing mass of people? Has it been done before? If not we are just lotus-eaters, wasting your time by promising you a slice of the moon.

The history of modern propaganda answers with an emphatic, positive *yes*.

Think of Germany. Sunk to the brink of despair. Crushed by the treaty of Versailles. And then came Hitler. He was the Hero. But Dr. Goebbels was the star performer. His was the genius that harnessed Audio-Visual Aids, utilised modern techniques and the latest instruments for the Grand Central purpose of making the German people, strong, united and aggressive.

Russia has outstripped Germany in the art of publicity and propaganda. The state runs institutions specialising on mass publicity methods. The directors of Culture are experimenting all the time on the most effective means of adult education. Tape recorders and 16mm movie projectors work incessantly in the villages, homes and community centres. All factory workers and labour centres get their evening relaxation with well-thought-out programmes. Says the shrewd and practical Stalin, "The Cinema in the hands of the Soviet power represents a great and priceless force."

America has even advanced further. The new Bell and Howell Model 202, 16mm sound projector is self-contained. It also houses a dubbing device. Any sound film can be adapted to the local dialect of Harijans, Rohtak, Moga, Majha and Fazilka. The original sound can be suppressed and the new commentary made semi-permanent or permanent. The same film can be used again by demagnetising the scotch tape and making it ready for a fresh commentary.

But it requires men with a flair for exciting programmes. Appointing I.C.S., I.A.S., P.C.S. men or political big shots for this adaptation is the one sure way to wreck the scheme. We have General Cariappa telling the students of the Presidency College, Madras that films are silly, stupid and naughty. He made an earnest appeal to boys and girls to refrain from seeing them. Does the good General believe that you can stop a swollen river by throwing in a thousand sandbags in its path?

"It will be the business of the Bharat Sevak Samaj to ask the Planning Commission to allocate a few lacs to set up an independent non-party audio-visual unit in charge of a practical psychologist, who knows the Indian conditions and the work.

"If the Bharat Sevak Samaj gets no equipment for this great drive, then we will know it is a bastard baby. An orphan left to the storms. This acid test of funds will call the bluff. At any rate the public should know where it stands *vis-a-vis* the new schemes."

"Here are the eight big avenues of activity. I have commented upon some aspects and given concrete details. I leave it to others to send their plans and suggestions on any item that attracts them. Only a congenital idiot would undertake to comment on all the aspects. He would prove beyond all doubt that he was a jack of all trades, in short a mere dabbler. In a national, creative and constructive scheme we should keep these sly birds with tarred feathers, at a safe distance.

(1) *Economic Development*: (a) Construction-building, roads, wells, bunds, houses for community purpose, etc. (b) Assisting the development of co-operatives and Panchayats. (c) Assisting the development of cottage and village industries. (d) Austerity and savings drive. (e) Protection of crops and (f) Cattle improvement.

(A) ROADS

An Engineer with trained P.W.D. coolies can do all the coaching and teaching necessary.

The villagers and other people don't have to be coaxed to join in. Set the example, wield the axe, dig the road and laugh at the sweat.

After a week's suspicious watching the others will clamour to join in.

Chorus songs may be sung while the workers steadily swing the shovels.

A movie of this pilot project is essential. This film with the sound dubbing and the songs can then be shown within a radius of the surrounding 400 villages. It will create the right type of atmosphere for public co-operation on which Shri Inamdar, an old worker, lays so much stress.

(B) PANCHAYATS

Let us face it frankly. The village panchayat is, today, a great farce. Countless jokes are made about it and taunts are flung at it. Why? Because the panchayat comprise a lot of foolish illiterate people led by selfish, greedy sharks. It depicts the old problem which worried Goldsmith: Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates and men decay. We must get a better selection: Academic degrees are no test of sound sense. The illiterate villager can teach us a lot. The shrewdness of the jat is proverbial.

The village has to be gathered at one spot. Trust the tape recorder, with the local *kawali* singers to do that. Lectures by pompous parrots are not wanted. We must draw out the villagers into a healthy discussion.

Leaders must realise that it is futile to thrust axioms of virtue, down resisting throats.

We must teach them without tears through fables and stories.

Now like sunlight, you can't take the panchayat and its work for granted. They have to be gently taught and made to practise the broad principles of discussion and debate at their council meetings."

"Co-operative Societies : Their advantages can be driven home through excellent films which explain this idea through concrete pictures.

(C) COTTAGE AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Our villager is notoriously lazy. He works like a mule for 4 months in the year and then time hangs idle on his hands. So he gets busy in thinking, cracking walnuts and heads, gambling, spending spare time in jail, and when out, producing kids.

New horizons can be opened for him by showing him films on vocational training, industries and crafts. He can thus choose the trade that appeals to him most and seek further information about it.

(D) AUSTERITY AND SAVINGS DRIVE

I am against cutting down meals. All this talk about 'miss a meal' is rubbish. A cheap publicity stunt that has paid good dividends to its authors. Wasting food or preventing waste is a different thing altogether. Where is the austerity drive when you are asked to give up the wheat ration, and stuff your belly with sweets, cream and butter and fruits, until the belly bursts.

(E) PROTECTION OF CROPS

Extermination of rats, insects and vermin. Here is a sharp focus target for all of us. Traps, poison pills and Gammexene powders can be supplied to the workers, and a record kept of the pests and vermin killed.

Have you ever given a thought to the naughty monkey?

He easily accounts for 10 per cent destruction of crops. Do you know that our food shortage in spite of the huge baby crop is only 10 per cent?

So long as we continue to cloak him with religious sentiments, and allow him the upper hand, we may safely bid good bye to crop protection schemes.

Godowns and Moisture : Think of the grain, cereals, rice and flour bags ruined and yearly condemned in the godowns. These things rarely come to light. Who would publicly cut off his nose to spite his face? Moisture seeps in from the ground. The rain pours down the walls. The white ants get through the window. Remember it is a free country where everybody must have his merry fling. Public godowns or Government granaries are not your father's property. So why bother to take the precautions. We must dissipate these clouds of false freedom. Bands of volunteers must cement the floors and lay the bricks for making secure these community vaults. Then there will be no need for us to go abroad with a beggar's bowl asking for aids and alms."

Pakistan and USSR

The Karachi *Dawn*, organ of the Pakistan Government, blamed India for the deadlock in the talks on Kashmir held in Geneva, in an editorial on September 16. The paper charged the United Nations, the United States and the United Kingdom for inaction and asserted that U.N. Kashmir representative Dr. Graham was "not quite a free agent." The editorial said :

"The time is opportune for the Soviet Union to take a bold initiative in the Security Council on the Kashmir question with a view to ensuring to the people of that long enslaved territory, the right of free choice in a wholly impartial plebiscite."

The Soviet Union was reminded that she stood to lose nothing by making such a move even though her proposals are defeated.

Commenting on the suggestions made by the *Dawn*, the *Leader* writes that though Pakistan will make an excellent camp follower to Mr. Stalin, "he cannot fail to remember that in February, 1951, the United States and Britain submitted to the Security Council a resolution containing the demand that foreign troops should be sent to Kashmir. Kashmir would have been reduced to the status of an Anglo-American protectorate if this resolution had been enforced. India and the USSR opposed it but Pakistan welcomed it and denounced the USSR representative for opposing the proposal. Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman said :

"The Soviet has chosen to give this blow at a very critical time and its consequences are bound to be fatal to our cause' . . ."

In view of these antecedents, concludes the *Leader*, the USSR is not going to be favourably disposed towards the Pakistani suggestion.

In this connection the following comments, with its extracts from the *Dawn*, are very cogent :

"What is life like behind the curtain of secrecy Russia has dropped between herself and the free world?

A prominent tuberculosis specialist from Lahore, Dr. Riaz Ali Shah, got an unusual opportunity to probe this question recently when he visited Russia with a Pakistani medical mission. His impressions have been recorded in a series of articles written for *Dawn*.

Ali Shah notes he found few traces of the Islamic religion, despite Russian assurances that religious liberty is guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR. He bases his conclusion upon personal visits to Alma-Ata, a city in the Kazakh Republic, and to Tashkent, leading city of the Republic of Uzbek.

'Although Alma-Ata has been a Muslim town for centuries, not a single mosque was in sight,' Ali Shah says, adding : 'Whether the Muslims have come to hate their mosques so much as to have demolished them, or they have disappeared because of the ravages of time or politics, I cannot say.'

Describing the mission's visit to Tashkent, Ali Shah says: 'We learned that one mosque still exists in the old town which is opened for prayers on Fridays only, but in spite of our repeated requests we could not see it.'

Religion may have been abolished in Russia, says Ali Shah, 'but a new religion has taken its place with Lenin and Stalin as its prophets.'

Summarising the variance between Russia's proclaimed benevolence toward religion and the actual conditions he found, Ali Shah says: 'I was told that religious liberty was assured in the constitution of the USSR, but Marxism is a compulsory subject in schools and colleges and no other religious teaching is permitted.' Ali Shah says he found a pronounced tendency among official Russians to encourage campaigns which ridiculed Americans and their craftsmanship. He thinks the tendency 'rather absurd' in view of the considerable amount of American medical equipment being used in Russia today. He also notes that 'the Russian ambassadors in Karachi and Kabul prefer American cars instead of their own.'

Blended with this antipathy toward America is the close check Russian officials keep on news from the free world, Ali Shah says. He cites the following experience of the Pakistani mission during a visit outside the Moscow area: 'We were anxious to hear Radio Pakistan and tried to tune in the radio set of the guest house. It was a strange coincidence that here as well as in the Hotel Metropole in Moscow the knobs for adjustment of the overseas short wave stations were missing. Only Radio Moscow could be tuned in.'

Ali Shah says that this enforced xenophobia among Russians was also evidenced in the fact that the mission was 'not allowed to see the private lodgings of factory workers, doctors or nurses . . . Nor were we asked to tea or a meal by any doctor or other Russian citizen.'

Ali Shah notes that unfavourable comments about Russia have little chance of appearing in the Russian press. He points out that on the day before the mission left Russia it gave a frank account of its impressions to the Moscow press. The interview was not published.

Adversity makes strange bed-fellows, we know, and following the stoppage of stock-pile buying, there is a slump in the export trade of Pakistan. And there is also a disturbance in her food supply.

People Starving in Sind

The *Bombay Chronicle* of September 16, 1952, published a PTI despatch from Karachi quoting the report from the *Dawn* that people were starving in Umarnkot (Sind). Umarnkot—birth place of the Moghul Emperor, Akbar—is in Tharparkar district.

China in the Toils?

Our amity with China and her people, has lasted

over a millennium and a half almost, ever since the days when our Buddhist monks under Kumarajiva went to China, to spread the Message and the Law, over the land route. As such, we cannot break off just because China is in the control of a group whose political viewpoint is not at all fours with ours. This is a puzzling matter for the Westerners, but most Asiatics, in whom the call of kinship and friendship establishes stronger bonds, would easily understand.

Matters are different when another great nation, which is partly Asiatic in its cultural heritage and geographical situation, is concerned. This nation has imbibed Western imperialism too deeply, ever since the time of Peter the Great, to be regarded with much complacency.

Latterly the close relationship between the two has caused some uneasiness, specially as China has pushed her frontiers right up to our borders. We still have no active cause for suspicion, but the latest news from China, regarding her negotiations with Russia, at Moscow, has increased that uneasiness. Regarding the negotiations, the *Newsweek* of New York made the following forecast in its issue of September 1:

The Russian-Chinese negotiations promised to bring results more quickly than the other Moscow developments. What were they about? Moscow revealed only that Chou and his aides had conferred with Stalin and top Soviet officials. Nonetheless, it was possible to put together a reasonably definitive picture of the chief issues in the negotiations:

The Korean war naturally would be a topic of discussion. But it seemed unlikely that it was the chief topic or that it was the reason for calling the meeting. No North Koreans participated in the talks, and Korea was not mentioned in a Peking radio broadcast on the agenda. If either the Russians or the Chinese planned surprise measures to broaden the war, then the talks certainly would have been secret. Nor was there any sign that the Reds had a solution to the impasse in the armistice negotiations. However, a major peace propaganda drive may be under consideration. Next month a so-called "Asian and Pacific Peace Congress" will be staged in Peking.

Japan is now officially rearming in virtual alliance with the U.S. This might be construed as bringing into force the 1950 Russian-Chinese treaty. It provides for mutual action against aggression by Japan or any powers allied with Japan. So far, however, the Reds have contented themselves with using Japanese Communists for instigating riots and other violence while Japanese businessmen were wooed with trade offers. The Peking Peace Congress may try to put new pressure on the Japanese.

The Changchun Railway, Dairen, and Port Arthur will certainly be the subject of negotiations as to whether the Russians relinquish their interests as per

promise or whether they retain some control in return for economic or military aid. Few observers can see the Soviets voluntarily relinquishing such installations as the Dairen submarine pens.

Sinkiang, Tibet, and Inner Mongolia are buffer areas between China proper and the Soviet Union. The question must arise as to whether they eventually will become puppets of the Russians as has Outer Mongolia.

Economic help to China, in the opinion of most observers, was one of the two chief reasons for the Moscow meeting. The 1950 agreement provided for Soviet aid to China for five years at a tiny \$60,000,000 per year. China presumably has had to pay, in some form or other, for Russian armament used in the Korean war. That conflict has put additional heavy strains on the Chinese economy. Also, a convulsive campaign against businessmen brought commerce and industry close to a standstill for most of the first half of this year.

(The latest news, as released by Tass on September 15, and quoted below, show that the *Newsweek* forecast was substantially correct:

"Russia and Communist China have agreed, in an exchange of Notes, to 'the extension of the common use of the Chinese military and naval base of Port Arthur' on the Yellow Sea, 200 miles west of Korea.

"The Soviet news agency, *Tass*, which announced this, also announced that agreement had been reached between the Russian Government and the Chinese delegation led by Mr. Chou En-lai, the Premier, under which Russia would hand over without payment full ownership of the Chinese Changchung Railway. The Changchung Railway, over 1,000 miles long, runs from Lupin (Manchuli), close to the Russian border with Manchuria, down to Dairen and Port Arthur on the Yellow Sea, west of Korea. It runs within 100 miles of the Manchurian-Korean border.

"*Tass* said, the Sino-Russian talks covered 'important political and economic questions.' The discussions were held 'in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding,' the agency said. "They confirmed the resolve of both parties to use all efforts to strengthen and develop friendship and co-operation between the two countries and at the same time to further, in every way possible, the preservation and strengthening of peace and international security. The Soviet Government and the Government of the Chinese Republic have now taken measures to carry out this agreement and with this aim in view have agreed to form a joint Soviet-Chinese commission. The joint commission must complete the transfer of the railway not later than December 31, 1952, the agency said.

"The text of Mr. Chou En-lai's Note to M. Vyshinsky was given by *Tass* as follows:

'Conditions dangerous to the cause of peace and favourable to a repetition of Japanese aggression have been created as a result of Japan's refusal to conclude

a multi-lateral peace treaty after she had concluded a separate peace treaty with the U.S.A. and several other States.

'Japan has thus no peace treaty with the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union, and obviously does not desire it.

'In view of the above and with a view to preserving peace, also on the strength of the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Aid between the Chinese People's Republic and the USSR, the Government of the Chinese Republic suggests and requests the Soviet Government to agree to defer the date of the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from the jointly operated Chinese naval base at Port Arthur as provided in Article 2 of the Sino-Soviet agreement regarding Port Arthur, pending conclusion of peace treaties between the Chinese People's Republic and Japan and the Soviet Union and Japan.

'In the event of the Soviet Government agreeing to the foregoing proposal of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic, the present Note and your Note in reply shall be treated as an integral part of the agreement of February 14, 1950, between the Chinese People's Republic and the USSR regarding the naval base of Port Arthur.'

The position of Japan was clarified in the following news-release which appeared in the daily press on September 17:

"In Tokyo, a Japanese Foreign Office spokesman said that Japan was 'ready at any time' to conclude a peace treaty with Russia 'if the terms were the same or better than those of the San Francisco treaty.' The spokesman, Mr. Kakitsubo, was commenting on the Chinese-Soviet agreement.

"Of Moscow radio's reference to Japan's 'refusal' to sign a treaty with Russia and the People's Republic of China, the spokesman said: 'We have never refused to sign a treaty with Russia because Russia has never asked us to sign one.'

It is to be seen as to how far the Dragon can keep itself out of the suzerainty of the Bear.

Is China Self-sufficient in Food?

The recent food exports of China to India and other friendly countries has given the world an idea that the Chinese People's Government has been able to solve the most vital problem affecting that State. But the following extracts, taken from an article in the *People of New Delhi* in its September 20 issue, gives a totally different picture:

"Dr. Kumarappa was simply swept off his feet at the spectacle of the new opulence. Ex-Ambassador Panikkar lectured to the Congress M.P.s on how Chinese Communists solved their food problem. Mrs. Pandit told the U.P. Congress legislators that within a short time China has increased her food production

so much that from a deficit country she has become an exporter of food.

In all such utterances, the claim to speak and write and propagate for China is based not on a study of Communism in general and of Chinese agricultural developments in particular, but on short trips to that country organised by her rulers and so filled with fete and receptions that there is hardly any time left for studies.

Physical locomotion can never replace painstaking study of facts, and sifting, comparing and evaluating of evidence. Globe-trotters are not the best judges of a country's affairs.

Increased food production in China is a myth, but it is one of those myths which overtakes the world from time to time and are believed in spite of all facts to the contrary. A study of Chinese economic literature reveals a deficit instead of a surplus. The following table gives the production in successive years :

Index Number of Food Production in China				Per cent
1931-37	..	..	..	100
1946	..	..	..	91
1947	..	..	..	92
1948	..	..	..	94
1949	..	..	..	89
1950	..	..	..	87
1951	..	..	..	93.0

The figures are quoted in a U. N. publication, *Statistical Yearbook*, 1951, and *World Economic Report*, 1950-51, but they are confirmed by Chinese Communist sources as well. According to *China Reconstruct*, May-June issue, a Chinese propaganda publication, we have the following :

Chinese Food Production			
	1936	1950	1951
Foodstuffs	100	87	92.8
Rice	100	96.5	99.4
Wheat	100	80.4	88.5
Soya bean	100	53.9	63.3

These figures speak for themselves. Food production in 1950 and 1951 is lower than production in 1930s under Chiang when the Sino-Japanese war had not broken out and the country still enjoyed a measure of peace.

If production is again rising—though not reaching the pre-war level yet—the reason is not Chinese Communism, but conditions of peace that have returned as a result of the Japanese defeat in the war.

In fact, the above figures do not reveal the full deficit. Figures for 1950 and 1951 are unverified Communist claims. They also include figures for Manchuria which is now called the North East.

Pre-war figures exclude Manchuria, Jehol and certain other areas. It is significant that the main increases claimed have taken place in the North."

"No wonder with a larger population to support on a lower level of production, consumption standards have fallen below pre-war. According to *Economic*

Survey of Asia and the Far East, average food supplies available for human consumption and the energy-value that food represents are as follows :

Per Capita Food Consumption

China (22 provinces)	Cereals kilogram	Calories
1934-38	171.6	2226
1948-49	165.1	2172
1949-50	153.0	2020

The figures reveal that average consumption has been declining. The figures do not say that these quantities are availed by the consumers, but, are computed on the basis of available supply of food and equitable distribution. Inequality which is prevalent even under Communism depresses these figures still more so far as the masses of people are concerned."

"The Communist surplus export is as spurious as their food self-sufficiency. The fact is that in a dictatorial country, where people cannot give a damn to their rulers, it is possible for grain production to fall and grain export to rise. We have the example of Soviet Russia. From 1929 to 1933, while grain production was falling catastrophically causing a widespread famine, Soviet authorities continued to export grain in ever larger quantity. In fact, in 1928 on the eve of the new harvest when the peasants were not yet collectivised and Communist control over them was not complete, the Soviet Government was forced to import 12 million poods from abroad. But all this changed as soon as the collectives were instituted. Grain began flowing in the coffers of the Government.

Because China is a police state, she has been able to 'solve' her food problem while we have failed. What is the nature of the food problem? It is a city problem. Enough food does not come forth from the rural side to feed the urban areas.

In India, Communists preach rationing in the towns, and the abandoning of procurement in the villages. They agitate for a low selling price in towns and high price for the farmer. In this vote-catching campaign, other political parties also join. In a Communist country, where all opposition has been silenced no such difficulties arise. There it is possible to organise forced deliveries out of the peasants at confiscatory prices to any amount.

We have the example of Soviet Russia. In 1928 and 1938 production of grain was about the same (if we make allowance for the change in the method of computation introduced in 1932), that is, about 74 million tons ; while the Government share during this period increased from 630 million poods to 2,300 million poods, or 375 per cent."

It does seem somewhat strange that China could solve her food problem so much quicker than the Soviets did, taking into consideration the immensely greater pressure of population of her soil. But enthusiasts and biased professors have a method of their own in proving the unlikely.

The Soviet Fifth Five-Year Plan

The Soviet fifth five-year plan is made public some eighteen months after the completion of the first post-war plan, although its ultimate targets have remained secret. The plan envisages a rise over the five years of about sixty per cent in national income and seventy per cent in the gross output of industry. This comes to about average annual increases of 10 per cent in the national income and 12 per cent in gross industrial production. The pattern of development of Soviet basic production has not undergone any radical change in the new plan. The output of heavy industry, like that of coal, electricity and pig iron will increase on an average during the four years slightly more than last year. The average annual rise in oil production—about 7 million tons—is considerably higher and only in steel there has been a fall in production from about 4 to some 3½ million tons. Among the basic industries, steel seems to be the only one where a temporary stage of diminishing returns has started and the rate of expansion is substantially slowed down—least for pig iron and most for crude oil. Possibly steel production capacity has outstripped its supply of raw materials. But the output of electricity and that of oil are increasing substantially. The Soviet plan is vigorously maintaining the rhythm of development in heavy industry. The following comparative table will give an idea about the rate of growth of Soviet industries.

Per Capita Production
(kilograms)

	1951					1955 planned
	USA	UK	West Germany	France	USSR	
Coal	3500	4500	2480	1250	1384	1730
Oil	2050	1	29	7	208	325
Electricity*	2468	1199	1070	850	500	756
Pig iron	426	197	223	206	109	159
Steel	635	317	281	232	154	206

The per capita output, however, tells only a part of the story. It is important for the standard of life, not for economic potential. In potential resources of coal, oil, electricity, pig iron and crude oil, the USSR comes next to the USA and holds the balance well against the combined current output of the United Kingdom, France and Germany.

The fifth five-year plan aims at reducing slowly the West's advantage in economic potential to such levels as to counterbalance its strategic importance with overwhelming production.

Planned economy is the order of the day and it presupposes elimination of competition—competition with similar products on institutional basis. Of course, there is competition in planned economy—but it is qualitative. Competition in planned economy is complementary and is directed towards improving the rate of productivity and the quality as well. Although

*K. W. H.

there has been no novel departures in the fifth five-year plan, there is a certain shift in emphasis: a fuel-saving campaign and the substitution of electricity for other fuels; plans for speeding up the production of timber and building materials; efforts to achieve self-sufficiency in non-ferrous metals through the development of home deposits and of synthetic substitutes, and great emphasis is placed on the output of the engineering industry. The heavy industry receives greater attention, yet the consumer goods industries are not being neglected. If the output of producers' goods is to rise by over 80 per cent in the five years, that of consumer goods is to increase by over 60 per cent. There are still more ambitious plans for agriculture. For 1955 the new plan envisages an output of between 175 and 187 million tons of grain. That is, for the next three years the Soviet grain harvest should increase on average by at least 15 million tons a year.

The previous plans owed their success to a large extent to a continued expansion of the industrial labour force. Thus by 1950 industrial production rose by 73 per cent than in 1940, and during the same period the number of workers and employees increased by somewhere between 6,700,000 and 8,800,000 or by 20 to 30 per cent. Under the new plan, the number of workers and employees is to be increased from 39.2 million to 43.7 million, or by only 15 per cent. Consequently, productivity will have to rise by about 50 per cent in actuality and not merely on paper, if the plan is to be completed.

Priority of development will now be given to the Urals, Siberia, the Volga area, the Far East and Central Asia. A salient feature of post-war Soviet development is the eastward shift of industry. An indirect indication may be assumed by the intended expansion of the production of non-ferrous metals, since their deposits are located chiefly in the Urals or further east. During the new plan, the output of nickel is to rise by 50 per cent, that of tin by over 75 per cent; copper production is to be nearly doubled, that of zinc is to increase one and a half times, while the output of lead and aluminium is to be increased even by higher percentages. The rapidly growing chemical industry is to help by providing Ersatz non-ferrous metals and synthetic rubber.

The Soviet Union will by 1955 produce twice as many woollen fabrics, and twice as much sugar and fats as in 1940; the output of cotton goods will exceed the prewar level by three quarters and the output of shoes by a half. These are large increases even allowing for the growth of population. The Soviet consumer will have during the five-year period about 20 per cent more of clothing, shoes and sugar. The plan refers to closer co-operation with the countries of the Soviet bloc and to the development of relations with all countries which wish to develop trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Russia at present

is not importing consumer goods from outside and it remains to be seen whether she really intends to buy consumer goods from the West or whether the gap between domestic production and the promised supplies is to be accounted for only by Czech shoes and Polish textiles. It may however be pointed out that the planned supply of consumer goods may fall far short of the promised land of plenty of the Communist millennium or even of the American standard. Russians could, however, make quite favourable comparisons with most European countries and if the targets are reached it will almost look like plenty to the Russians who have not yet forgotten the appalling conditions of war and its aftermath.

Grow More Food Schemes

The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee, which was appointed by the Government of India in February 1952, has submitted its report to the Government. The Committee has referred to the basic fact of the enormous volume of unemployment and disguised unemployment existing in the agricultural economy of India and the pressure of steadily increasing population on the soil. It points out that in unirrigated areas the cultivator can find work in farming operations for three to four months a year and in irrigated areas, the period of employment is from six to eight months a year. The result is that nearly four-fifths of the agricultural population is unemployed or under-employed for roughly two-thirds of the year and the remaining one-fifth is idle for about four months a year. Besides this colossal waste of man power, the Committee refers to the large number of agriculturists who are surplus to the land and are attached to it merely because there are no other alternative occupations. Moreover, there is an annual addition to the rural population by about three millions every year. The Committee observes that the solution for this evil, so deep-seated in our economy, has to be sought in the concurrent adoption of a two-fold programme: firstly, rationalisation of agriculture, that is, maximisation of production in terms of yield per acre by steady improvement in agricultural methods and promotion of intensive cultivation, and, secondly, drawing away of surplus labour force from land into cottage industries, small-scale industries and large-scale industries and tertiary occupations. The Committee further states that the movement for village development will gain the requisite momentum only if a portion of the vast unutilised energy in the countryside is harnessed and utilised for the benefit of the country.

The above observations of the Committee with regard to the predominance of agriculture in Indian economy and too much dependence of the people on the limited output of the soil make no new suggestion. It is more than obvious that there should be shift in the pattern of our occupation by transferring a large number of people from primary to secondary and

tertiary occupations. These suggestions are too old to require any further explanation. What is required is realisation of these points in fact. The problem is who is to do that and how that can be acquired. It is a pity that a country where seventy per cent of the population are cultivators goes abegging in the countries of the world with a beggar's bowl seeking charity in foodgrains. The primitive system of our cultivation, lack of agricultural finance, lack of secondary occupation, too much dependence on lands and low fertility of the soil are some of the major drawbacks of Indian agriculture. What is required is a revolutionary change in our entire agrarian system and redistribution of land with planned cultivation based on large-scale mechanised farming. The other sectors of the economy should also be reorganised so as to absorb surplus people from agriculture. These are imperative needs of Indian economy. But how that can be achieved? That is the problem which defies all solution unless the entire might and resources of the State are brought together to force a speedy solution. We have had too many committees, too many reports during the last half a century—but little effective action. Even the Grow More Food Campaign itself is a failure. Herein lies the weakness of a democracy which flourishes on the ruins of a conservative and reactionary bureaucracy whose spirit still pervades the entire structure of our Government. A report on planned economy becomes meaningless unless a new spirit resuscitates India into a granary of the East. Why not? India's potentiality in natural and economic resources are surpassed in the world only by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. A country so rich in resources is so poor in realisation and the numerous reports and committees are the banes of democracy where red-tapism dies hard even in the changed structure! No amount of explanation will conceal the fact that India's economic ills are being treated with half-hearted measures and haphazard plans which do not strike at the roots. The plan to make India self-sufficient in food production has been pushed back to 1955 as it is said that nature and man conspired to defeat the Government's earlier efforts in that direction. The target of self-sufficiency is continuously being shifted from year to year because of the floods in Assam and drought in Bihar, and the like. But it should have been remembered that in a tropical country like ours, such events are normal attendants of our economic life and sufficient allowances should have been made for that. Nature is made a scapegoat for man's failure. Giving its verdict on the Grow More Food Campaign, the Committee observes that it has not fully achieved the results expected of it. It is a poor consolation to note that the two main reasons for its failure are the narrow and restricted scope of the campaign and the various changes in emphasis made from time to time in its objectives. It is grati-

ying that the Committee realises that the food problem is a much wider one than mere elimination of food imports. It is the problem of bringing about such large expansion of agricultural production as will assure to an increasing population progressively rising levels of nutrition.

The Committee recommends that the Grow More Food Campaign should be enlarged so as to become a part of a wider plan for development of village life in all its aspects on a permanent basis. At the commencement, the campaign was directed towards achieving self-sufficiency in foodgrains. A few years later shortage of industrial raw materials became acute, an integrated programme of production of foodgrains, cotton and jute was announced. Other additions followed in quick succession—the “key village” scheme for improvement of livestock; emphasis on fisheries’ development; the extension movement; “land transformation,” etc. All these indicated a recognition that the programme of integrated production would not stand by itself. But no significant changes were introduced in its operation. There was a failure to realise that all aspects of our agricultural economics are inter-related and improvements could not be split up into a number of detached programmes working independently. Moreover, the finances and supplies in shape of fertilisers, good seed, etc., available for the campaign, were inadequate. Even these resources were distributed too thinly over large regions, instead of being concentrated in the favourable areas.

The Grow More Food Campaign has touched only a small percentage of our population and has not aroused widespread enthusiasm so as to become a national movement. It was regarded as a temporary campaign for the achievement of self-sufficiency and as such the larger holders were induced by subsidies and other forms of assistance to take up improved agricultural technique. The administrative set-up was on temporary basis and unless the scheme is placed on permanent basis, there is little hope for the future.

Trade, Not Aid

The Bretton Woods twins—the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development recently held their annual meetings. These twins were to have been the means to a new expansionism, as well as a new security, in the trade of the nations. The achievement so far of these institutions have belied the hopes that were raised at the time of their formation and inauguration as well. At that time the late Lord Keynes remarked that they would be useful to the people of the world, provided they are not turned into political weapons by major countries of the world. Exactly that prophecy has now come to be true and they are now regarded as more or less the national preserves of the U.S.A. The return to free trade is now a far-away objective

and the International Monetary Fund has not been able to solve the problem of persistent post-war trade deficits of a large number of countries. The IMF is designed to function as an international clearing house and also as the lender, in the last resort, in case of adverse balance of payments position. But its operations so far are not so hopeful and for various factors it has not been able to prove itself worthy of the task entrusted upon it. Gradually it is fading into isolationism and no wonder if it goes the way of its former counterpart, the Bank for International Settlement, (Basle). This declining importance is all the more evident by Mr. Butler’s absence from this year’s session. He remained in London in order to prepare for the economic discussions at the coming conference of Commonwealth Ministers. It suggests that the of Commonwealth Ministers. It suggests that the in the British Government’s view, than the international financial meeting.

The IMF has failed so far to restore the free trade among the nations and what is being done by it is mere extension of short-term accommodation to help member countries to meet their international obligations on current trade account. Of course, that is one of its main functions. But the Fund was expected to restore the free trade as laid down in the Havana Trade Charter. Instead, the changing pattern in international trade, namely, the bilateral trade, has become a common feature in the commerce of nations. International payments arrangements on barter basis has minimised much of the importance of the International Monetary Fund. Further, most of the member countries do not see eye to eye with the various opinions held by the IMF. The general devaluation in 1949 marks a turning point since when the Fund’s influence is on the wane. The devaluation has been an ill-considered and ill-advised step and anyway it has failed to achieve the object for which devaluation was made. Devaluation was a mere stop-gap device and it has worsened the situation rather than improving it. Further, the IMF is more or less a detached on-looker in the worldwide adverse trade balance and as a result, countries do not now much turn to it in their adversity, but fall back on their own resources to tackle the problem. The Fund’s gold policy is also a failure in so far as the official price of gold is not adjusted with the market price or *vice versa*. The pegging of gold price has not cured the inflation.

The IBRD, however, is doing some useful services to the member countries within its limited spheres.

Development Programme for Jute Industry

Recently problems of jute industry were discussed at a meeting convened by the Planning Commission where representatives of the Indian Jute Mills Association and of the Ministries of Commerce and Industry and Food and Agriculture were present. In

the course of the discussions, the capacity of the 112 jute mills in India was estimated at 12 lakh tons per year on the basis of single-shift operation and 48-hour week. Actual production was below the installed capacity in post-partition era. The production was 892,000 tons in 1950-51 and 900,000 tons during the eleven months ending February 1952, as against 1,140,200 tons in 1945-46. The importance of export markets for the jute industry was indicated by exports of jute manufactures which came to 809,000 tons valued at Rs. 270 crores in 1951-52.

The main difficulty of the jute industry just after partition was the shortage of raw jute supply as India lost the most important jute-growing area. High prices charged for Pakistan jute as a result of devaluation of Indian rupee after September 1949, also added to the difficulties of the industry.

For overcoming the problem of raw jute shortage, the Five-year Plan contemplates an increase in the production of jute within the country and domestic supplies are expected to increase to 53 lakh bales by 1955-56. The supply of jute would be supplemented by another 10 lakh bales of mesta at the end of the planning period. The representatives of jute industry stressed the importance of the yield as well as improving the quality of Indian jute. Improved quality of jute is essential in view of the need for maintaining the industry's position in the export markets, particularly in the U.S.A. Improvement in quality could be achieved by more intensive propaganda among the cultivators in West Bengal and Bihar. *A drastic shake-up of the officials in control in West Bengal is also indicated. There is much rotteness there.*

In a recent statement by Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, the Union Minister of Agriculture, it was revealed that India's production of raw jute has increased considerably. In the five years after partition, India's jute production has increased from 1.7 million bales from an acreage of 650,000 to 4.8 million bales from an acreage of 2 million. This is a remarkable achievement, no doubt. The factors which are responsible for this spectacular increase are subsidized supplies of good quality seed and fertilizers; practical demonstration of their usefulness to cultivators' propaganda in favour of line sowing and for the control of disease and pest in the jute plant; and removal of control over the prices of raw jute. Another stimulant for the increased output of this commercial crop is a good steady price with an assured offtake. For this some credit should go to the Indian Central Jute Committee. Dr. Deshmukh gave assurance about the adequate supplies of raw jute for the future and of the industry's escape from the catastrophes which threatened to overwhelm it a few years ago.

The future programme of the jute industry aims at a production target of 11 lakh tons of jute manufactures in 1952-53 and 12 lakh tons by 1955-56. The

domestic consumption of jute manufactures was estimated at 175,000 tons in 1952-53 and 2 lakh tons by 1955-56. Indian jute industry would have to face severe competition in foreign markets from Pakistan and the modernised mills on the Continent and in the U.K., and it was generally agreed that the country should aim at an export target of 925,000 tons by 1952-53 and of 10 lakh tons by 1955-56.

Bharat Sevak Samaj

The people of India will soon be provided with a forum for rendering service to country through a broad-based, non-political, voluntary social service agency, the establishment of which has been proposed in the near future by the Planning Commission. The organisation shall be called the "Bharat Sevak Samaj." The membership to this body will be open to all adults irrespective of caste, creed, sex, religion and party affiliations. Those who profess faith in violent or subversive activities or communal hatred cannot be taken as members to this organisation.

The functions of the Samaj would be to approach the people "in humility of spirit and with the intense desire to bring about, with our common labour, that joint effort which can shake and break up a mountain of inertia." The genesis of the idea of the Bharat Sevak Samaj may be traced to the Draft Outline of the Five-year Plan which emphasises the need for willing, intelligent and effective public co-operation if the Plan is to succeed. The Commission observes that the fulfilment of a plan of economic development rests very much on the capacity of the community to transmute this common social outlook and the deep aspirations of the people for progress into a living force and its use for constructive purposes. The Bharat Sevak Samaj would be a volunteer institution through which this living force could be canalised into constructive effort. Although the proposed organisation will not be tied to the Party in power, but since whatever it can accomplish would strengthen the foundations of the State and further the fulfilment of its obligations to the community, it will be found worthy of the fullest recognition and support by the Union as well as by the State Governments.

The range of activities of the Samaj will comprehend all aspects of the community welfare. In the initial stages of its existence only urgent tasks will be undertaken by it, and the food problem must be given the highest priority. Other activities will include organisation of public opinion against anti-social practices, formation of community centres, organising the youth for the service of the community, improvement of relations between the people and the Government by striving for quicker redress of public grievances, prevention of disease, anti-malarial campaign, etc.

Fullest possible decentralisation will be a cardinal feature of the Samaj. The basic unit will be the village and the subsequent tiers will be identical with

the administrative divisions in the country. The organisation and the activities of the Samaj will follow the following principles :

(1) A common platform for the service of the nation will be provided irrespective of caste, creed, or political belief or affiliations.

(2) Any use of the organisation or its activities for political or communal purposes will be strictly forbidden.

(3) The principle of decentralisation will be applied to the utmost extent, the basic unit for the purpose of administration being a village or a compact locality in a town. Care will be taken to secure full play for the initiative and enthusiasm of the people in each local area. Control and direction of the work of the branches will be exercised only for the purpose of co-ordination, efficiency and economy.

(4) Every endeavour will be made to secure the fullest co-ordination and collaboration between the Samaj and the official or non-official agencies working in the same field.

(5) Funds required for activities in any particular areas will be collected in that area, as far as possible.

(6) The principle of co-operation will be applied and developed as fully as possible in the activities organised by the Samaj. Community centres will be established wherever possible and organisations of producers as well as consumers will be encouraged to give expression to this principle in every aspect of group life.

Rise in Industrial Production

"Industrial production in India, according to an official review, was buoyant in the first half of this year. At the end of April, the latest month for which indices of production are available, the general index of production was 133.3 against 117.4 in 1951. This is stated to have established a record for the post-war period, being 33.3 per cent higher than in 1946. If the same trend continues in the second half of the year, production in 1952 is likely to show a further appreciable improvement over the previous year.

"Taking into account actual output in the first half, production in the full year, it is stated, can be estimated as follows: Cotton piecegoods, 4,330m yds. (against 4,080m yds. in 1951); jute manufactures, nearly 1m tons (873,000 tons in 1951); cement 3.4m tons (3.2m tons); steel, 1,100,000 tons (1,072,000 tons); and paper, 134,000 tons (131,000 tons). Besides this prospect of improvement in the private sector, various nationalized industrial schemes have also made progress during this period. Production in the Sindri fertilizer factory is increasing. The target of 100,000 tons of ammonium sulphate per day is expected to be reached within this year. The Vishakapatnam ship-building yard has started a big programme of ship-building.

"Construction work on the Machine Tool Factory at Bangalore is proceeding apace. Arrangements have been made to set up oil refineries. Steel companies are actively pursuing proposals to expand production."

A note of caution should however be sounded. These are half-yearly figures and there occur many snags which may impede the uniform rate of production for the rest of the year. The textile and the sugar industries have been behaving rather strangely for the last few years. A good period of production is generally followed by closing down of some of the mills and factories on the ground that there has not been sufficient offtake. This is most unhappy as the seller is allowed to dictate the price and the supply as well at his convenience and to his advantage. It is rather premature to estimate the volume of annual production on the basis of half-yearly production. State industries will, no doubt, maintain their rate of production.

It may also be pointed out that production in some private sectors has recorded a decline, as, soda ash, diesel engines, sheet glass, woollen manufactures, etc. The fall in the production of soda ash will affect the manufacture of paper and its supply may on that account suffer.

If production really increases, the authorities should take steps so that domestic consumption does not suffer. It is now-a-days a practice to allow export to sterling area countries by starving the domestic market, and although the apparent gain from export is very negligible, the internal consumption suffers giving rise to black marketing and inflationary tendencies. Adequate supply to internal needs will lower the prices and ultimately the export prices will also come down.

In this connection the hopeful note sounded by the Commerce and Industry Minister, as quoted below, should be noted :

"Our industrial production is on the whole satisfactory. The improvement in recent months has even led to some economic journals to predict that, if this rate is sustained, much larger resources will be available in the private sector for financing the Five-Year Plan," said Mr. Krishnamachari, Central Minister for Commerce and Industry, at a Press conference.

"Despite transport difficulties, which have been increasing of late, cement production has continued to go up. Production in 1951 was 3.19m tons, and during this year the monthly average has been 284,755 tons. We expect the improvement to continue.

"Steel production, too, has not been unsatisfactory, where, of course, substantial results can be expected only after the equipment of the steel works has expanded. We have approved expansion plans of both the main producers, and we have every reason to expect that substantial assistance (about \$40m) will be available from the World Bank to finance these expansions. The Government also proposes to afford substantial assistance to both producers from the Equalization Fund. This assistance will be on easy terms."

"Considering the world situation, our exports have fared reasonably well. During the last two or three months, exports of cotton textiles have been satisfactory, but it is too early to say whether this trend will be maintained.

"We are carefully watching the price situation and are making efforts to bring them down to reasonable levels wherever we think they are capable of being reduced. The commodities now under consideration are automobile spares and motor tyres. We also intend to appoint a committee to look into the whole question of the import, manufacture and distribution of pharmaceuticals.

"Returns are coming in steadily from all firms who are employing non-Indian personnel. The last date is the end of the month. We expect to have a full picture by the end of the year." He added that he proposed to study the returns before he could say whether any problem existed. The question of finding a remedy only arose when the problem had been studied.

He revealed that the Rajaram Rao Committee's report on tea had been received. "We are examining it and hope to publish it and our decisions very soon. An immediate visible improvement in the situation cannot, of course, be expected. There are signs of a fundamental malaise, and long-term measures have to be advised. Only a much bigger home market can import more stability to the industry. For tea, I intend to unify the legislation on the subject, investing the board with increased powers."

Steps taken by the Government to rectify India's balance of trade position are beginning to be successful.

It is understood that during the last week or two India has been accumulating some sterling. This constitutes a reversal of the position which obtained during the first six months of the year, when the sterling balances recorded a fall from Rs. 781 crores to Rs. 683 crores.

The change is all the more remarkable as the revised import policy announced in June has not yet begun to have full effect.

All the same, the curve of monthly deficits has been showing a steep fall since March when the adverse trade balance, the highest since the beginning of 1952, amounted to Rs. 39.86 crores.

The deficits for the subsequent months are: April Rs. 37.19 crores; May Rs. 28.69 crores; June Rs. 10.40 crores; and July about Rs. 5 crores.

While a detailed analysis of the causes which have contributed to this transformation has yet to be worked out, it is known that India's greatly reduced import of raw jute from Pakistan during the last few months is partly responsible.

River Valley Projects

The *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay in its

issue of September 5, struck the following cautious note:

"Opinion is slowly moving towards a critical view of the river projects and multi-purpose schemes. Many have been feeling that the vastness of many of these enterprises prevents any effective control. Now other defects have made themselves felt. The situation of the bulk of these schemes has, we are informed, given rise to a general feeling that the North is being benefited while the South is neglected. Within a State like Bombay, there are accusations of linguistic favouritism. Apart from this, the execution of these projects will involve a good deal of time and money and financing them will have to be done from taxes. So far as the citizen is concerned, he cannot be expected to go on indefinitely depriving himself of ordinary comforts in the doubtful hope of ushering in a better world after him. There are many little ways in which immediate improvement could be effected and building up of confidence achieved before passing on to these ambitious projects. Moreover, our ministers and official spokesmen are for ever warning us not to depend so much on our Government; but these vast schemes influence the pattern of life in the country and they cannot quite avoid leaving an impress of active State intervention. It has been also computed that after one of the projects has been completed, it will need crores again to start growing crops or for grazing cattle. The expenditure on many of them, therefore, marks the beginning of an endless drain. As Louis Fischer, now back in India, said the other day, even Soviet Russia did not venture on any extensive industrialisation or mechanisation of agriculture plans until she saw her people fairly settled."

The Government of India is in the hands of people who are getting experienced the hard way—hard for the tax-payer and the common citizen. They have launched into schemes without thinking for a moment about the efficiency and integrity of those in whose hands they had put the execution and administration of the plans.

As time passes, the results show up in a poor light. The prospects are bleak.

Dudhwa Feeder Tank Project

News from Nagpur dated September 8 said that the Government of India have been approached to grant a subsidy of Rs. 53,20,000 and a loan of Rs. 43,60,000 for the construction of Dudhwa Feeder Tank and remodelling of the Mahanadi Canal in the Raipur district.

These two will cost about Rs. 150 lakhs so as to provide irrigation to an eventual area of 3 lakh acres of rice included in the Five-year Development Plan of the State.

The Mahanadi Canal System designed to serve an area of 2,40,000 acres is at present irrigating an area of

2,10,000 acres which is all that is possible with the present storage and channels available.

With the additional storage at Dudhwa, remodeling of the canal system and rehabilitation of the abandoned channels it will be possible to serve an additional 90,000 acres. The additional yield due to irrigation is estimated at 18,000 tons. The scheme, it is emphasised, will yield quick results and is of very high priority. The work is programmed to take about five years for its completion.

Madhya Pradesh is already a surplus area in food-crops, and this small scheme will add to her capacity for better life all around.

Ideals of Education

In the *Subodh Patrika*, organ of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay, a writer with the pen-name of "G.L.C." had the following in its September 7th issue :

"We are told that education is useless unless it is intimately connected with life and its various problems. We agree, but what constitutes life and what are its various problems? If by education is meant training for a profession or trade and nothing more, our conception of life would be a narrow one and its problems would be confined to the problems of the belly. But we know the scope of education is much wider than this and that education aims at something much higher. In an outspoken essay on 'The Functions of a Teacher,' Bertrand Russell describes teachers as guardians of civilisation, and hastens to declare that 'civilisation, in the more important sense, is a thing of the mind.' He, therefore, believes that it is the duty of the teachers to give their pupils 'a liberalising mental training.' Leaving aside the legitimate claims of what is known as technical education, which is a special type of education meant only for those who wish to acquire skill and proficiency in certain professions, we must remember that the aim of all general education is to give the child this liberalising mental training which sharpens his mental processes, gives him accuracy of thought and of discernment, and widens the scope of his vision. If technical training and the imparting of knowledge and skill in a profession were the only or even the chief aim of education, then the functions of education would be confined to vocational subjects like engineering or commerce, and such subjects like Literature and Mathematics and the social studies like History and Geography and Civics, and at the higher stage, intellectual studies like Philosophy or pure sciences would be useless."

What Grants Committee Should Do ?

On the question of distribution of grants the conference of Inter-University Board which was concluded in Madras on 7th August last said that the University Grants Committee should visit the different

universities, distribute grants, that might be made available for specific objects, report on the progress made in respect of such grants and suggest to the Inter-University Board and to the Government ways and means by which co-ordination might be achieved as between the different universities.

The grants might include, among other things, grants for the opening of new courses, teaching grants intended to increase the salaries of the teachers in various fields with a view to attract the best type of teachers and to retain them in the teaching profession, grants of libraries, laboratory equipment, for the acquisition and improvement of playing fields, and generally, the physical and extracurricular activities of students, grants for buildings for the staff and for students, amenities and special grants for research and research publications, etc.

The Grants Committee might also investigate particular problems of university education by means of sub-committees. The committee should be empowered to set up committees for various purposes consisting of experts in the different fields and get these committees to visit the different universities, if necessary, and to make recommendations upon specific proposals which they are required to report on.

The terms of reference for the proposed University Grants Committee, the conference suggested, might be similar to those of the Grants Committee of Great Britain. The Committee should maintain close liaison with the Inter-University Board and meet them periodically in an informal atmosphere for exchange of views on a wide range of topics concerning the universities. It should be empowered to distribute grants provided by the Central Government to the different universities, taking note of the development of each university and the national purposes which the universities might be called upon to serve.

The conference was also of the opinion that the Inter-University Board, consisting of the Vice-Chancellors of Indian universities, should function in a more intensified manner, so as to enable the universities to appreciate fully the problems of universities in general and of individual universities in particular.

The board should be, in the main, a body to assist the universities in the co-ordination and maintenance of standards by advising them wherever necessary by appointing sub-committees or special committees to investigate particular problems, to visit the universities and to make reports thereon and place such reports before the Inter-University Board and the university concerned.

While not interfering with the autonomy of the universities which were statutory bodies with special duties and responsibilities developing upon them under the Act, the conference said the views of the Inter-University Board should be taken into consi-

deration when large questions of policy were concerned and it should be the endeavour of the universities to implement those views.

Where a question would arise as to the propriety or otherwise of any action taken by a university or where a Government, Central or State, would feel it desirable that any question pertaining to universities in general should be considered, such Government should acquaint the Inter-University Board with any such problem and the Inter-University Board should make enquiries and report thereon to the universities and to the Government concerned.

The conference pleaded for substantial grants from the Central Government to discharge satisfactorily the enlarged functions of the Inter-University Board.

The conference wanted that the Inter-University Board should be given an opportunity to consider and place before the State and Central Governments its views on any proposed legislation regarding the constitution of a university. It suggested that the opinion of the Board might be communicated to the President of the Union before he gave his assent to such Acts.

Certain universities now functioning had been constituted under Acts of the States which were not exactly in unison either with the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission report or with older Acts of many of the universities. The conference wanted the Inter-University Board to address such Governments to consider the possibility of revising these Acts and bringing them into conformity with the general provisions of some of the well-known Acts of older universities.

Twenty-one out of 29 Indian universities were represented at the conference. Among those present were the Vice-Chancellors of Bombay, Baroda, Allahabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Mysore and Madras Universities and representatives of Calcutta, Aligarh, Utkal and Delhi Universities.

The Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Inter-University Board, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, placed the resolutions before the conference which were adopted unanimously. Mr. K. K. Handiqu, Chairman of the Inter-University Board and Vice-Chancellor of Gauhati University presided.

The resolutions passed voice universal Indian sentiment in the matter of higher education. But this must be broad-based on mass education which is the concern of the States. In West Bengal, Sri Pannalal Basu, the Education Minister, has been stressing the point in his public speeches and private talks that if during his tenure of office, the officers under him, cannot help him decrease mass illiteracy, he and they deserved censure. 10 per cent decrease would satisfy him. Other States Ministers are moved by the same sentiments. But what we have been afraid of always is that the bureaucrats, whether in official buildings or in non-official organizations, resent criticism and make

a dead set against their critics. The bickerings that follow result in endless argument and correspondence, slowing down progress all round.

Dr. Kumarappa's Allegation

That several hundred people had died due to food scarcity during the last two months in the tehsils of Pharendra and Maharajgunj in U.P. and that certain Government officials, particularly police officials, had tampered with official records to hide these facts, was revealed by Dr. J. C. Kumarappa and Pandit Sunderlal, in a joint statement on the food situation in Gorakhpur District.

Both of them visited the scarcity-affected areas of Gorakhpur District and made an on-the-spot enquiry. They visited several test work centres in Pharendra and Maharajganj tehsils, the worst affected areas. The total number of labourers engaged in all these fifty or more centres was about 20,000 while those applying for work in that area numbered nearly one lakh.

The statement adds, "We have not the slightest shadow of doubt that in the above-mentioned two tehsils alone, during the last two months or so, at least several hundred people died due to scarcity of food."

The statement charges Government officials, specially police officials of Gorakhpur with having approached the people who had reported the deaths of their dear ones as due to starvation and threatened them with dire consequences unless they got their reports amended. "We also came across cases in which there is *prima facie* evidence of tampering with public records. We have seen such records where *bhukh se margaya* (died of hunger) having been apparently changed into *bukhar se mar-gaya* (died of fever) or the word *bhukhmari* (starvation) as the cause of death having been changed to *bukhar* (fever). We submit such cases deserve immediate, full and fair enquiry," the statement adds.

"From our short visit to these relief camps we came to three conclusions," adds the statement. "Firstly, the Government had correctly realised the people's distress in so far as they started some relief measures. Secondly, these measures are still very inadequate to meet the extent of the distress. Thirdly, a good deal more of human sympathy is needed in those in charge of these works."

U. P. I. adds: Dr. Kumarappa and Pandit Sunderlal have also suggested development of cottage industries like spinning and weaving of cotton and wool, and digging of canals, wells, etc. The villagers, they said, should be persuaded to grow food crops in the place of commercial crops. "There should be a right type of land reform and redistribution of land on a fair equitable basis so that no tiller of the soil should remain without a plot of land on which he has full ownership rights. Mechanised collective farming

or forced co-operatives will give no real relief to the people," they said.

A copy of the joint statement on Gorakhpur famine has been sent to Prime Minister Nehru, Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Central Food Minister, Pandit Pant, Chief Minister of U. P. and Mr. C. B. Gupta, U. P.'s Food Minister.

The above report was wired from Allahabad by the special correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* on September 9. We are not as concerned with the allegations as with the spirit which inspired these. In his zeal for the Gandhian way, the Wardha professor has become an irresponsible propagandist, adding strength to Communist fifth-columnists and other anti-national factions by his thoughtless statements. We remember his speech at the Indian Association where peasants were advised to burn paddy and thus defeat the purpose of Government rice procurement. And now come these allegations. It is up to the Government to challenge Dr. Kumarappa to prove his case.

Call to Sacrifice

The following comments of the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated September 9, on Doctor Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's discourse to Calcutta Congress people are so appropriate that we make no apology in reproducing these :

"What Dr. Radhakrishnan has seen is that the Congress has lost some confidence and affection amongst the people. What he has not observed is that much of this is due to dissensions within the party and to a watering down of the principles which the Congress has advocated for decades. Nor does he take note of the fact that Congressmen have shown little interest in keeping close touch with the people. We do not suggest that all of the programme formulated during the years of opposition can be applied to the changed conditions of today. But a great deal of it surely holds true. It is rather pointless to tell Congressmen that they must recapture the spirit of the days of struggle; nor can we pretend to be enamoured of the incessant call to sacrifice. No nation can grow to its full stature on a succession of sacrifices. The appeal has to be made on some other ground. The emancipation from social prejudice and economic servitude, like national independence, is desired not because of any mystic quality in freedom itself but because only with this can the people of a nation grow to their full stature. Sacrifice conveys an impression of a cramped thwarted personality, and, when it is consciously indulged in, it ceases to be a virtue, becoming a vice instead. It is this point of view needs stressing—that we must shake off our economic and social bonds because a country which is not richly endowed cannot afford the luxury of keeping down vast sections of the people."

Dr. Sarvapalli is a philosopher donning the toga of the politician. And as is the latter's weakness—he goes the easy way to develop character. Sacrifice may appear to be a hard way; but the orgy of Congress successes during election has created a false impression

of the organization's strength. Human nature follows certain immutable principles. In India, our saints and sages have always been emphasizing their truth. In modern India from Rammohun Roy to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the need for ending social disabilities and economic inequalities has the inspiration of all reform movements. And there is hardly anything new that the Congress organization and its leadership can point out to us.

Further, Dr. Radhakrishnan is a new-comer to the political arena. He has no sacrifice on his credit side as Congress people understand it and had practised it during the last 45 years and more. And, therefore, he is least competent to talk of sacrifice to a people whose representatives had made the greatest sacrifice in making New India.

Norman Angell's Diagnosis

The author of the *Great Illusion* must be over the three score and ten years now. In the August 4 issue of the *New Leader*, U.S.A. weekly, he diagnoses the malady that has weakened the war-time amity between Britain and the United States :

"The belief in the innocuousness of Soviet power, as compared with that of Britain, determined very largely the military policy and strategy of the Western Allies during the war. All the pleas (put forward chiefly by Churchill) for a strategy which, at war's end, would leave the Allies in a position to block Soviet westward expansion were vetoed as a manifestation of evil power politics. What, mainly, was behind that veto? Behind it lay certain assumptions about political morals and the proper use of military power. These assumptions are still playing a part in decisions we are now being called upon to make, decisions likely to affect the course of the cold war. They are therefore worth re-examination. It is certain that no crude Anglophobia of the Bertie McCormick type actuated Roosevelt. He gave innumerable proofs of his friendliness to Britain, taking some political risk at home in so doing. He was the host of the British King and Queen, welcomed Englishmen of all sorts. He has been described by Churchill as the greatest friend that Britain ever had. His statue stands today in London, together with that of Washington and Lincoln.

"It is evident that the conviction of Roosevelt and others about the wickedness of British imperial power is rooted in something deeper than mere nationalistic animosity. It springs from a profoundly sincere moral impulse, which, ever since the Revolution, has dominated American political thinking in international affairs; from the assumption that the government of one people by another, which imperialism or colonialism involves, has the quality of sin, is a violation of elementary human right, of a rule invariable and inviolable, constituting a moral absolute. The view has been that any people anywhere struggling to be in-

dependent are right, and that any power attempting to forestall their independence is wrong. The road to peace, runs the argument, is for all nations to be completely independent and sovereign; colonialism is the main cause of war. Roosevelt was particularly emphatic on this last point and gave it as his main reason for preferring the growth of Russia's power to Britain's. Russia had no colonies and was therefore not 'imperialist.'

"Quite a number of American writers on politics, notably George Kennan, have shown how very much American foreign policy is dominated by this moralistic approach. There is usually in the criticisms the implication that the moral assumptions just indicated are sound enough in themselves, but that international politics are a domain in which the writ of morals does not properly run. I suggest, however, that the trouble arises not from any attempt to apply sound moral principles to international politics, but from the fact that some of the principles which we invoke with such assurance and dogmatism as based upon the highest morals, are not in truth sound moral principles at all, but moral, ethical and social fallacies."

We understand this diagnosis. But when Norman Angell challenges the "assumed right of a nation to be completely independent," we make an assumption that is wholly invalid. Human progress during the centuries has been the creation of this "assumed right." And Britain should not have fought for her "complete national independence" during the last two World Wars, according to Angell's logic. The chief difficulty between national independence and international co-operation has yet to be removed. Angell's article does not help do it.

Turko-Yugoslav Relations

Threatened by the growing Stalin imperialism, certain East Europe countries, have forgotten their ages-long enmity and been forced to join forces to repel the common enemy. This fact is recalled to us by the report in the *Tan-Yug Bulletin*, the Yugo-Slav Information weekly, dated September 7, of the Press interview granted by Marshal Tito on August 20 last to a group of Turkish journalists. In an hour's talk, many questions were asked and answered. The report is reproduced below:

"Referring to Turko-Yugoslav relations, Marshal Tito said that it is necessary to emphasise that much time has not passed since the relations began to improve rapidly. Improvement of relations has especially come about owing to the international situation and identical interests of these countries in the preservation of their independence.

"These relations are today at such a stage that various measures should be undertaken not only in the political and economic but also in the military aspect. This will especially be easy in relations between

Yugoslavia and Turkey, because there is nothing to separate these countries. Co-operation is possible between countries with identical interests though with different internal systems. The first concrete expression of this improvement of relations and the undertaking of joint measures are mutual visits of representatives of countries. Personal contact plays an important role in rapprochement and that mutual understanding and realisation of reality can help to facilitate more correct decisions than those based on propaganda. Marshal Tito concluded that the most important factor which orients the two countries is the ensurance of independence and this is equally important for Turkey and Yugoslavia.

"By agreement reached in Ankara, Yugoslavia is to export textiles, timber and other industrial products valued at 13 million dinars up to the end of August next in payment of a loan recently granted by Turkey for the acquisition of 100,000 tons of wheat. The wheat will help alleviate the consequences of this year's drought."

Kishorelal Mashruwala

Kishorelal Mashruwala, Editor of the *Harjan* and a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi died on September 9; he was cremated on the 10th morning at Gopuri by the side of the late Jamnalal Bajaj's *samadhi*. He was only 62 years of age. Many of his fellow-workers have said that he was more of a thought-leader than a practical reformer. We are of opinion that this estimate was wrong. He combined in himself the qualities of his Master, Gandhiji, a burning passion for right conduct and a sense of what is practical and possible. And to give shape to the ideal no sacrifice was too great for him. Since the beginning of the Gandhi era, Kishorelalji has been a companion, fit and bold, as faithful as Mahadev Desai or Vallabhbhai Patel. He was connected with the Gujarat Vidyapith, with the various Satyagraha movements, and suffered imprisonments therefor. A victim to asthma for years, indomitable courage upheld him during the years to devote his best to the service of man, which was service to God. Our sympathies we tender to his family.

By his death the field of journalism is deprived of a shining light. Truth, candour and idealism is scarce today in the newspaper world. The initials K.G.M. stood for all that, without fear or favour.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, "The Modern Review" Office and the "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from 25th September to 8th October, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,

Editor

AGRICULTURAL PROLETARIAT

Its Present Conditions and Future Prospects

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.COM.

"The most important factor of production is man himself. Human machinery must be raised to the highest level of efficiency and maintained in good condition if we are to exploit natural resources God has placed at our disposal. Any amount that we spend in equipping our manpower is an investment which would more than repay what we spend."—SIR JOGENDRA SINGH

INDIA is principally an agricultural country, but it would not be an exaggeration to say that of all the major problems in our rural economy those relating to labour have received the least attention. Agricultural labour constitutes an important proportion of our rural population. It lives in most appalling conditions and surroundings. The landless labourers are poverty-stricken and have hardly enough means for two square meals and clothing to cover their bodies. Social amenities are unknown to them. Proper housing facilities, free medical aid, minimum living wage are no less important to the rural labour than to industrial workers in the city. The entire mass of labour in the rural areas today remains unorganised and the small efforts made in the direction by public-spirited persons and institutions have met with little success, with the result that their voice is never heard beyond their huts. From the social reformer, the politician and the research worker agricultural labour and its problems have not received the attention they deserve. Illiteracy, lack of enlightenment and the resulting suspicion come in the way of successful efforts towards their study, organisation and amelioration.

ESTIMATES OF THE STRENGTH OF THE RURAL LABOUR

The Census Superintendent in 1882 gave the number of landless labourers as 7½ million and it increased to 18.71 million in 1891, 21.5 million in 1921 and 33 million in 1931. Since the consolidation of British rule in India, the number of agricultural proletariat has been increasing decade by decade, owing to the increasing pressure of population on the land reinforced by de-industrialisation, creation of land monopoly, persistence of low technique of production, subdivision and fragmentation of holdings, destruction of rural industries and increasing pauperisation of the peasantry. The following table makes this fact clear:¹

Type of cultivators	(in millions)		Percentage of increase (—) or decrease (—)
	1911	1931	
Non-cultivating landlords	3.7	4.1	— 18.1
Cultivators (Owners or Tenants)	74.6	65.5	— 12.3
Agricultural labourers	21.7	33.3	— 53.4

In fact, every circumstance which has weakened the economic position of a small holder has increased the supply of agricultural labourers, viz., the loss of

common rights in rural economy, the abandoning of collective enterprise, the sub-division of holdings, the multiplication of rent-receivers, free mortgaging and transfer of land together with the decline of cottage industries have been swelling the supply of agricultural labourers.² The creation of absentee landlords is equally responsible for the growth of the landless class. The following table shows this fact³:

Year	Percentage of urban population	Percentage of gainfully occupied in agriculture, etc.	Agricultural labourers (lakhs)
1901	9.9	65.8	201
1911	9.4	71.1	259
1921	10.2	72.0	217
1931	11.1	74.7	249
1941	12.8	....	...

The number of labourers employed on the field per 100 cultivators varied in provinces from 2 in Assam, 10 in the Punjab, 12 in Bengal, 16 in U. P., 33 in Bihar and Orissa, 40 in Madras, 41 in Bombay and 59 in C. P. and Berar according to the figures of 1911. These variations are due more to differences in the social system than to the fertility of the soil and the density of population.

The Census of 1941 does not refer to the latest position in regard to the occupations in India. However, both official and non-official quarters are emphatic in their view about the increase in the number of agricultural labourers.

Dr. R. K. Mukerjee places the present number between 60 to 70 million, of whom about 30 million are landless labourers. In addition to this according to him, there are about 25 million unemployed adult workers, including small tenants-cum-labourers.⁴ The validity of this statement is supported by the fact that 50 per cent of the holdings in U. P. are less than 2 acres. Tarlok Singh estimates that there are 1.54 million potential surplus agricultural workers in India (including Pakistan)⁴ for whom non-agricultural work should be provided.

With the increase of rural labour, the economic condition has become awfully bad, e.g., according to Dr. M. N. Desai, the labourers on non-irrigated lands receive Rs. 25 per annum per head and those on the

2. R. K. Mukerjee : *Land Problems of India*, p. 215.

3. R. K. Mukerjee : *The U. P. Information Freedom Number*, 15th August, 1947.

4. Tarlok Singh : *Poverty and Social Change*.

1. National Planning Committee : *Report on Land Policy and Agriculture*, p. 39.

irrigated lands receive Rs. 31 per annum per head in Gujarat. Their condition is aptly described as :

"To say that they are breathing will be more appropriate than to describe them as living in this world."

CLASSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

The term Agricultural Labour on a composite basis of classification includes members from all the classes who are engaged in the actual cultivation of land. It gives rather a high pyramid of social stratification. At the top are the cultivating owners of the capitalistic type who perform only skilled work, while the lowest stratum comprises landless workers who perform unskilled work and receive poor remuneration. Thus the term 'agricultural labour' represents the labour of the following classes: (a) Cultivating Owners, (b) Tenant Cultivators, (c) Landless Farm Labourers, (d) Field-workers (unspecified).

This classification would exclude rent-receivers (non-cultivating owners and tenants), artisans and general labourers employed in public works and urban industries but residing in villages.

(a) The cultivating owners have their own lands, tools and cattle, and with the help of family hands they cultivate their lands. Hired help is also employed. If the holding is too big, it is sublet to landless labourers on produce rents, in which case the cultivating owner becomes a rent-receiver. Cultivating owners are the cultivators of *Sir* land and *Khud-kast*.

(b) Tenant cultivators are either statutory, occupancy or non-occupancy, and cultivate rented holdings of land belonging to hereditary landlords. They work with their own cattle and tools, and depend on their family hands with casual hired help. This class forms the bulk of actual tillers of the soil, but exclude those occupancy tenants whose entire holding is sublet in small plots to under-tenants, and who depend on the differential rent obtained by such subletting.

(c) The third class of agricultural labourers include those workers who have no land (owned or rented) and no capital, but hire out their labour to well-to-do tenants and landlords. They return themselves as agriculturists whose principal, and in many cases hereditary, occupation is cultivation of non-cultivating owner's land. Their labour is skilful and is always in demand for such operations as ploughing, sowing, irrigating, marketing, etc. All family hands contribute their share to the family budget and therefore, for various agricultural operations, most of the female and child labour is drawn from this class. Under casual employment they receive cash wages, but in permanent employments their daily wages are supplemented by a customary grain allowance at harvest. Often they have to move from farm

to farm in different cropping seasons but are seldom forced to leave the village for lack of employment.

(d) The last group represents the miscellaneous labour which requires no special skill or experience beyond what a coolie may be expected to acquire in the ordinary course of his career. This class is always mobile because its demand or supply is closely regulated by agricultural and industrial seasons. They have no land and no capital, and their labour is not specialised; therefore, during the agricultural season they lie at the mercy of well-to-do cultivators, and in the off-season depend on urban factories for a livelihood.

AGRICULTURAL SERFS

At the bottom of the agricultural ladder in India are those labourers whose conditions are not very different from those of serfs. Agricultural serfdom is most prevalent in those parts of India where the lower and depressed classes are most numerous. In fact, the ethnic composition of the village, which governs the social stratification, is responsible for the survival of the slavish conditions.⁵ Thus in Bombay, Madras, Malabar, Cochin, the C. P., Central India and Chota Nagpur, where we have a large aboriginal population, the condition of the agricultural labourer is very much like that of a slave. An official report describes serf labour in the following terms :

"The average agricultural labourer is not infrequently compelled in times of stress to mortgage his personal liberty. In return for a small sum of money which he may happen to need at the moment, he agrees to serve the man from whom he has borrowed. The money is not repaid, nor is it intended to be repaid, but the borrower remains a lifelong bond slave of his creditor. For his work he merely receives an inadequate dole of food and to all intents and purposes is in the position of a medieval serf."⁶

This agrarian serf labour is regularised in such a manner that some of the regions have a special name for it, e.g., Hali in Gujarat, Kaimuti in South Bihar, Janouri in North Bihar, Gothi in Orissa, Pannial Pathiram in Tamilnad, Gassi-gullu in Andhra, Bhagia in Hyderabad, Sanwak and Hariya in Oudh, Harwah in Central India States, Jeethan in Karnatak and Barsalia and Shalkari in the C. P., Haliyas and Chyoras of Kumaon, Chakar in Orissa, Dublas and Kolis in Bombay.⁷ These serfs serve in their masters' households. They may have received money for their marriage expenses giving an undertaking to serve till they pay off their debt. They are fed and clothed by their masters. On the East Coast of Madras, similarly, many of the agricultural labourers are Pariahs who are known as Padials. The Padial is a serf who has fallen into hereditary dependence on

5. R. K. Mukerjee : *Land Problems of India*, p. 226.

6. Quoted by Dinker Desai in an article on "Agrarian Serfdom in India" in the *Indian Sociologist*, July, 1942.

7. R. Mukerjee : *Op. Cit.*, p. 227.

a landowner from whom he has borrowed money. The money may have been borrowed either for his own marriage or for that of his son or daughter. The borrower undertook to work for the lender until the debt was repaid. Such loans are, however, never repaid, and the Padials themselves are in a way attached to the soil, go with the land when it is sold or the owner dies.

In Madras, the Padiar's wages are paid in kind equivalent to Rs. 3 per month in terms of money. In Orissa, there are three kinds of labourers: (1) The Chakar or Baramasiya labourer engaged for 12 months with board and lodging and Rs. 24 in cash, his ancestor may have obtained a loan from his employer; (2) The Naga Muliya, who also works as a yearly servant, but receives instead of board and lodging 4 seers of paddy and a plot of land to cultivate free of rent; (3) The Danda Muliya, who is employed for a short period on specified wages. In Bihar, there are the Kamias or bond-servants who having borrowed money bind themselves to perform whatever menial services are required of them by their masters. These depressed castes who have no land or security pledge their labour, whenever they want a loan, and not only their own labour but that of their dependents also. Very often it happens that the joint wages of the Kamia and his wife are not sufficient to feed them and their children.

FORCED LABOUR

Conditions of forced labour seem to prevail all over the country. Writing about the aboriginal population of the Thana District one officer reports:

"All jungle tract tenants who cultivate by 'Khad' (i.e., those who pay fixed rent in kind, and not a crop share) are liable to be called upon to work for their landlords—if they refuse or procrastinate they are liable to assaults or beatings . . . I was told on credible authority of men being tied up to posts and whipped. Such occurrences I can vouch for. There are also rumours of men in the past having been killed."

This system of exacting forced labour from cultivating tenants exists in almost all the provinces. Dr. Lorenze describes various forms of *begar* prevailing in North India. They are (i) Beth Begar under which labourers are forced to perform agricultural operations for 2 to 5 days, e.g., ploughing (Hal Beth), weeding and watering (Kodal Beth), harvesting the crop (Dhan Beth) or threshing the crop (Miseni Beth), (ii) Chakran Begar under which labourers living on landlords' land have to work for 2 or 3 days in lieu of the rent, (iii) Perjanta Begar under which in time of emergency the villages have to render 3 to 12 days labour to the landlords.

Apart from *begar* or *veih* (forced labour), there is a system of levying *abwabs* or illegal exactions which survives in Bengal and Bihar. It has reduced the culti-

vators to semi-serfdom. Sometimes these exactions take the form of the marriage fees, sometimes they are taxed for carrying on certain trades. These exactions deprive the peasantry of a large portion of their already meagre income. The *abwab* is employed not only as an engine of financial extortion but of physical oppression. "In Rajshahi," according to a Settlement Report, "landlords wield a sort of sovereign power dispensing justice and imposing taxes." According to another report, "In some of the remoter parts of Pabna, the Zamindars' agents still assume summary but unauthorised magisterial functions, fining and, at times, imprisoning those whom they convict." Added to all this is the process of gradual expropriation of the cultivators by moneylenders driving the aboriginals into the ranks of servile tenants liable to forced labour and to the payment of illegal exactions. Agrarian serfdom thus lingers on in India—a relic of the Middle Ages which might be regarded as one of the darkest blemishes in the economic life of present-day India.

DEMAND FOR RURAL LABOUR

The demand for labour in agriculture is highly seasonal. There is a peak demand for labour in the harvesting season and next to that in times of transplanting and weeding most of which are done by women. Men are required mainly for the operations of ploughing, levelling, digging trenches, forming beds and bunds, hoeing and irrigating, all of which require strenuous physical labour. Generally speaking, for crops grown on dry (rain-fed) lands, or on wet lands (canal-irrigated) more women are required than men. It is only on 'garden lands' with wells from which water is lifted by bullock power that more men are required than women.

The labour hired in fields depends upon the size of the holding and the nature of cultivation or crops raised, e.g., in the Kanam tract of the Baroda district for a farmer with a holding of 25 bighas producing cotton, juar, tur and a few other pulses and with members of the family including the farmer, to work in the fields there was no necessity to employ hired labour. But on another holding of almost equal size in Surat made of 2 bighas of irrigated land raising vegetables, 5½ per cent bighas of paddy land and 17 bighas of grass land and with 9 members of the family including the owner to help in cultivation paid labour came to about 10 per cent of the total required. The period of employment in the year varies from 5 to 7 months in the regions raising dry crops to as high as 9 to 10 months for irrigated crops.

Generally, the members of the families of the farmers supply most of agricultural labour needed on the fields. Labour is hired only occasionally during busy seasons and the percentage of such labour ranges from 10 to 20 per cent of the total labour required

during the year. Instances are common in which although higher labour may be necessary during certain important field operations, poor farmers cannot employ outside labour for want of resources to pay wages with the result that crops suffer damage and the yield to the farmer from lands comparatively becomes low. Besides, under a peculiar system (most prevalent in the Bhil tracts of the Bombay Presidency and the Mewar State) friends and relatives mutually help each other on the fields. The friend or relation so helping gets $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of boiled maize every day at noon and takes his or her morning and evening food at home.

SUPPLY OF RURAL LABOUR

The ample supply of rural labour and the multiplication in the number of landless labourers have brought about agrarian unsettlement in India. They hang about the countryside and add to the already existing inefficiency of agriculture. They are an obstacle to the introduction of improved methods of cultivation. Speaking at the 'Agricultural Labourers' Conference in 1940, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya said :

"A series of intermediaries has come into being between the Government and the ultimate cultivator who spends the day between slush and mud, who works now with a starving stomach and now with a half-appeased appetite, who knows no rest in storm or sunshine, who oftentimes has no dwelling site which can be called his own. He grows our paddy but starves. He feeds our milch cows but never knows anything beyond *kanjee* and water, he fills our granaries but has to beg each day rations for the rest of the year. He digs our wells but must keep off from them when they are full. He is a perpetual hewer of wood and drawer of water for those who fatten on his labour and rise to wealth and plenty. His condition is appalling and heart-rending."

The State and the public have done almost nothing to alleviate the economic position of the mainstay of rural parts. The administrators, politicians and the economists have not done anything in spite of their schemes of improvement of agriculture and rural development. The labour is no doubt plentiful but it gets seasonal work and it is without work half the year round. The rural labour supply is so great that it can cultivate land on any term even beyond the cultivators' paying capacity.

Recruitment of labour in all agricultural operations and rural Indian pursuits has a direct and complementary relationship with caste groups. In many cases not only does caste determine the nature of occupation, but different kinds of occupation give birth to various sub-castes hitherto unknown.

The outstanding features of labour supply in agriculture are summarised below :

1. Owner cultivators and high class tenants generally belong to high castes whose hereditary occupation has been cultivation, *e.g.*, Brahmins, Rajputs, Thakurs, Kayasthas, Tagas, Saiyids and Pathans.

2. Farm-hands are recruited both from high and low castes. Usually they belong to the caste of the employer. The majority of this class considers agriculture as its principal, though not hereditary, occupation, *e.g.*, Kunmis, Vaishyas, Gujars, Ahirs, Jats, Sheikhs and Pathans.

3. Field-workers are recruited mostly from lower castes which have agriculture as their subsidiary occupation, *e.g.*, Julahas, Lodhs, Chamars, Kumhars, Telis, Khatiks and Koris.

4. Landless floating hands are recruited from the lowest rung of the social ladder. They are recruited mainly from Doms, Dusadhs, Bhuiyas, Pahariyas, Dhimars, Ghatwars, Kols and Koris.

HIGH PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE AND CHILD LABOUR

There is everywhere to be found a large number of female agricultural workers engaged in spheres of work which man cannot efficiently perform. In the U.P., higher castes have a smaller portion of female workers as they consider it derogatory to their social status to allow their women to work on fields. Lower castes, on the other hand, have more women and children workers which not only supplement the scanty income of the family, but, assist the higher castes in return for wages. In Chota Nagpur, the Munda, Ho and Oraon women do most of the work on their own fields and hire their labour for public works and ordinary coolie work in the neighbouring towns. "In the Punjab, the hill-women of Rath, Kanet, Dagi and Koli castes, seem to be real amazons and among the plain-dwellers, the Meo women of Gurgaon have an equal share in the men's work in large numbers."

For certain agricultural operations, where women workers have assumed superiority over male workers, *e.g.*, weeding, sowing, grinding and transplanting, wages are fairly high, though they still do not reach the average rate for male labourers. It seems, therefore, the women are preferred to men, not because of their comparatively greater efficiency but because of lower wages they demand. The rates of wages for work where woman labour is preferred are as follows :—

Kind of work	Wages	Available employment (in the year)
Sowing	0-1-6 to 0-2-6	35 days
Weeding	0-2-0 to 0-3-6	40 "
Transplanting	0-2-0 to 0-3-0	20 "
Reaping	0-2-0 to 0-2-6	30 "
Miscellaneous	0-1-6 to 0-2-0	60 "

The employment of child labour is very common in agriculture. There are certain agricultural operations like weeding, husking, spreading manure, watching crops and carting in which children are frequently employed for very low wages. The child labour is recruited from the age group of 10 to 15 years.

RECRUITMENT OF RURAL LABOUR

In various parts of the country, particularly in Gujarat, the farm servants needed for agricultural and

allied work in addition to the casually hired are recruited under the *chakar* (or servant), the *bhagia* (or corn-share) and the *hali* system. Under the *chakar* system, the period of employment is from six to twelve months. The servant is paid in cash as well as given food three times a day, a pair of shoes, one head-dress, two dhoties and shirts, *bandies*, etc., whereas under the *bhagia* system the labourer employed is given one-fourth or one-fifth share of the total produce of the soil excluding fodder. In respect of *bhagia* aided cultivation employment of additional hired labour for sowing, harvesting, etc., during busy seasons is necessary, and cash expenses on this account are shared by the farmer and the *bhagia* labourer in proportion to their share in the produce. The *hali* system of recruiting labour is peculiar to Surat and parts of Broach south of the river Nerbada. The *hali*, in the first instance, is required to work as an apprentice for at least a year with a view to create faith in his would-be master about his sincerity to stick to him faithfully and attend to his work with regularity and care. He is usually paid in kind and his wage amounts to 4 seers of paddy or 2½ to 5 seers of jowar according as the paddy or jowar is the main crop. A *hali* works for 6 to 10 months in the year according as the master raises irrigated or dry crops. During the period of idleness the *hali* obtains advances from the master both in kind and cash, approximately amounting to Rs. 10 to 15 and about 15 maunds of jowar. The *hali* makes good only a part of the loans by working over the fields and during harvesting days; the rest the master writes off. The female *hali* works in the fields for about 4 to 6 months in the year and receives the wage in grains equal in quantity to that received by her husband.

Experience has borne out that the *bhagia* system works smoothly and that the relations between the farmer and the *bhagia* are on the whole cordial although there is not much to say against the servant system, except for the bitterness that it gives rise to between the employer and the employee when the latter bargains either for higher cash wage or more and better allowances in kind. There is nothing in favour of the *hali* system except that it permanently attaches the labourer to the master by settling him on his land and thus ensures a regular supply of labour to agriculture. The method of recruitment is demoralising and harmful to both the parties. It breeds inefficiency, irresponsibility, and carelessness in the worker. Being always conscious of his inferior position and as a result of the insulting treatment he receives at the hands of the master, the *hali* never feels enthusiastic about his job. Moreover, the *hali* puts in more work on a piece wage system than under time wage with constant supervision. Although the master feels that he is assured of a cheap supply of labour under this system, it recoils on him like a financial "boomerang." The grain wage of

the *hali* is poor in comparison with the minimum requirements to maintain his family and he has to resort to unwholesome means of stealing the crops from the fields to make up the deficit.

WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

The conditions under which labourers on land have to work are far from uniform. They are not easily amenable to standardisation or regulation. The workers do not belong to or grow into, a homogeneous group as factory labourers do. Their work involves more dispersion than congregation. They cannot be effectively organised into a trade union.

HOURS OF WORK

Hours of work vary from place to place, season to season and from crop to crop. Practically all the work has to be done in sunlight. Invariably the early cool hours of the morning and occasionally the moonlight nights are utilised for the arduous work of lifting water by the bullock *mhote* or the Persian wheel. Cattle threshing is taken up in the early hours of the morning. Animals have to be fed before milking or taking out for work early in the morning. In Bengal, the hours of work for field labourers are from 6 A.M. to 1-30 P.M. and again from 3-30 P.M. to 6 P.M. In Madras, field labourers are sometimes required to work with two intervals from 4-30 A.M. to 6 P.M., but the regular hours of labour are from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. In Bombay Presidency men are engaged for one year work from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M. In C. P., the hours are from 4 A.M. to 11 A.M. followed by afternoon work for cattle. In the rains regular hours are from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M. In most parts of India there is usually a recess of one or two hours at midday for food. Everywhere the hours are adjusted to summer and winter conditions. Sometimes the agricultural labourer is required to work 24 hours a day including night watch.

On the smaller farms, different kinds of work have to be done by the same farm servant in the course of the day involving waste of time in changing from one to another. The small holder and his wife often work longer hours than labourers, and they have little sympathy with hired labour demanding reduction of hours or increase of wages. Hours of work in agriculture are not too many and the nature of the work is not so tedious as in the factory. Labourers on daily wages generally work for 8 hours per day with a break of two hours during mid-day. Piece workers doing strenuous work often retire sooner, earning more.

WAGES AND METHODS OF PAYMENT

Labour always flows from agriculture to other remunerative occupations so long as they are available. Together with the long working day the low wages in agriculture are a direct cause why many good

workers desert agriculture for other occupations.⁹ The wage levels in industry and agriculture for some countries before the war are given below :

Wages per week in pre-war conditions

Country	Year	Unit	Industrial wages		Agricultural wages	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
Canada	1939	\$	22.08	13.44	8.15	5.44
U. S. A.	1939	\$	36.72	22.80	8.96	—
Britain	1938	Sh.	69.00	32.50	34.58	34.58
France	1938	Fr.	297.12	164.16	150.96	106.80
Germany	1940	RM	34.13	22.94	10.32	8.52
Italy	1935	Lire	84.48	—	54.72	34.64
Japan	1936	Yen	14.49	4.43	3.51	2.64
Australia	1939	Sh.	104.50	57.00	83.42	—
Newzealand	1939	Sh.	93.30	93.30	65.00	—
U. S. S. F.	1935	Rub.	45.30	—	37.22	—
India	1939	As.	88.46	—	27.50	—

The agricultural labourers as a class get lower wages than the industrial workers. The factors responsible for this may be traced to the following reasons : *Firstly*, the absence of any legislation forbidding child labour. This is responsible for increased labour supply in agriculture and a lowering of wages. *Secondly*, land monopoly as it is prevalent in India, results in the formation of a 'labour' reserve under the Zamindar, the Malguzar, the Thikadar and the Mahajan, who advancing them substantial loans obtain a permanent grip over them. Debt bondage is the principal cause of low wages. The mobility of labour is also thereby checked. *Thirdly*, the unorganised scattered nature of agricultural labourers and the seasonal character of agricultural operations reduce their bargaining capacity. *Fourthly*, the concentration of land in the hands of upper castes, whereas the agricultural workers come mostly from the depressed classes ; thus social and economic exploitation go hand in hand. *Lastly*, they have not trade unions to fight for wage increase and better conditions of work.

The method of wage repayment differs from class to class and from region to region. Both the cash and crop wages are paid on daily or monthly basis. In case of purely crop wages the agricultural season is also taken into consideration. That is, the payment is made in harvesting season ; which is either quarterly or half-yearly. Thus the time-lag factor in the wages does also operate. While fixing the rate of crop payments the need of the worker's family is also taken into account. The rate of wages also differs with the nature of jobs, e.g., ploughing, threshing, weeding, reaping, shading, cattle-grazing, irrigation, etc. Further, the wages of female labourers are lower, but no such distinction is made when payment is in kind. Wages are also paid in cash, e.g., the lowest wages in U.P. are found in the eastern part ranging from 2 to 4 annas per day and the highest are found in the western region which offers from Re. 1 to Re. 1-8 per day. Sometimes these wages are supplemented by wages in kind, e.g., *chabena*, grain parched or boiled, *sharbat* of an inferior quality of gur-cane juice, and tobacco

are very common.¹⁰ Here the wages of ploughmen are uniform. "Generally speaking," observes Dr. Mohindra Singh,¹¹ "whenever the land held by a Harwah family exceeds 1 bigha, we are sure to find two or three members of the same family working as Harwahs." If they have to work in the afternoon as well then they get *sidha* (meal). When flour is given, the quantity is half a seer plus salt. If food-grain is given, then the quantity is more.¹² But the Harwah does not enjoy the occupancy rights over the land that he gets in lieu of his services which is always the marginal land. He also gets cash wages on a monthly basis Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 in the East; Rs. 2 to Rs. 10 in the Central; Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 in the West and the maximum is Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 in the districts of Nainital, Almora, Agra and the hilly tracts of Dehra Dun.¹³ The agricultural period of employment is nine months and the working hours are from sunrise to sunset. But in the harvesting and sowing seasons the hours are much longer.

While in Madras, the farm servants on the garden lands are paid by the month in grain which may just suffice for a small family, a little cash (Re. 1 or Rs. 2) is also paid for sundry purchases. The farm servant on wet lands, a Padiyal is paid by the day a stimulated quantity of grain enough to keep his family free from starvation. He is also entitled in addition to a small share of grain at the harvest time. He receives some cash by way of tips for drinking on occasions of heavy work and is also given clothes and other pre-requisites on some festive occasions in the year. Casual labourers are paid by the day wages in cash for certain kinds of work. But for harvesting almost invariably they are paid in kind according to the yield. The share for labour varies with bearing in case of crops like cotton and groundnut.

In Gujarat¹⁴ with the exception of the Matar Taluka where payment in kind is generally made the payment of wages in cash is also common. The normal rates of wages per day prevailing in various districts of Gujarat are : Ahmedabad 3 to 4 annas ; Broach 4 to 5 annas ; Kaira 4 to 6 annas ; Pane Mahals 3 to 4 annas ; and for Jowar, Cotton tract 3 to 4 annas ; an irrigated tract round Surat City 5 to 6 annas ; and Southern Taluka 2 to 4 annas. In Surat, in the 'Kanam' tract and the Broach district special rates prevail for picking cotton which come to 8 annas in the former and 6 annas in the latter for one maund of 'kapas.' In Surat, where grass area is ample, the special rates of payment prevail for harvesting hay. The rates for cutting 100 bundles, weighing

10. Sridhar Misra : *Rural Wages in U. P.*, p. 21.

11. M. Singh : *Depressed Classes*, p. 24.

12. *Rural Wages in U. P.*, p. 74

13. *Ibid*, p. 44.

14. M. B. Desai : "Rural Labour in Gujarat" in the *Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics*, 1944.

about 11 lbs. each when dry and bundling 1,000 of them are 1 anna and 5 annas respectively for *halā* labour and the consolidated rate for both the operations for outside labour is Re. 1-8 to Rs. 2 for 1,000 bundles.

Along with cash wage the practice is prevalent of giving a *roti* and a little *dal* in the Bhil tract of the Punch Mahals twice a day during heavy operations like harvesting groundnut and once during light work in Kaira and once in the irrigated region round about Surat City. The system of paying wages in grains also prevails in all the districts, and the quantity of grains allowed per day is 5 to 6 seers of either bajri, jowar or paddy in Ahmedabad; 3 seers of jowar normally and 10 to 15 seers during harvest time when labour is in great demand in Broach; about 5 seers of bajri or paddy in Kapadvaj and Matar Taluka in Khaira; 5 seers of either paddy, maize, barta or banti in the Punch Mahals and 3 to 4 seers of jowar in the Cotton Jowar track and $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers of jowar and 4 seers of paddy in the Southern Talukas in the Surat district. In the Bhil tract of Ahmedabad and the Hansod Mahal of Broach for harvesting an acre of wheat, the wage amounts to 12 to 16 seers of wheat, while in other regions bundles are paid for harvesting 100 bundles, each bundle yielding about 4 seers of wheat.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

Agricultural labourers occupy the worst quarters and the worst huts in the villages. Men sleep on the *pal* or in open air for six months in the year. But the hut gets so overcrowded in the rain and winter months that the inmates may be said to be couched rather than housed. Floors and walls get damp. There are no windows or chimneys for the foul air to escape from the huts. In certain cases even sunlight does not penetrate in the interior so that it is always dark inside. These conditions lead to all sorts of fever, particularly relapsing fever which rages for months. Infant mortality is high.

Numerous cases have been found where the inmates sleep along with cattle and livestock. In Jaunpur, the huts generally consist of only one dingy room with kitchen, dormitory, parlour and in many cases cattle-shed combined.¹⁵ In village Hatwa (Gorakhpur), Mr. Mathur found that "a hut measuring $7 \times 12 \times 5$ ft. was occupied by 45 persons and a goat and the inmates were thin, diseased and dirty."¹⁶

In villages, Sheikhdhir (Bahraich), it was found that two bullocks, fishing tackle and four members of an Oriya-caste labourer's family were packed into a dark and stinky house measuring $14 \times 14 \times 7$ ft.¹⁷ Too often, therefore, a village family has for a home a dwelling

which is scandalously below its needs, besides being leaky and unhealthy.

"To many peasants," observes Dr. Mukherjee, "the huts are simply places where one can stretch his legs and sleep in the night, and in several instances the loss of privacy blunts all sense of shame and decency. Men and women, young and old, sometimes may be seen packed together along with cattle and goats in winter, and the home that should radiate noble social and aesthetic influences, is a den of misery and disease where people breed and die like fruit flies."¹⁸

In brief, labourers habitually live in conditions of filth and dirt around them and with disease and debility hanging like a sword above them suspended by a hair.

INDEBTEDNESS

The employment of labour in agriculture varies from six to nine and in some cases ten months of the year in different regions and in spite of unemployment in the rest of the period the labourers are able to maintain themselves from what they earn. What little indebtedness they incur during normal times is for marriage and such other social purposes. Though the amount of debt seldom exceeds Rs. 100, the chances for repayment are slender as there is little opportunity for saving even if he gets a little cash working as a casual labourer in the fields of others when he has no work on the land of his master. Rare cases there are when the brother or the son of the borrower migrates or emigrates and remits some savings to pay off the debts.

The share-tenant also borrows from his landlord for the purchase of cattle, which he has to repay when he has to leave. He bears the risk of loss by death or deterioration of cattle. He also borrows from the landlord for the maintenance of his family in the off-season. The dues are deducted at the harvest from the share to which he is entitled. Often there is little grain left for him to take home and the round of borrowing goes on as ever.

The casual labourer cannot get any loan without paying a high rate of interest. He borrows mostly from the itinerant lender who lends money and grain and sells cloth on credit and recovers the dues with a high rate of interest at harvest time when wages are higher than can be spent immediately.

Co-operative Credit Societies organised for the depressed-class labourers at various places have not been developed fully in spite of special aid control by the State partly because of the utter lack of leadership among themselves. Their low earnings and their addiction to drink render the work of redemption from debt extremely difficult.

FAMILY BUDGET

The income of the rural class with the exception of the hired labourer, represents a combination of

15. B. Misra : *Over-population in Jaunpur*, p. 55.

16. Mathur : *Pressure of Population in Gorakhpur*, p. 48.

17. Lollenzo : *Agricultural Labour and Marketing in Oudh* (1934), p. 67.

18. Mathur : *Op. Cit.*, Introduction by Dr. Mookerjee.

almost all kinds of income. As a rule, the net spendable of rural classes is low because of the possibility for direct appropriation of many of the items of living (such as food, rent and fuel from nature). Similarly, many items of expenditure do not enter the budget. In Switzerland, 61 per cent of the total income of a rural family was in cash and rest of the income was derived from natural products either given them by their employers or secured from their farms.¹⁹ In America, Hawthorne found that 38 per cent of the farmers' needs were supplied by the farm. But in India conditions are quite different. The Kamia labourers get only food and housing but no cash; the landless field-worker or the unspecified labour receives only cash wages but no allowance while the cultivating labourer supplements his money income by appropriations from his farm.

The most striking feature of these budgets of Indian agricultural labourers is the high percentage of total expenditure on food alone, being more than 60 per cent, against 39 for U.S.A., 55 for Russia, and 56 for Holland²⁰ which is an index of the low standard of living of the workers.

In the case of well-to-do tenants this percentage is not so high as in the case of landless field-workers who stand on the lowest rung of economic ladder.

It is striking to note that percentage of expenditure on physiological and basic requirements (e.g., food, clothing, rent) is the highest whereas the percentage of expenditure on non-physiological and secondary requirements (i.e., social and religious recreation, education of children, etc.) is almost negligible in the majority of the cases. Moreover, the percentage of expenditure on non-physiological and secondary requirements is higher in the case of urban industrial workers than in case of agricultural workers in rural areas, which again is a sure index of the low standard of living of agricultural labourers when compared with their context in urban areas.²¹

	Percentage of expenditure on	
	Physiological and basic requirements	Non-physiological and secondary requirements
Average agricultural labourer (Rural)	89.9	11.1
Average Industrial worker	73.8	26.2

The food taken by the labourers is far from satisfactory. Many do not get the required quantity nor get the requisite quality. It is said that if epidemics slay thousands every year, malnutrition kills millions. Their diet usually consists of inferior cereals like jowar, bajri and millets with some pulses. Green vegetables are taken only on festive occasions. Ghee and milk are

rarely included in the diet. They take their daily diet at about 12 A.M. in the noon and the meal in the evening after returning from the field. Often millet or barley, bread and chillies and some salt are taken. The labourers as a class are more addicted to drink than others. They drink country liquor made of rotten barley and mahua seed. Whether the liquor injures health or not the addicts are economically at a low level. Whatever they earn they spend away, more at the Kalal's shop than for the household. This results in deterioration in their financial status and their children and womanfolk suffer privation.

The portion of basic foods to energizing foods consumed by various classes of agricultural labourers in some Provinces of Northern India is as follows:²²

1. Food Budget of well-to-do cultivators showing the Percentage of Basic Energizing Foods :

Province	Total of food consumers	Basic foods	Percentage to the total	Energizing foods	Percentage to the total
	oz.	oz.		oz.	
Punjab	58	31	53.4	27	46.6
U. P.	42	20	47.6	22	52.4
Bengal	36	19	52.8	17	47.2

2. Food Budget of landless agricultural labourers and field workers showing the percentage of Basic to Energizing Foods :

Province	Total of food consumed	Basic foods	Percentage to the total	Energizing foods	Percentage to the total
	oz.	oz.		oz.	
Punjab	49	40	81.6	9	18.4
U. P.	33	29	87.9	4	12.1
Bengal	28	22	77.8	6	21.4

3. Food Budget of Agrestic serfs showing the percentage of Basic to Energizing Foods :

Consumers	Total amount of food consumed	Basic foods	Percentage to the total	Energizing foods	Percentage to the total
Sewaks (Oudh)	21	21	100	—	—
Kamias (Bihar)	22	20	90.9	2	9.1

It will be seen from the foregoing statements that the amount of energizing food consumed by well-to-do tenants comes up to the standard and we can safely conclude that this class is well-fed and efficient and maintains a high level of living, because the effective consumption of energizing foods is greater, yielding a higher chemical value and excess of protein. On the other hand, the effective consumption of energizing foods in the case of field-workers hardly exceeds 18 per cent of the total amount of food consumed. In the case of agricultural serfs, like the Sewaks of Oudh and Kamias of Bihar and Chota Nagpur, the consumption of energizing food is almost nil. Their food supply, therefore, does not perform a correct compound so as to obviate any chance of malnutrition and conse-

19. Sorokin, Zimmerman : *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. III, p. 371.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 372.

21. Lorenzo : *Op. Cit.*, p. 120.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

quently of disease, ill health or premature death. The fact is that field workers and agrestic serfs are underprovided with protein, the former due to poverty and ignorance of dietetics and the latter due to circumstances beyond their control. It follows, therefore, that these two classes of labourers are verging on a very low standard of living.

The labourer and his family fall an easy victim to several diseases due to malnutrition and unhealthy conditions of living as they are usually underfed, ill-housed and ill-clothed.

Between hookworm and malaria at least 20 per cent of the working days may be lost by the labourers. Owing to his extreme poverty he has no fund on which he could draw in case of sickness or when he is out of work. Poverty, stark poverty, stares him in the face. He is born in the meshes of poverty, lives in grinding penury and often dies in distress. The life story of a rural labourer in India is a tale of unmitigated woe. It is time that immediate steps be taken to change the lot of rural labourers.

EFFICIENCY OF LABOUR

The working and living conditions of the labourers as sketched above cannot be conducive to efficiency of work. It has often been remarked by writers that labourers in India are generally inefficient and extraordinarily unproductive compared with the British agricultural labourers. But efficiency is a complex affair,

not easily measurable except in simple operations, and it depends not only on qualities of strength and skill, industry and intelligence of the individual workers but on conditions of soil, animal power, implements, direction and incentives to work in the shape of wages and other benefits. Unless these factors are isolated and careful experiments are conducted it is difficult to speak of comparative efficiency of labour.

It is, however, accepted on all hands that our labour is inefficient and might do better under more favourable conditions. A marked difference occurs between different classes of workers in one and the same tract and in similar tracts.

Better equipment, animal power and implements should add to the efficiency of the labourer. Today there are in use a variety of implements and tools of different sizes and shapes, evolved in course of years to suit different conditions of soil and climate and crops and perhaps different types of people too. It is, therefore, necessary that systematic studies should be made of the fatigue produced by several implements used and of the possibility of reducing the time and number of movements involved in doing any kind of work on the farm. Further, the location of the worker in relation to the work, the best attitude of body and feet to the work must be determined.

(To be continued)

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THE MULTI-PURPOSE RIVER-VALLEY PROJECTS IN INDIA

By N. P. BHOUMICK,

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I. CONTRIBUTION IN EASING INDIA'S FOOD PROBLEM

THE haunting spectre at all the present-day discussions is the problem of India's food-shortage. Not to speak of providing adequate supplies to assure the nation of a certain minimum standard of balanced nutrition, the nation is spending 58 per cent of her national income to keep the population out of the grip of actual starvation. From this angle the contribution of the ambitious multi-purpose river-valley projects is expected to be simply stupendous and can be classified under several heads:

A. EXTENDED IRRIGATION

But before the effect of the development of multi-purpose river-valley projects over irrigation is delineated a brief resume of the present situation and requirements of the country might be helpful for proper appreciation.

Of the total area of 1,000 million acres about half of which lies in the Indian States, a little over a third

is covered by forests, roads, railways, towns, etc., and is not available for cultivation. Of the remainder about 432 million acres are generally under cultivation but over 250 million acres either lie fallow or are under cultivation but produce much less compared to the production of other places in the world. India, as situated geographically and with her natural rainfall spread throughout the entire sub-continent, requires for successful cultivation or for increase in the area of cultivable land, irrigation in one form or other all over the country where average rainfall is below 50 ins. This is so in the whole of Punjab and United Provinces, in part of Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and all over the whole of Deccan Plateau except a fringe along the Western coast. Table I will clearly show our staggering position with regard to irrigation.

1. The reader is advised to read this section in conjunction with "Food Problem in India" by N. P. Bhoumick in *The Modern Review* for August, 1950.

TABLE I

Irrigation Statistics of India (figures in thousands of acres—figures related to 1947-48)

States	Nett Area		Classification of Area						
	According to survey	According to village papers	Forests	Not available for cultivation	Other uncultivated land excluding current fallows	Current fallows	Cultivable area included in "other uncultivated land excluding current fallow"	Nett area actually sown	Total area irrigated
Assam	55497	33400	4207	4248	16994	1881	....	5234	1128
Bihar	45023	44326	6612	6525	6580	7083	....	17691	5320
Bombay	73853	58006	8934	7213	1963	6075	364	33821	1583
Madhya Pradesh	83408	82550	23179	6248	19732	5366	8030	28025	1740
Madras	81772	80796	13550	14318	12222	10244	294	30462	9809
Orissa	38492	20142	2606	6556	3218	1245	....	6517	1693
Punjab (I)	24019	23281	769	6172	2438	1814	3	12088	4296
Uttar Pradesh	72148	71403	7951	11572	10203	2797	661	38880	11079
West Bengal	20090	19549	1709	3026	1930	1142	....	11742	2072
Hyderabad	52683	52927	6171	8397	1142	13364	....	23853	1330
Jammu and Kashmir	57825	8002	1750	2805	905	275	....	2258	786
Madhya Bharat†	29609	19340	2427	3946	3537	1738	3367	7692	331
Mysore	18853	17385	1957	5728	1567	1709	....	6424	1159
P.E.P.S. Union	6463	6463	116	469	824	701	....	4353	1718
Rajasthan§	82191	20669	655	4223	4544	2862	10	8385	1503
Saurashtra*	13411	1397	7	155	222	....	....	1013	54
Travancore-Cochin**	5859	5350	1616	495	329	72	....	2838	945
Vindya Pradesh***	15744	1610	203	315	440	192	....	460	70
Ajmer	1546	1562	47	596	295	181	....	443	105
Bhopal	4429	4451	1004	916	839	130	....	1562	19
Bilaspur	290	285	36	29	97	45	....	78	8
Coorg	1020	1012	331	250	226	42	....	163	6
Delhi	367	366	....	73	53	15	....	225	49
Himachal Pradesh	6784	1877	534	310	297	134	181	602	8
Kutch	5415	4974	108	1407	1200	1608	599	462	49
Total	806997	581123	86488	95992	91632	60715	245271	13509	46941

NOTE: Figures for Bihar relate to 1946-47 (undivided India).

† These figures relate to 1942-43 since subsequent figures are not available.

‡ Includes figures for Gwalior, Indore, Rajagarh, Narsingarh and Barawani.

§ Includes figures for Marwar, Bikaner, Bundi, Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur, Jaipur, Jhalawar, Kotah, Kishangarh and Tonk and relate to the year 1940-47.

* Includes figures for Bhabanagar only.

** Figures for Travancore unit relate to 1946-47.

*** Includes figures for Orchha and Nagod only.

**** Includes 10,216,000 acres in respect of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Manipur and Tripura States.

For maturing the same crop in the different parts of the country not only a varying quantity of water is required but also a varying frequency of irrigation. In some places nothing will grow without artificial irrigation as in Bhawalpur while in others not only irrigation is necessary but quick drainage of the rain water is to be effected for preventing the plants being damaged by submersion as in the Hirakud area in Orissa, and in some parts of Travancore-Cochin. In between these extremes, there is a wide range of water requirements for maturing of different crops. At some places irrigation works are required as a standby and used in times of drought as in the case of Bengal and in others for supplementing inadequate and erratic rainfall whereas in some other places irrigation is a necessary complement of cultivation and is required all the year round.

Below many irrigation canals and nearer to the river banks where the slope of the country is gentle, as has already been stated, there is the danger of soils getting generally water-logged. In such situations expensive measures have to be undertaken in order to lower the water-table, by what is known as sub-soil drainage canals and distributaries. But if these areas can be supplied with cheap power not only the problem of removing water-logged conditions will be solved to a great extent but it will also supply this water for irrigation of more crops and thereby result in more revenue which would have otherwise been lost. The best example of such irrigation by pumping will be found in the Imperial Valley near California (U.S.A.) where round about a million acres of fruit gardens are being irrigated by pumping. Most of the area in this valley is below sea level and there is no possibility of any drainage; water is therefore pumped, year after year, to meet the needs of this fertile valley. Thus by pumping 16,000 cusecs are raised through a lift of some 300 ft.—the water required for the irrigation of 1,200,000 acres of semi-arid land. This is a very important point with regard to India.

Thus, while due to extreme scarcity of water our lands produce much less than it should have been otherwise and many culturable lands are going out of cultivation, most of our water wealth is running to woeful waste causing incalculable damage in man, material and property and eroding millions of acres of lands round about the course of most of our rivers. How much of our enormous water-wealth is being allowed to waste may be gauged from the figure that the mean annual run-off of Indian rivers on a very conservative basis, is of the order of 2,000,000 cusecs (sufficient to submerge the entire peninsula under 2 ft. deep water) of which only about 133,000 cusecs or a bare 7 per cent is being put to beneficial use. In addition to the 2,000,000 cusecs running off the surface of the country, vast quantities of water, yet unestimated, are flowing down to the oceans under the subsoil, of

which only about 30,000 cusecs are being used so far.

Hitherto, our irrigation schemes were mainly confined to diversion of available supplies during the critical period, which determined the scope of a project. Flow during the dry months being practically negligible in most of our rivers there is very limited scope for *rabi* irrigation unless supplemented by supply from storage reservoirs or supplies made available from the underground sub-soil reservoir by having recourse to pumping with cheap hydel-power.

The supply available from our Indian rivers during the critical period is generally very small, and hence it is rather difficult to draw up "Productive" Irrigation Schemes based on such supplies. The only way out is to store the surplus supplies during wet months and to release as and when required in the dry period. This storing can be done by construction of dams across the rivers in their upper reaches but such structures will call for a capital outlay which is prohibitive if confined to irrigation only. In a multi-purpose project, considerations of flood control and irrigation weigh decisively in selecting both the location and the design of the project. The water stored in the reservoir or lake that is formed by the damming of the river is primarily to meet the irrigation needs. The power generated, in a way, is a by-product of the irrigation, since without calling for additional capital outlay in the construction of dam and the water used for it being surplus over irrigation needs, it augments the revenue-earning capacity of the schemes as a whole. As a consequence the otherwise generally uneconomic (strictly from the point of view of direct financial return) flood control and irrigation schemes become handsomely economic.

Even a purely hydro-electric scheme assists perennial irrigation. The water which is kept stored upstream for power generation, is discharged throughout the year in the river which satisfies the irrigation needs of the land round about the river. Thus it will be seen power and irrigation are complementary to each other either in single or multi-purpose projects.

Now we shall come to the question which is frequently asked even by the austere people: Accepted we need power for irrigation, but, for that should we incur such large capital outlay and develop Hydro-electricity? Can't we instal Diesel Engine generating sets at selected places and distribute the power from them to a net-work of lift irrigation system, or, alternatively, oil-engine driven pump-sets? The data compiled by Madras and U. P. Governments on all such experiments provide the convincing answer and in the words of Mr. Rohatgi:

"For tube-wells that are small scattered units pumping continuously, Diesel Power directly applied to pumps are particularly unsuitable, as an engine driver with an assistant during periods of

demand would be required at each unit, and either the engine would have to stop every day for rest causing loss of irrigation at times of demand, or two engines have to be installed at each tube-well. The annual charge for a state tube-well run by individual Diesel engine would be more than double that of an electrically operated tube-well. Diesel engine generating sets can, however, be employed in units of 150 to 300 k.w. to produce electricity at a central place to serve a group of 15 to 30 tube-wells by means of short H.T. lines. But in this case also the generating cost would be high, and the cost per inch-acre watering would work out to nearly double that of State tube-wells worked by Hydel-grid."

Another important fact that underlies the advantages and cheapness of Hydel power in irrigation, over its only possible alternative, namely, Diesel power, is the replacement of Diesel engines by Hydel power even in a large-scale and almost centralised undertaking as the de-watering of water-logged areas in Travancore-Cochin State.^{3,4,5}

B. FLOOD CONTROL

According to a communique, published by the Union Government, at least six million tons of food were lost through natural calamities in India in 1950. This is besides the loss sustained in property and life both human and animal. The peculiarity with most of the Indian rivers is that while during the greater part of the year there will be little or no water, with the roaring torrents of the monsoons coming down the hills and plateaus the rivers become sites of terror, completely uprooting signs of any life in the near vicinity. The incalculable loss sustained by the community can be best appreciated in the light of a few practical examples. Last year an attempt was made by the West Bengal Government to assess the damages caused by the last flood in Damodar to the public, the Provincial and the Central Governments. At current prices the total loss amounted to Rs. 7,96,00,000. The available records show that on an average we can count on a major flood in the Damodar Valley every ten years. Notwithstanding, there are minor floods, localised, which occur almost every year during the monsoon. There are also tracts of fertile land which, though otherwise cultivable, cannot at present grow crops because of the annual rise in the flood water level. Once these minor floods are controlled, something like half a crore of rupees worth of extra crops should be available every year. To quote another example, according to a preliminary estimate prepared by Mr. J. Shaw, Executive Engineer, the money value of damage caused by the Mahanadi River to the adjoining

areas during a period of 29 years between 1910-1935 was about 3.5 crores. The maximum losses due to extraordinary floods in a single year have been sometimes as high as Rs. 66 lakhs. The losses chiefly occur by damage to or destruction of crops, heavy cattle mortality, deterioration of field due to deposits of sand and other evil effects. The Koshi (Bihar's River of Sorrow) generally starts flooding in the month of July and causes havoc every year in an area of about 35,000 sq. miles in Dharbhanga, Purnea and Saharsa districts. The last flood submerged nearly 500 villages with a population of about 4 to 5 lakhs and it was estimated that properties and standing crops worth about Rs. 3 crores and a half were damaged. It is however important to keep in mind that all the above are but very modest estimates, and no calculation is possible of the loss and damage to human lives entailed in all these floods. Another important aspect of the flood sufferers was the condition of their cattle wealth specially in an area where agriculture is the mainstay of approximately 90 per cent of the population. Cattle wealth suffers a serious depletion as a result of floods and diseases in their wake.

But this is only a fringe compared to the colossal destruction caused by floods to lands when viewed in the background of agriculture. It is estimated that all flowing rivers of our country, the scouring and scavenging action of which is at their peak during the spate, carry away millions of tons of suspended earth material to the sea. This material constitutes the principal food-producing ingredient of the soil. It is obvious that the subcontinent of ours is poorer every year by millions and billions of tons of this material which is so vital to the vegetation.

We quote below the soil and silt which was carried away by one of the torrents, viz., the Jaba Khas and measured by the Punjab Irrigation Department during the two floods of 1936 for rainfalls of 3.70 ins. and 2.70 ins., the entire catchment of which (water course) is 62 sq. miles:

TABLE II

Vol. of flood in cu-secs	Total silt content (per cent)	Silt content coarser than 0.075 mm in dia (per cent)	Silt carried in one hr.	
			Total (tons)	Coarse (tons)
11,200	1.15	0.18	23,000	3,600
27,750	2.04	0.30	102,000	15,000

These figures show how rapidly the carriage of silt increases with intensity of run-off, and furthermore the reason why the ravine districts in the alluvial tracts instead of being the granaries of the country have become the temporary abode of gipsies, an emblem of beggary which has scarcely any parallel with any population in any part of the world, and very aptly the Indian rivers are called "rivers of sorrow."

It is seldom realised that from a hard rock to the soft soil is a far cry and that the process of conversion

3. P. K. Menon : "Hydel-power & Irrigation," *Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 1951.

4. D. P. Rohatgi : "Electricity and Irrigation," *Transactions of World Power Conference*, 1951.

5. Rural Electrification in Madras State, Electricity Department, Government of Madras. *Transactions of World Power Conference* 1951.

of the former into the latter takes some centuries. So once this soil is removed from an area, it becomes unfit for supporting any vegetation and remains so for a long time. The floods of one season can take away the good work of centuries of the natural agents of decomposition and weathering which are responsible for the formation of the soil. However, in more details and exactitude we are coming to this point later on.

Reservoirs as merely flood-moderators to protect agricultural land are seldom economical as the cost of their construction will be disproportionate to the value of the land protected. Even in U.S.A. their use in the past has been restricted to cases where the property protected has a very high unit value such as big cities and industrial areas. The flood control system of the Miami district in the U.S.A. which has proved successful, would never have been economically feasible

had it not been for the high valuation of property, the great density of population and the importance of industries located in the flood area.

Again, since there is no regularity in the quantity or the period of occurrence of floods, such reservoirs are seldom reliable. The American experience has incontrovertibly demonstrated that to control a river from the onrush of flood water it should be controlled all along its courses right from the beginning to the end and not at a point or two in between. The cost involved thereupon, is all out of proportions, unless the river is schemed out for multi-purpose development. Other methods that have been suggested to counteract the evil are more related to soil-conservation and this is being dealt with in the next section.

(To be continued)

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FOOD ECONOMY OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE

By S. N. KAUL

INSPIRED by the Indian food policy the Jammu and Kashmir Government also felt ambitious to attempt to make the State self-sufficient in food. Various measures were adopted. Land was transferred to the tenant, tractors were employed, foreign seeds were introduced, rotation of crops tried, consolidation of holdings is started, co-operative farming introduced and the 'Grow More Food' campaign started. Even *mujwaza* of maize is raised in Kashmir to feed the population. All these attempts failed to show any signs of significant improvement in the situation.

The Government has not so far succeeded in procuring the targeted production. Compulsory levy is required for self-sufficiency purposes. During the last 4½ years the Kashmir Government subsidized the sale of imported foodgrains to the extent of 155 lakhs. In 1951-52 alone subsidy to the tune of 66.37 lakhs has been paid. For 1952-53 the Centre's allocation of 16,000 tons will be raised to meet the food shortage. Although the Government is doing something in almost all the directions, but since it is not co-ordinated and planned, it does not show significant success. This is mainly due to the fact that the factor of population is not taken into consideration while assessing the requirements of land and its produce. This, being a stupendous task demanding first

and imperative consideration, has to be tackled earnestly and on all fronts.

The population of the State has increased from 25,43,952 in 1891 to 43,82,680 in 1951, i.e., by about 75 per cent. According to the present ration scale of over 20 seers of *shali* per head per month, the State needs 2,62,96,000 maunds of food-grains annually. To produce this at the rate of 5 maunds per acre, the State must have 52,59,176 acres of arable land. Against this the State has only 30,00,000 acres of cultivable land throughout the State, out of which 23,00,000 only are cultivated. With this data of natural resources and the leaping increase in population, the food position in the State will always remain unsatisfactory and dependent on outside help. The State can under these circumstances be rightly said to be over-populated, unless adequate attention is paid to check the growth of population by some sort of birth-control, etc. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir State should, therefore, be equally ambitious in this direction, if they really want to solve the food problem in Kashmir.

In certain difficult matters Kashmir has given a lead to India. A similar lead from them is expected in this direction also.



COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS : THE WRONG APPROACH

By MANKUMAR SEN

Community Development Projects, in the context of the Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Agreement, have naturally evoked considerable interest, and no less considerable criticism. We do not propose to analyse the terms of the agreement, of which a fairly broad introduction, as visible in the principal clauses of the agreement, will be found in the editorial columns of July, 1952 issue of this journal.

In recent history, Gandhiji's outline of village Republican Rule as against centralized city-centred administration and a broad-based, balanced community life stands out in unequalled glory. His basic approach to community re-organisation, or in other words, resettlement of the society on the fundamental human values, such as, universal love, truthfulness, non-exploitation and co-operation, is the decentralization of political power and economic organization with village republic as the basic unit. This ideal has, broadly, had its recognition in the Indian Constitution, though hardly the beginning of the beginning has been made in actual performance.

PLANNING COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATION

India's first Planning Commission too, in conformity with the objectives of the Constitution, has stressed the need of community organization as "the most effective means of social betterment and the key to the successful development of social welfare programmes." The Community Development Projects, as initiated by the Government of India under the Indo-U.S.A. aid programme owe their origin to the recommendation of the Commission. In their Draft Report, the Commission has placed their viewpoint and proposals in the following manner :

"The essence of the technique is that regional groups containing a manageable number of families living in close proximity in well-defined areas are organised as democratic units co-operating for the furtherance of common interests. Community organization should generally be created, sustained, and managed by the regional community. In the initial stages, however, such a movement may be sponsored by the State and it would be one of the major tasks of social service agencies to organise and strengthen the development of regional democratic communities and equip them for initiative, leadership, and local organization for creating community programmes, having as their main elements : (1) Community recreation and fitness programmes ; (2) Fundamental education and cultural development ; (3) Economic welfare through co-operatives ; (4) Woman and child and family welfare ; (5) Environmental planning and development ; (6) Youth welfare ; (7) General and social welfare activities ; and (8) Effective organization of the social and economic life of the community through co-operatives and panchayats, etc."

This 8-point proposal may not seem very concrete and definite, rather they may be construed as catchy slogans of welfare ; but one thing the Commission has

made reasonably clear, and that is the initiation and organization of "democratic" Community Units. And that such organization should be made effective through co-operatives and panchayats (village republics) has also been stressed, though perhaps not as emphatically and distinctly as one may desire.

THE PROJECTS

The development programme, as initiated by the Government falls into two separate but closely interlocked parts. The first is the programme to be supervised by the Community Projects Administration, with the financial assistance provided from the Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Fund. The projects planned for under this part of the programme consists of 3 main types, viz., (1) The basic community development projects, (2) the 'composite' development projects and, (3) 'training centres' for instructing village workers. In the 'basic' projects, the primary emphasis has been laid on increasing agricultural production. The Planning Commission in their circular letter to the State Governments describes the different stages of the programme thus :

"300 villages with a total area of about 450 to 500 square miles, cultivated area of about 150,000 acres and a population of about 200,000 will constitute one project area, which again will be divided into three development blocks, each consisting of about 100 villages and a population of about 60,000 to 70,000. The development block, in turn, is divided into the field of operation for a village level worker."

"In actual practice, however, local conditions and administrative considerations will largely influence the size of the area selected for a community project or a development block," it has been added.

The second part of the programme is that which is sponsored by the Ford Foundation and directly supervised by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture with financial aid from the foundation. The projects in this case, however, cover a smaller area and consist of only 100 villages each. It may be interesting to have a tabular picture of the distribution of projects in the States :

Distribution of Community Development Projects

States	Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Fund and Community Projects Administration.	Community projects	Blocks	Training centres	Development projects	Training-cum-Development projects
Part A	Joint Auspices	32	16	16	3	4
Part B	Ford Foundation and Food Ministry	11	2	6	4	1
Part C		2	8	3	3	—
Total		45	26	25	10	5

Thus, for the immediate period 45 Community Development Projects and 26 development blocks under the Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Agreement, and 10 development projects, 5 training-cum-development projects and 25 training centres under the auspices of Ford Foundation are to be adopted.

ADMINISTRATION : OBJECTS

The projects under the Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Agreement are to be managed by a central committee, which includes members of the Planning Commission and high-level officers of the Government of India, the actual execution of the responsibilities having been vested in an administrator, who works under the general guidance of the Central Committee. It is to be noted, in this respect, that, under Clause 7 of the Agreement, "no recommendation of this Committee involving the allocation of expenditure of funds made available by the U.S.A. Government can be given effect to without the concurrence of the Director" (Director of the U.S.A. Government Technical Co-operation Administration in India).

The Planning Commission has stressed that 'the central object of a Community Project is to secure the fullest development of the material and human resources of an area.' The character of the projects will be rural-cum-urban and the main lines of activity on the rural side will comprise the following :

- (a) Agriculture and rural development ;
- (b) Cottage and small-scale industries ;
- (c) Education, including vocational and technical training ;
- (d) Health ; (e) Housing ; and (f) Communications.

Some elaborate references to the West Bengal Plan were made by Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of the State, in his two press statements of November 29, 1951, and February 11, 1952. Fifty to sixty villages comprising one block, a population between 30,000 to 40,000 covering an area of approximately 75 square miles will come under each block in West Bengal. The Chief Minister said :

"Our present intention is to take up 8 projects during the next four-year period ending 1955-56. One Development Block will be taken up in each Project area in the first year, i.e., in 1952-53. In the second year, these 8 Blocks will be completed and 29 new Blocks will be taken up. In the third year, these 29 will be completed and another 27 Blocks will be taken up. The fourth year will see the completion of the work in the last group of 27 Blocks, thus completing the four-year target of 64 Blocks covering all the 8 Project areas. To make each of these Blocks a relatively self-contained unit the Government have contemplated 'one' township at the centre of each Unit or Block, and this township will have rural-cum-urban character. That is, this central town and surrounding villages will form one Organic Unit. *The township will have all the fundamental urban amenities and will yet retain a rural character* in most aspects of life. The idea is

to effect a reciprocal interchange of goods and services, as between the central town and the component villages. Also concerted measures will be undertaken to effect an all-round improvement of the living conditions in the villages by the introduction of better agricultural practices, expansion of cottage industry, opening up and maintenance of internal communications, provision of better sanitation, public health and educational facilities. The agencies for providing most of these services are proposed to be located in the urban centre within easy access of the villages within the Block and *Branch offices of Government Departments concerned will be established in the township for this purpose.* It has been estimated that within the 8 projects, 32 towns will be established."—(Italics ours).

RURAL-URBAN RELATIONSHIP

Those who know how to read between the lines will have ample food for thought in such new town-making schemes. It is crystal clear that the present-day dominating position and exploiting nature of towns with their numerical strength augmented will virtually remain intact, despite which, we are told, these new towns, with the usual array of Government offices, will retain a rural character and there will be a 'reciprocal' inter-change of goods and services between these towns and the surrounding villages ! Also in administration the *status quo* will be maintained, there being no bold conception to build up a democratic unit from the bottom, the village. Also the fundamental issues like re-distribution of land to the actual tillers, resuscitation of village industries with fullest independent status and facilities for the marketing of their products are yet to be settled. It is the height of optimism, in our opinion, to think that a township comprising 1,000 working families (out of 1,500)—almost 90 per cent of which will belong to the lower-strata middle class—can have the buying power, even if the desire be there, adequate to consume the village-made articles of the surrounding areas. As regards the villages, the economic heritage of the country conclusively shows that the immediate needs of the villagers can better be met in local arrangement than elsewhere. Beginning from the plough up to the production of cloth by home-spinning and weaving method and practical education in a basic style, the village or group of villages can be successfully made the nerve-centre and the basic constituent unit of the society and the State. Unfortunately the cart appears to have been put before the horse : while self-contained village unit is the original idea, the Projects bid for new townships on the miseries of villages. It is a cruel joke to ask for reciprocal behaviour from the villages until and unless urgent long-felt measures to lift them from the present rot have been adopted. However, we deliberately refrain from any extensive study of the West Bengal Plan in so far as reports on the similar (working) projects elsewhere are a pointer to the real state of

affairs and also the danger that may lie in the womb of future.

THE ETAWAH EXPERIENCE

We are told that in planning the community projects all over the country the Planning Department of the Government of India have pinned their faith in the achievements like Etawah and Nilokheri townships. The Planning Commission in their circular letter to the States *inter alia* asserts :

"Valuable experience in the integrated development of an urban area, in relation to the surrounding rural area has been gained at Nilokheri ; in intensive rural development work, much has been done in Etawah in Uttar Pradesh as well as in other States. The rural-cum-urban Community Projects which are now proposed are designed to combine the results of these recent experiments."

Let us see what is the experience and result gained : We do not mean to minimise, in any way, the gainful aspects, if any, of these projects ; our object is simply to spot-light their basic weakness, which, unless set right in time, may cause the whole scheme tumble down like a pack of cards ere long. Conditions developing at Etawah strongly support our apprehensions.

The Etawah Project came into being in November, 1948. The Project is intended to cover 197 villages, of which 97 were taken up only in September, 1951. These 97 villages surround Mahewa, a small rural town at a distance of about 18 miles to the east of Etawah, the headquarters of the Etawah District, Allahabad Division, Uttar Pradesh. The area covered by now is 61,400 acres with a population of 79,000. From the District Development Officer down to the peon, no less than 125 persons are directly employed in the project. So far a sum of Rs. 15,11,000 has been spent on the Project during the last three years. *The recurring annual expenditure is of the order of Rs. 3 lakhs of which about one lakh is spent on superintendence alone.* This is no figment of our imagination, we gather these facts from reports by eminent Indians whose integrity and authority is above board. A team of Sarvodaya workers led by Prof. Thakurdas Bang of Wardha made an on-the-spot study tour of Etawah of which a report has been published. Says the report :

"When we enquired of Mr. Mayer (the leading spirit behind the Project) about the period for which such expenditure would continue he replied, 'for ever and ever'."

Principal S. N. Agarwal of Wardha, a member of the delegation, also reports exactly the same thing :

"When we inquired from Mr. Albert Mayer, the Planning Expert of the U.P. Government, as to the period for which the huge recurring expenditure would have to be continued, the reply was, 'for ever and ever'."—(*Congress Sandesh*, June 30, 1952).

Sri Agarwal further points out the inherent weakness of the scheme in the following words :

"The shortcoming of the project lies mainly in not paying sufficient attention to village and cottage industries as means of subsidiary employment to agriculturists. The type of primary and secondary education that is being imparted to the children in the area is of the old pattern. Unless basic education is introduced in the elementary schools of the compact area, it would be impossible to create the requisite atmosphere for social and economic reconstruction through hard and disciplined work."

The Bang Delegation's report is an indictment of the whole scheme and makes startling disclosures. In pointing out the people's apathy for the scheme it says :

"The nature of seed, prohibitive prices of implements, heat content of chemical fertilisers and 'boss-like' or 'sahibana' attitude of the staff are some of the factors that have contributed to this apathy. The people have, as it were, an instinctive dislike for the Project which is due to the grim reality that *the Project has created far more problems than it has solved.* To be brief, the project has meant more unemployment. We met several poor landless labourers including Harijans whose fortunes have not only not improved but have tumbled down. The project may, therefore, prove a curse in disguise. *The future of the Etawah Project is dark and ominous. Its extension will prove all the more ruinous.*"—(Italics ours).

The report concludes :

"*It is neither a plan of the people, nor for the people, nor by the people, but something imposed from above, having no secure foundation from below.*"—(Italics ours).

And finally the Report advises the Government "to stop the Etawah hoax, give a hearty send-off to the ignorant experts knowing nothing about India and her people, return the foreign money already taken, cancel the unholy contract, and deliver the country to its rightful owners, the people." Neither Thakurdas Bang nor S. N. Agarwal belongs to group whose verdict can be lightly brushed aside or denounced as deliberate distortion. Both of the quotations above, bring in bold relief the following weakness or wrong-headed approach in the Project : (1) The old bureaucratic style of education among the local people persists ; (2) the principle of employment and more employment, which is the criterion of any realistic National Project, has not been taken in all seriousness ; (3) agricultural implements and materials are beyond the purchasing power of the local folk ; and (4) the administration runs in a bureaucratic fashion, being an imposition from above and not an evolution from below. Thus all the four basic faults that during the British regime, alienated the people of the country from any and every Development Plan, are dominating the Etawah Project too. Is it then too much to repudiate the Project as 'ominous' and 'ruinous' ? We do not think any Democratic Government can play the double roles of Dr. Jekyll

and Mr. Hyde,—to pronounce pious wishes of national development and yet follow, in the main, condemned centralized methods of production, education and top-heavy administration which can break even the camel's back. The American loan is ostensibly designed to improve our agriculture. It naturally follows that 'training of the Indian peasants in Indian agriculture by American experts' is not the end, nor the beginning of the end, but is only the beginning of the beginning! Bountiful supply of machines, artificial manures, etc., are to follow swiftly! In fact, a fertiliser agreement within the purview of the Indo-U. S. A. Technical aid programme was signed at New Delhi on May 1, 1952, under which America has agreed to supply about 108,000 tons of fertilisers, for which it would provide 10,650,000 dollars (about Rs. 5.06 crores) out of its promised contribution of 50 million dollars (Fund A). Mainly towards inland transportation of these fertilisers the Government of India will spend Rs. 44 lakhs or 0.92 million dollars, out of the Fund B. The *American Reporter* of May 14, 1952, assures us that the aim of this fertiliser agreement is to increase India's food output by an additional 200,000 tons! And we have the blessed revelation too that even when Sindri runs in full swing India's dependence on foreign imports of ammonium sulphate still remains! Thus India possesses neither the capital (though a plenty of capitalists!), nor the agricultural expert, nor the implements, nor the fertiliser, and nothing of the kind for India's agricultural and rural development! But is it a fact or a fiction? Is there no resource, or no bold and scientific efforts to explore and apply them properly?

DIFFERENT CONDITIONS : DIFFERENT TREATMENT

The powers-that-be seem to have ignored the totally different sets of circumstances prevailing in U.S.A. on the one hand and India on the other, and have made a rush for American models and methods. America contains barely 6 per cent of world's population as against roughly 20 per cent of the world's total cropland. Obviously she has enough land to be wasteful in her agricultural methods without prejudicing her national interests. As soon as returns from land anywhere tend to be decreasing they easily shift on to new land of which they have plenty. Also to explore such large tracts of virgin soil they take recourse to mechanized method. One single fact that emerges from this circumstance is, their capacity to carelessly draw on land without having to consider the loss of fertility and recuperative power of land. We have in India, an entirely different set of circumstances. To feed nearly one-fifth of the world's population, we have disproportionately small and strictly limited resource of land. Hence we cannot be wasteful in our agricultural practices. Every time we cultivate a plot of land, some of its elements

go out, to restore which we have to rotate crops and allow time-gap between two sowings. This recuperation conditions the pace of our production and if we rush for intensive cultivation through mechanization, our land will soon be reaching the saturating or exhausting point, and having very small fallow lands to fall back upon, our position will become hopeless. We remember Mr. Norris Dodd, a man commanding knowledge of modern agricultural methods and their outcome more than many others and the successor of Lord Boyd Orr as Director-General of the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization to have warned us some time in the year 1949, against highly paid 'modern,' 'scientific and progressive' armchair technical experts. Mr. Dodd clearly advised us to limit mechanization to the breaking of virgin soils only and terracing to avoid soil erosion, avoid extensive use of artificial fertilisers, control soil erosion by preserving forests and extend tube-well irrigation. Indiscriminate mechanization will also increasingly drive out from land human power, viz., the peasants who are already unemployed for many months of the year or miserably under-employed; our bullocks too will die out speedily. Again, since we have fuel for the motive power of mechanized cultivation much less than the needed minimum it has got to be imported, mainly from America. It is high time we keep in constant remembrance that Atom bomb or no Atom bomb Japan in the last war could not evade a crushing defeat due to petrol shortage alone. To 'rebuild' Indian agriculture on lines for which her dependence on vital foreign imports,—imports of tractors fertilisers, petrol, etc., becomes indispensable, is to conscientiously sow the seeds of a disaster.

MAKE AMENDS IN TIME!

The American Director, under the terms of agreement, has been virtually made a dictator, in the Community Development Scheme. He with his party possesses the longest rope, having all the rights and no responsibilities in making or unmaking the projects. Like Caesar's wife they are above suspicion, and have been granted immunity from legal proceedings in a Court of Law even if involved in malpractices. The outcome of the projects is sought to be, we believe, both permanent and truly helpful to the Indian people. In that case, the Community Plan, in outlook and approach, has got to be truly Indian. And administration, both alien and unaccustomed to Indian conditions, and injudiciously imposed from above, can hardly evoke genuine interest, enthusiasm, and wilful co-operation of the people. Such a plan or project, whatever its charming show of strength at the top, remains basically weak. Let us beware, be forewarned and make amends in time. Meanwhile we would request persons in responsible positions to refrain from utterances associating Gandhian ideology with these projects.

SOCIAL HEREDITY OF PRESENT-DAY MIDDLE-CLASS BENGALIS

The Means of Its Orientation for Progress of the People

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THE term "Heredity" has been defined in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as "the resemblance between an organism and its ancestors in so far as this resemblance is not due to similarity of environment." That is, Heredity is the resemblance between an organism and its ancestors due to qualities and characteristics acquired through protoplasmic continuity in the birth of the organism.

As applied to human beings the term may be conveniently divided into Physical or Inborn Heredity and Social Heredity. Physical Heredity includes well-marked Mendelian inheritance and other physical characters, acquired through birth. The size and form of the body, the texture of the skin, the colour of the eye, the functioning power of the vital organs and its effects on the character of an individual are all the result of Physical Heredity. It is static and almost fixed and cannot be easily changed, for it has been transmitted through a million years of evolution in human beings just as in other lower animals and in plants. Very slow change can only be produced in the elements of this inborn heredity in human beings in the manner in which it is attempted to be produced in animals and plants by breeders.

But by far the most important part of a man's make-up comes to him through the instrumentality of Social Heredity which means social and family culture. This term refers to methods by which one generation imposes upon the minds of the generation under its immediate control, the superstitions, beliefs, legends and ideas which it, in turn, inherited from the generation preceding.

Our conceptions of religion, politics, economics, philosophy and all other subjects with which we are concerned in our individual, family and social life are solely the results of the most powerful forces of environment and early training.

The inheritance transmitted through social heredity to different nations is very complex and depends to a great extent on geographical, religious, economic and material causes of many kinds. Like an individual, as a society advances in evolution, the gains of progress are accumulated and transmitted from generation to generation by social heredity. Beyond this point the mechanism of social heredity does not, in any way, resemble the mechanism of inborn heredity of an individual. The gains of progress of inborn heredity of

an individual are held and transmitted to him at birth and exists in his body as it has come down from the past. But the gains of progress of social heredity are accumulated in the society through social culture which comes down from the past. They are outside of the body of the individual at its birth. In every generation the child has to acquire the social culture, with a clean slate, from without. It is imposed upon him by the Society.

Let us now proceed to analyse the social heredity of the present-day middle-class Bengalis. From their infancy our children begin to see the colossal misuse of time and energy. Laziness of body and mind is the main characteristic of our people. This kind of physical and mental inactivity gradually grows out of frustration which is caused by general unemployment due to economic causes. Institutions of different kinds consisting of schools, colleges and training centres in all the branches of knowledge always grow, in our State in absence of definite plans for the expansion of suitable avenues of employment, and young people who acquire degrees, diplomas or training certificates in those centres of learning soon find themselves faced with economic bankruptcy. This economic miserableness initiates a mental attitude due to which we soon begin to form the habit of depending on a so-called all-powerful imaginary and supernatural power commonly called "Fate" about which we begin to hear from a very tender age when the mind remains in a plastic state and read so much in literature of all times and of all countries. The oft-quoted expression "Who will turn the stream of destiny" spreads its magical influence over our mental faculties and often discourages us from taking initiatives in new fields of activity for the fulfilment of an ambition, for we are never taught that we are spinning every day our own fate, good or evil, by our own thoughts and actions.

Thinking in this line brings in its wake the habit of expecting something and indeed substantial something without doing anything for its acquisition which makes us altogether forget the universal rule that if we desire to have a thing we must pay the proper price for it. We begin to play the game of chance in all the spheres of action neglecting the universal truth that speculation always swallows more of its victims than it enriches. We generally hope that we will get abundance by a single turn of our so-called wheel of

fortune without caring to know that the wheel generally stops at a wrong place pushing its victims towards misery, want and disaster.

If we look at our educational institutions we observe that our boys and girls are taught from even the elementary classes, how to pass the different examinations by short-cut ways. As a result, these future hopes of the people are moulded in such a way that they generally become indolent and avoid to exert themselves to the full extent, in every sort of work. This is why they are converted into hopeless failures in their future life.

This expectation of getting something for nothing often prompts us to take dishonest and illegal means in different walks of life. It creates in our character negligence to discharge our duties and a hankering to earn money and secure a position of distinction by cheating others by way of black-marketing, excessive profit-taking and thousand other grossly unfair and anti-social means in trade, industry and commerce. Although the desire to accumulate money and property is to a certain extent a universal instinct yet this greed for money born out of selfishness and want of character has been aggravated by the second World War and big people of our country are taking all means, fair or foul, to amass wealth through ruthless exploitation of the masses. We see adulteration in food, drugs and other essential commodities of everyday life on a gigantic scale by all sorts of people.

Although the geographical position and atmospheric condition of our country enervate us to a certain extent in our daily endeavours, yet due to a dark economic future and disorganised social conditions we have developed a remarkable antipathy against arduous work. We do not feel any enthusiasm for any work or training to qualify ourselves for any job or profession and when we get a chance we cannot show any superior efficiency.

In the absence of a suitable occupation of our choice, time hangs heavily on us and negativeness and obstructiveness gradually but secretly establish their seat in our mind. We spend our time uselessly in talks and discussions concerning subjects which do not in any way come to our help in our respective field of activity. In order to create an alibi to minimise and hide our own guilt for our inactivity and want of effort in the proper line for the attainment of success, we engage ourselves in destructive criticisms of others, and put the blame for our failure on others' shoulders. We often challenge others to engage us in useless arguments about subjects which have no connection with our definite aim or object. This habit of whiling away time by destructive criticisms and finding faults of others without the slightest idea of constructive work may be observed clearly in gatherings of highly educated and cultured persons.

Want of occupation in the fields of our choice and

a constant fear of poverty which always exists in our subconscious mind, also produce a kind of vacuum in our conscious mind and gradually develop in it a preference for easy-going life and a hankering for that sort of pleasure which can be enjoyed without the slightest exertion on our part.

For the last few centuries our people were debarred from taking the military line as profession. This is why the essence of discipline has completely evaporated away from our mind and we have altogether forgot its blessings. Self-control which is nothing but control of thoughts and actions, and subordination of individual interests to collective interest are the two healthy fruits of discipline and so its absence in our every-day life has developed in our character a sense of strong individualism for which we cannot work collectively with superior efficiency in any corporate body. This is why there are want of personality and leadership and the overnight growing, like mushrooms, of so many parties in the State. Want of personality, selfishness, greed, dishonesty, corruption and subordination of collective interest to individual interest are the causes for the failures of joint-stock companies, banks and other sorts of big business amongst our people.

Nepotism is another weakness in our character. Lack of self-control produces a sort of softness in our character. Tender-heartedness, subordination of collective interest to individual interest and expectation of something for nothing are all blended together and give rise to nepotism, which is universally practised in different fields of activities at the expense of individual efficiency. Thus more efficient and energetic persons seldom find any chance to show their superior qualities for which the country suffers in the end.

Due to the geographical situation of the State of West Bengal and the easy-going way of our living we are by nature highly sentimental. But our emotion is comparatively short-lived like the fire in a heap of dry straw which dies down in no time. This is due to our want of self-control. When we are charged with an emotion we cannot control our feeling and transmute it into creative energy which may produce healthy results beneficial to us or to the people as a whole. So it dies a natural death within a short time leaving in its tail exhaustion of the body and the mind.

Let us now proceed to see whether it is possible to change this Social Heredity of ours within a short period of time, say, within one or two generations. Social Heredity was for the first time changed in Germany during the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Then it was changed in Japan, Soviet Russia and Italy. It is now being done in the People's Republic of China. The method is the same everywhere. It is the instrument of the "Emotion of the Ideal." It is the creation and transmission, as part of the collective heredity, of that psychic element which consists of ideas and idealisms

that rest on emotion and are conveyed to the young under the influence of psychic emotion through the medium of educational institutions, specially primary and secondary schools, religious institutions and festivities and the public press. This psychic emotion is the most powerful of all the elements in the Collective Heredity. The social progress rests on it.

The first remarkable feature of the emotion of the ideal is that it is a state of mind which is highly developed in the child for deep physiological reasons. The extraordinary intensity of the emotion of the ideal in the mind of the child and the part which this faculty plays in creating that capacity for sacrifice upon which progress of social evolution rests, must always be kept in view. It is the basal fact in the science of social heredity. The effect of training and example under the influence of the emotion of the ideal on the mind of the child is absolutely ineradicable. It coins a permanent impression on the character of the child which can never be effaced. It produces in the individual a *capacity for sacrifice* in the realisation of ideals which rises above self-interest and is entirely independent of the reasoning faculty of human mind and inborn heredity of the individual. This spirit of sacrifice has its spring and origin mainly in the collective heredity imposed upon the young through the emotion of the ideal powerfully awakened by teaching and example in the mind of the child which is in a plastic condition and which gradually grows harder with age.

It has already been mentioned that Germany for the first time created a history by changing the entire social heredity within a generation. The seat and centre of the vast experiment throughout the whole period of its performance are in the mind of the young. It was the German educational system which created the psychology of the whole nation. The grand achievement was acquired in the main through the initiatives of two persons—Adalbert Falk, the Prussian Minister of Education up to 1879 and Emperor Wilhelm II. Although in most of the countries, leaders of great national movements generally come from amongst the intellectuals who become prominent in various national activities, in Germany the *Teachers of Elementary Schools* were chosen first, by the State, in its attempt to create the idealisms of German nationalism and to impose them on the young. After the teachers of the elementary schools, the State looked to the teachers of higher schools and then to University professoriate. Not a single branch of the whole educational system of the country was in the least neglected. Teachers of all categories were not only adequately paid but also an atmosphere was created throughout the country due to which they were looked upon as persons of honour and distinction.

Soon after his accession to the throne, the Emperor addressed the teachers of the elementary and higher

schools of his kingdom and placed before them the national ideals and the necessity of concentrating the mind of the young on these ideals through the scheme of education which was imposed on the entire nation immediately afterwards. In the address and in the scheme, the ideals of subordination of individual interest to national interest, of self-sacrifice and of duties, occupied the most prominent place. The spirit of this speech and of the measures that followed it, was carried out afterwards into every detail of education by the whole organised power of the State. The national ideals were continuously impressed by teachers on the mind of the young of the whole nation from the earliest age, touching the springs of mind at its deepest psychological centres. The continuous note of the necessity for sacrifice, duty, discipline, devotion and iron obedience in the service of national ideals through the constant support and co-operation of the educated classes, completely changed the mental horizon of the rising generations of the whole nation within a comparatively short period of time.

In addition to work through educational institutions the State of Germany oriented the public opinion through all the spiritual and temporal departments, through the bureaucracy, through the military departments, through the State direction of the press and of the entire trade and industry of the nation so as to bring the idealism of the whole nation to a conception of and to a support of the national policy of Germany.

Through exactly the same agencies, Japan forced upon the mind of her young, the ideal of subordination of individual rights for the sake of national interest and power and within a single generation advanced from her lowly position of a fourth-rate nation to the rank of a first-grade nation. The fireworks of national power acquired through the metamorphism of her social heredity were exhibited by the tiny islanders during the second World War which ultimately became one of the causes of the liquidation of the mighty British Empire.

The same method was adopted in Russia by the Soviet Government after the Bolsheviks seized power through the October Revolution of 1917. Orders for printing 20,000,000 books in Russian language mainly for children, were placed on behalf of the Soviet Government in Germany which supplied the books at a rate less than the actual cost. Russia grew an army of soldiers who supported to a man, whatever ideals the Soviet Government set up. The press was completely controlled. Religious institutions were abolished from the country, persons holding different ideology, were liquidated, put into concentration camps or exiled. As a result, homogeneity in social heredity has been established amongst the greater majority of different peoples of U.S.S.R. within a very short time.

Before we proceed to deal with the actual steps

which should be taken to alter the entire social heredity of our people it will be very helpful, if a very important historical fact is discussed here. From the very inception of the National Congress, leaders preached the necessity of establishing Hindu-Moslem Unity, which was rightly considered as the most powerful instrument for the attainment of national freedom, in Congress Sessions and in numerous other mammoth meetings of adult persons. But as it was not possible for our leaders to adopt scientific methods as was adopted in Kaiser's Germany, the effect on the entire population was only temporary. It could not eradicate communalism from the country and establish complete harmony amongst Hindus and Moslems and as a result the country has been ultimately divided. At present our leaders are again trying to follow the same erroneous method of destroying communalism in the country and establishing unity amongst the entire population. Our Hon'ble Premier, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, in his recent election campaign all over the country delivered lectures on various platforms on the removal of communalism. The result is known to all. The Hon'ble Premier himself will perhaps confess in the secret of his heart that his endeavours have not produced the desired result. Under the existing conditions our State can not become completely secular, unless our social heredity is changed in the right line.

If we really desire to change our social heredity so as to make progress in social evolution we must employ the same agencies. The entire structure of the educational system must be oriented in the same manner as was done in Germany, Japan and Russia. Education is only a means to an end. So an ideal should be set up in a crystal-clear form and the entire machinery of education should be harnessed by the State in such a manner that the ideal should be infused into the heart of the children of the soil from the very beginning of their life, through the instrument of emotion of the ideal.

Due to a Himalayan error the top-ranking leaders of the country who are managing the affairs of the State have blindly relegated education to an unimportant position amongst other affairs of the State and only an insignificant fraction of the total revenue of the State (about 9 per cent) is being spent on education on the ground of paucity of fund while a huge amount of money is becoming available for other purposes. The teachers engaged in Primary, Secondary and Collegiate education are being kept in a perpetual state of poverty and starvation for which they are generally looked upon as objects of pity. They, in their turn, hard pressed by poverty, lose all interests in their life and cannot pay their full attention to the cause of education. As their mind always remain filled with discontentment they lend their influence in creating discontentment amongst the public over whom

they have tremendous influence. This state of affairs must be changed without delay.

The education policy of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany should be followed in toto immediately. The education of the young ones of the State should be given the first preference. About 25 per cent of the total revenue of the State should be set aside for Primary, Secondary and Collegiate education under all circumstances, however unfavourable they may be.

A man of imagination and open-mindedness and of enormous capacity to work should be selected as the minister of education. In the ministry of education a high-power committee should be created, the members of which must be nationalists in the first place. They should be men of imagination and of scientific and co-operating temperament who will prepare and control the entire scheme of education of the State. The Directorate of Public Instruction should be reorganised and extended. Capable men of unadulterated nationalist views should be placed in every key position of the department who will check and control their respective spheres of action.

The teachers of all denominations should be carefully selected from amongst persons who hold nationalist views and to whom any sacrifice for national cause is not too great. Without any distinction they should be most adequately paid and honoured in the State so that the best products of national education may be allured to take to teaching as profession. The heads of the educational institutions of all grades must be persons of good administrative ability. They must possess qualities of leadership so that their subordinates may work in harmony under them. They should always keep in view their foremost duty of putting into practice the national policy of the State according to the co-ordinated plan.

From the very beginning attempts should be made to select the teachers of the Primary schools from amongst women. At present it may not be possible to get all the teachers of primary schools from amongst the fair sex. But gradually the male teachers should be replaced by female teachers. It has been previously mentioned that the Emotion of the Ideal is the most powerful of all the elements in social heredity. We should always bear in mind that it is through the emotion of the ideal and through this cause alone the collective will can be directed and concentrated over long periods of time to definite ends. It is through emotion only that the present can be subordinated to the future and the organised will of a people can be transmitted from one generation to the next through the young. It is through the emotion of the ideal that any organised will of a people becomes possible of achievement and this in an incredibly brief period of time. It is in the "woman" and not in the fighting man that we must seek for the centre of power which may be utilized in employing

the instrument of the emotion of the ideal. The driving principle of woman's nature by purely physiological necessity, has ever been, at all its highest levels, the subjugation of the present with all its commanding demands to a meaning beyond herself and beyond all visible interests in the present. By reason of her functional, racial and evolutionary history she is a creature to whom "Race is more than the individual and future is greater than the present" (Schopenhauer). So the effect of the emotion of the ideal transmitted to the young of the rising generation by the woman is tremendous which can never afterwards be entirely effaced from the character of the individual. It is greater, deeper and more enduring than the effects of any system whatsoever, of subsequent education. But when it is combined with the effects of Secondary and Collegiate education, it becomes the most powerful element in the formation of character, giving after-results, in the individual, which cannot be attained by any other method.

In order to create an ideal of national education in a limited way a Residential University should be immediately established in the State of West Bengal which will have under it, all kinds of institutions beginning from primary schools and ending in research institutions. All the employees and the scholars must reside in the premises of the University.

In addition to the Residential University, the State should also establish an ideal, residential primary school and a secondary school in every big town and a residential college in each divisional headquarters.

Let us now proceed to see how private enterprise may help the State in changing the social heredity of the people through education. Like Irish Hospitals' Trust, a "West Bengal Education Trust" should be created with persons enjoying public confidence. They should be carefully selected from different professions. The Trust will have to function in two lines.

Firstly, they are to collect donations from suitable rich people by appealing to their heart in the right way. For the cause of national education, money will not only be available but will be available in plenty if proper personnel of the trust is selected. Secondly, the trust should run sweepstakes thrice or four times in the year in the manner of Irish Hospitals' Sweepstake. By the second method alone, the trust may collect at least rupees ten lakhs in a year. By these two methods the trust will have at its disposal suffi-

cient money to manage an ideal residential educational institution in or in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, the want for which is being felt by the middle and upper-middle class people for a long time.

The second agency which exerts a tremendous influence on the formation of character of a people is the public press. Healthy criticism is essential in a democratic State. But only obstructive and destructive suggestions always bring harm. This kind of press activity should be stopped by all means. Under the present Indian constitution it is not possible to control the press to the fullest extent. But if the Ministry of Information is formed with efficient persons and the "Directorate of Public Information" is reconstructed in the proper line, there is possibility to control the press in a suitable way after respecting the fundamental rights of the press as given by the law of the country. In this way a healthy public opinion may be created through press which will help the progress of the people in the desired line.

For a very long time religious practices and festivities have taken the place of true religion amongst the members of the majority community of the State but our every-day life bears no consistency with the principles of these socio-religious functions. We have altogether forgotten the teachings of the *Gita* and the *Upanishad*. Elaborate arrangements should be made to educate the public with the fundamental teachings of the *Gita* and the *Upanishad* which are helpful in the development of national character. The *Sarbajanin* celebrations should be oriented in the proper line which will increase the organising capacity of the individuals and bring about integration and strength to the people.

In the modern age, the cinemas have been developed into a great source of power in colouring the character of a nation. The State should have control over the film industry of the country. The producers should be advised to produce films which will help in carrying out the national policy of the State.

All the agencies which are essential in building the social heredity of a nation have thus been discussed to a certain extent. If all these agencies are co-ordinated in a comprehensive scheme, an irresistible power will be generated which will mould the character of the people of our State within a short interval of time.



APPRAISING AND EVALUATING MODERN PAINTING

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

As a phase of contemporary culture or culture in the making it is a responsible national duty to take stock and evaluate the expressions of modern artists as symptoms of the normality or abnormality of the pulse of the national life and the modes of the revelations of representative dynamic elements in society. Unfortunately, we are so much obsessed by our habit of concentrating on the happenings in our political life that we pay very little attention to happenings in the psycho-social spheres in the formulations and expressions of our cultural life. Yet the happenings in cultural life are of more serious and sometimes, of more permanent consequence than many incidents in the world of politics. The expressions of cultural life fall into three distinct divisions of Literature, Music and the Visual Arts. The daily output of books put forward by our enterprising publishers (alas! they are too few now-a-days) are systematically reviewed by competent critics in the pages of our dailies, monthlies, and weeklies and the appearance of significant literary works, be it poetry, philosophy, history or belles lettres, receive in the hands of serious critics, competent analysis and appraisal.

In the sphere of music our musical conference and musical competitions and the outpouring of the Radio are dissected and appraised by our musical critics. In the sphere of the visual arts, the products of our pictorial artists and sculptors do not receive the same systematic attention and competent criticism as the products in other fields of culture. As a rule, in India, the number of persons who take interest in the visual arts are very few, and do not include our literary men whose outlook is invariably confined to the products of printed matters and who, by a pernicious habit and custom developed in Indian life, avoid and even boycott the exhibitions of pictures. During the last few years, a number of Indian artists have been attempting by means of one-man shows to thrust their products on the attention of the meagre world of the art-public, that is, to say, a few handful of sensitive men and women who like pictures truly so-called and who relish the thrills and spiritual elations which good pictures can give, outside the incessant importunities of the machine-made abominations of our cinemas, which are corrupting our normal capacity to enjoy, appreciate and appraise the qualities of the works of the genuine makers of pictures. In other civilized countries in Europe—and particularly in America—there are important collections of masterpieces of painting and sculpture assembled by expert historians and critics of art who provide for the visual and spiritual education of the citizens and keep alive and

improve the powers of appreciation of the general public and turn them into discriminative judges and patrons of the best phases of contemporary art.

We have in India a number of public galleries of art and museums of antiquarian exhibits, badly chosen and badly exhibited, which do not help our aesthetic education, nor stimulate our hunger for beauty, nor induce us to love pictures as essential part of our civic virtues.

As remarked above, recently, there has come into our public life an artificial stimulus to turn our attention to Art by the incessant invitations of individual modern painters, anxious to make a living by selling pictures, for which alas! the patrons are too few. In Calcutta, Bombay and New Delhi, there have been numerous one-man shows of various talented artists trying to develop their genius in an atmosphere of cold neglect on the part of our educated citizens. Sometimes, these one-man exhibitions receive the reviews of competent and unbiased critics but as most of our dailies do not care to commission competent experts to appraise these exhibitions, the exhibitors are driven by the necessity of publicity and propaganda to seek the aids of friendly volunteers to provide a booming write-up and get it published by some accommodating editor who is glad to be relieved of an embarrassing duty to go to an expert valuer to write a competent review. The more responsible editors do not act upon the inspired praises of the friends of the exhibiting artist, and commission competent critics, generally attached to their staff. Except in these rare cases, the general public is misled into accepting the works of every charlatan on the valuation of an inspired review, cooked up by a willing friend of the exhibitor. As a rule, the reviews of our art exhibitions do not provide a competent guide to the lay public to develop correct appreciation of the achievements of our contemporary artists, as many talented artists fail to win an impartial evaluation of their talents while many incompetent dabblers in paint by means of manipulative publicity leap into an ill-deserved heaven of fame. Even with the best of luck the real man of talent cannot secure a cool, well-considered appraisal of his works in the hurried newspaper reviews, which must be published the next morning after the show, for the sake of an urgent publicity and advertisement.

There is, therefore, a pressing necessity if not a demand, for the publication of individual monographs and albums presenting the products of our contemporary artists for a leisurely and responsible appraisal of their contribution to our modern culture.

From this point of view, some recent publications on modern painters deserve more than a passing notice. The large Album of Thirty Plates of works of Abanindranath Tagore (published in December, 1951, by Visva-Bharati at Rs. 25, all in colour, excepting three) is a commendable enterprise to place before lovers of art a number of the works of our greatest modern artist now almost on the verge of oblivion. It cannot be claimed that the collection includes the best masterpieces though the assemblage is, on the whole, well-chosen. The works of this artist are notoriously difficult to reproduce except through the most expensive and perfect processes of reproductions, so that one cannot complain that most of the reproductions do not convey the flavour of the originals. Of the colour plates in ordinary three-colour process (current in Calcutta) *Ganesh-Janani* (5), *Dream of Shah Jahan* (7), *Tisarakshita* (8), *Kajri* (11), *Uma* (16), are the least successful, while *Omar Khayyam* (6), *End of the Journey* (12), *Child on the Seashore* (13), *Gandhi and Tagore* (17), *Hsien Tsang* (18), *Dream of Freedom* (23), and *Monkey and Goat* (24), are on the whole, successful presentations of the originals. We may judge of the quality of the reproductions if we compare the present version of *Tisarakshita* (8) with the chromo-collotype facsimile published by the Indian Society of Oriental Art several years ago. Many will be grateful for inclusion of the great masterpiece *The Eyes Take to Wings* (15) of which the original is now lost. Considering the fact that most of the plates are reprints of existing blocks the price is a little too high. Nevertheless this edition, limited to 60 copies, should find immediate buyers as the works of the artist are practically inaccessible to the present generation of scholars and students. The publication is timely and should revive interest in the works of a great artist to whom the nation still owes a worthy memorial.

A much more laudable and planned effort to present *Abanindranath Tagore and His Early Works* has been issued by the Art Section of the Indian Museum (April 30, 1951) presenting a series of 13 pictures all in the Museum collection, edited by the Principal of the Government School of Art, together with some critical essays contributed by Nandalal Bose, O. C. Gangoly, Stella Kramrisch and Benod Bihary Mookerjee and with accurate descriptive notes for each picture (price Rs. 15 in tassar cover, Rs. 13 in paper cover). Here also the colour plates made by Sree Saraswaty Press, cannot claim to be perfect copies though at least four of the group, viz., *Abhisarika* (I), *The Traveller* (IV), *Rukmini* (V), *Siddhas of the Upper Air* (VIII), are charming and fascinating in spite of their imperfections. It is a pity that the processes of reproductions generally current in India have not reached the standard of rendering accurate facsimiles of originals so as to stimulate art education in our schools and colleges and to afford facilities for art-

appreciation through cheap but accurate reproduction of the best masterpieces of our national art. Very commendable efforts were made by the Indian Society of Oriental Art many years ago to present reproductions of modern paintings through the finest medium of the Japanese colour wood-blocks and colour collotype made in England. From this point of view the remarkably accurate colour reproductions of *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* (1923), issued by the present reviewer, are unapproachable in quality and accuracy. As things stand as present, even a happy monotone reproduction is much more preferable than the clumsy caricatures of our best tricolour printings.

Happily the enterprise of presenting the works of contemporary painters is not now confined to Bengal as other provinces have started these commendable studies of the works of our artists. Messrs. Dhoomimull Dharamchand, a Delhi publisher, has issued several beautiful albums of modern painters with commendable self-sacrifice which were reviewed in *The Modern Review* (May 1932, p. 405). And now comes a very reverent tribute to Abanindranath Tagore from Benares by the first citizen of the great city, Ra Govinda Chandra (published by Thacker Spink, Calcutta in December, 1951 and printed by Kashi Mudralaya, Benares, with 8 colour plates and 33 monotone reproductions, price Rs. 18). In a small volume of 90 pages, the author has given a very detailed presentation of the life of the artist and his activities in various phases of life and art. When the resources of Calcutta have failed to present Abanindranath's worthy reproductions, it is unreasonable to expect a provincial city to produce a better result. But we are grateful to the author not only for his sincere tribute but for the many new and hitherto unpublished early sketches of the artist which will provide valuable data for the study of the unfoldment of the artist's talent from early beginnings. But the author has also given us an illuminating and original criticism of the artist's works which more than compensate for the poverty of the reproductions.

But the most significant feature of this volume lies in the fact that it comes from the pen of the Chairman of the Municipal Board of Benares. We should like to see our own city-fathers take the same serious interest in Art as this enthusiastic citizen and art-collector of a provincial city. We should like this book to be in every library in India as a commendable monument to good citizenship in Free India.

From the same author comes another publication devoted to the works of Sri Mukul Dey's Art (published by Kashi Mudralaya, [Bisesswarganj], Benares, 23 illustrations, 13 pages, price Rs. 3, December, 1950). Though less ambitious in its scope than his tribute to A. N. Tagore, this booklet in its stimulating letter-press offers significant evidence of the critical powers and connoisseurship of the author, the illustrations

ART OF SREEMATI DEVI



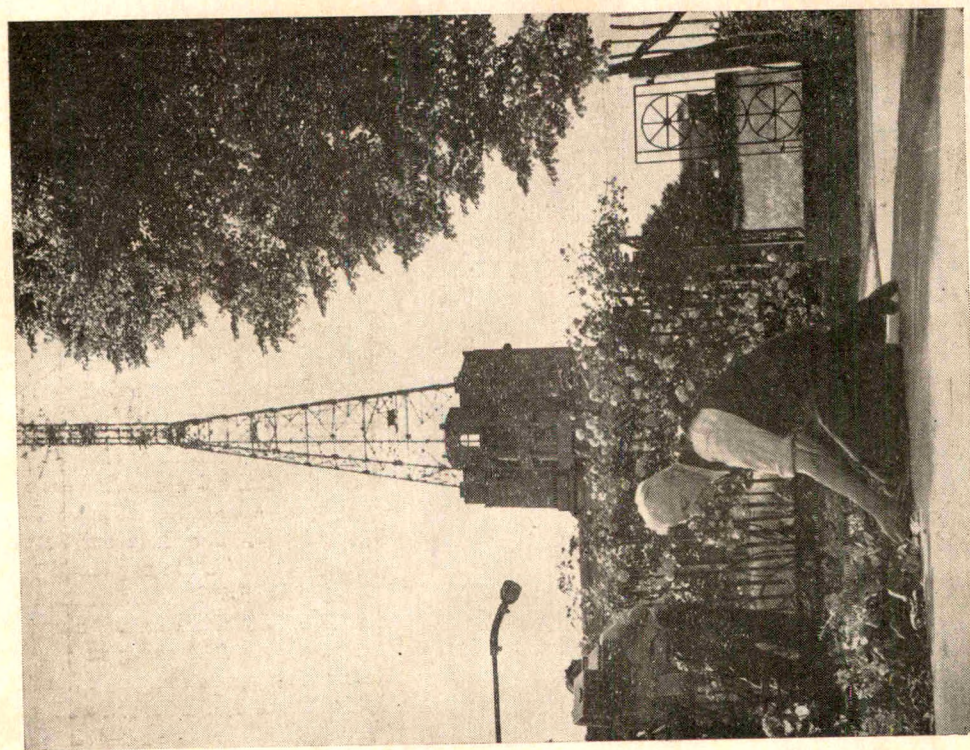
Bala-Krishna



Two Sisters



The Crown Prince of Jordan, Prince Hussain, recording a talk to be broadcast in the B.B.C. Eastern Service



A special demonstration garden is maintained by the B.B.C. for British Television viewers, where Fred Streeter, the famous gardener, is seen hard at work

including many charming examples of etchings and drawings of Mukul Dey of which the most charming are *Gandhi's Hut at Sevagram, Harvest, Time and On the Ganges*.

On a different footing stands the fascinating Album of *Six Paintings* of Bhabani Charan Gue, Art-tutor of the Mayo College of Art, Ajmer (published by International Book House Ltd., Bombay. Six-colour plates, two pages of letter-press, price Rs. 10). The album is introduced by Bireswar Sen of Lucknow Government Art School and foreworded by Frank Brangwyn "who is happy to see that there are still artists in India who keep alive the noble traditions of the art of their country, as there is far too much of the influence of European art showing in the many artists of the East." The six examples chosen are very charmingly reproduced in colour, and tastefully presented on mounting boards with plenty of margins they will help to popularize the work of this artist though the collection does not include his latest and more mature works. *The Birth of Lakshmi*, a charming

masterpiece, had made his reputation in a day. It is hoped that he will publish in later albums other and more maturer presentations of Indian mythology which is now generally avoided by our Indian artists obsessed by the latest "isms" imported from the West. In this connection we should like to draw the attention of artists and critics to the last words of Acharya Abanindranath Tagore quoted in the Government album cited above: "It is a pity that Indian Art did not continue along the line it had taken at the start and deviated a great deal; my heart aches when I think of this." As regards the beautiful album of Sri B. C. Gue it is gratifying to find that all the *Six Paintings* have found their way into the collections of connoisseurs of Rajput chieftains in Western India. This is a healthy sign in contemporary appreciation of art. For, if Indian citizens do not patronize the works of living painters, artists could not live and art could not live and help to provide spiritual stimulations in intensive and dynamic living.

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FOOD FACTS—AN ANALYSIS

By P. C. BANSIL

It is an irony of fate that man who alone from among all the living species produces his food, is faced with the problem of food today. It looks all the more paradoxical that this problem should occur in a country like India, where more than two-thirds of the population live on land and where agricultural income constitutes as much as 50 per cent of the national income of the country. Truly speaking, agriculture in India is not merely an occupation or a profession for the people, it is a tradition—a way of life which for centuries has shaped their thought, outlook and culture.

Today India is undoubtedly in deep sea about finding enough food for her millions. Government esmen along with certain economists have been leading us believe since 1930 that our population has been ahead of the agricultural production. We as students of economics must, however, see for ourselves as to when precisely this problem arose and if so what was it due to.

India had a balanced economy before the advent of the British and had self-sufficient villages, 700,000 odd in number. As a result of improvement in the means of transport and foreign demand for cash crops, commercialization of agriculture took place. The alarm of any food shortage was not raised till 1930 when it was said that our food production had lagged behind

our population. It would, however, be seen from the facts as stated below that the pessimistic conclusions reached were due to the faulty data then available. Not to talk of the 30's, even today the whole of our agricultural statistics are nothing more than a guess-work; our estimates being nothing but 'guesstimates.' The Prime Minister while talking about food statistics before the conference of Food Ministers last month, said:

"I am sorry to confess it that we base it on nothing solid at all—on just guess-work, surmises. That is not good enough in a matter of vital importance."

No allowance, for instance, was made for the existence of "non-reporting" areas by eminent economists like Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee and even then the deficit calculated in terms of calories was clearly in respect of the protective foods rather than the cereals. The report of the Enquiry conducted by Sir John Megaw saying, "Only 39 per cent people were adequately nourished, 41 per cent poorly nourished, and 20 per cent very badly nourished." And that of Dr. Aykroyd that, "Ninety-five per cent of the population cannot afford the balanced diet" did not and

1. *Hindustan Times*, February 20, 1952.

2. *Sir John Megaw Enquiry Report*, 1940.

3. Krishna Swami: *Rural Population in Madras*, p. 101.

could not apply in the quantitative aspect. These or any other such reports had, if at all, only qualitative meaning behind them.

Permanent under-feeding and periodic starvation is a rule in India. In normal times about 30 per cent of the population do not get enough to eat, while a much larger section of the population have to be satisfied almost invariably with ill-balanced diet containing a *preponderance of cereals*, sugar, root vegetables, and insufficient "protective foods" of higher nutritive value. Intake of milk, pulses, meat, fish, vegetables and fruits is generally insufficient, which leads to ill health, disease and high mortality in India among the "vulnerable group" including infants, children, pregnant and nursing mothers, factory workers and school boys.

FOOD SITUATION IN INDIA

The analysis made by Dr. Thomas⁴ clearly shows that during the 30 years (1900-30) population increased only by 19 per cent while agricultural production increased by 29 per cent.

Without attaching much weight to these calculations, even a formal study of the situation then prevailing goes to prove that there was no shortage of cereals. In the presence of a world glut of wheat, other countries like Australia had embarked on far-reaching schemes of helping and subsidising the farmers to sell their wheat in foreign markets: Australian wheat was cheaper at Calcutta and the Punjab wheat was rotting at Lyalpur simply because it was dearer when transported to Calcutta. Even though a wheat import duty of Rs. 2 per maund had already been levied in March 31.⁵ Again, the results of various diet survey reports⁶ indicating that throughout the country, the food of the rich as well as the poor predominated in cereals, the recommendations of the Crop Planning Sub-Committee,⁷ 1934, calling for a halt to further expansion of rice cultivation; and continued export of wheat to the tune of 2.2 lakh tons is more than sufficient to prove that there was no real shortage at that time; this idea was based either on wrong or imaginary notions or still better, it was a piece of British propaganda.

In 1937 came the separation of Burma, as a result of the Government of India Act of 1935. It is contended that our rice imports increased after the separation. The available statistics however belie the statement. The average of our total rice imports for the 5 years ending 1937-38 was 1.96⁸ million tons,

Burma supplying as much as 1.2 million tons. The total imports for 1938-39 stand at 1.56 million tons. This fall in the import coupled with the rise in export from .24 to .31 million tons is a clear indication of the fact that the supply of rice from Burma in the pre-1937 days was due to the fact that Burma was a part of India, Burma rice was cheaper⁹ when landed in India than the Punjab or the U.P. rice and Burma rice was specially suited for certain dishes like *khichari*. The fall in the import immediately after separation even though the home production¹¹ of rice in 1938-39 was 1.2 million tons less than 1936-37, shows clearly that efforts were made to readjust the demand by internal arrangements. A study of the total home production and net import of rice for the decade 1930-40 would reveal that the latter had no relation whatsoever with the former. If the supplies from Burma were required to meet the deficit in India, they should have increased in the years when there was a decrease in the home production and *vice versa*. This was, however, not so. The increase or decrease in the Burma supplies responded to the decrease or increase of rice prices in Burma. Burma imports had further been completely stopped by 1942, when it was occupied by the Japs, and there was no food crisis in the country.

It has been accepted by all that even the Bengal Famine was due mostly to the mal-adjustment rather than any real shortage and failure of crops in that year. Provincial barriers immediately before the Bengal Famine had in the words of the Bengal Famine Commission created real "food republics" throughout India and as concluded by the Food-grains Policy Committee, 1948, "The food position worsened after the fall of Burma due to the serious shortage of transport, unsettlement and alarm over large areas." Even the organizers of the 'Grow More Food Campaign' in 1943 were fearing a glut and hence low prices. That is the reason why serious efforts were not made to give a stimulus to the production at home. Food exports, on the other hand, were allowed to be continued up to the end of the war; the figure for the export of rice for the period—April to November, 1946—being 42,860¹² tons.

During his study of the problem of agriculture and nutrition in 1946, Sir Feroze Khareghat, the Vice-Chairman, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, illustrated fully well that before partition, India had available with her 55.5 million tons of cereal against 48 million tons required for the whole of the population,¹³ giving a surplus of about 7.5 million tons.

4. Sir John Boyd Orr : *The Modern Review* for February, 1952, p. 114.

5. *Indian Journal of Economics* : Conference Number, April, 1935, p. 745.

6. Dr. A. L. Qureshi : *The Present Food Situation in India*.

7. *Report on the Results of Diet Surveys in India* (1935-48).

8. Dr. Baljit Singh : *Population and Food Planning*, p. 97.

9. Trade figures from the *Famine Enquiry Commission Report in Bengal*.

10. *Agricultural Marketing in India—Report on the Marketing of Rice in India and Burma* (1945), p. 198.

11. *Adopted from Crops Planning Production* (N.P.C. Series), p. 38.

12. Dr. Baljit Singh : *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

13. *Indian Farming*, Special Number, 1946, p. 106. The require-

August, 1947, witnessed the greatest cataclysm—the partition. With the existing food position in 1946 as given above, this otherwise unhappy episode, should not have put our food economy out of gear to the extent shown by the protagonists of the shortage school, notwithstanding the fact that it deprived us of the agricultural land of the Punjab and Sindh. We had in the United India about 219 million acres of land under food crops and were left with about 177.9 million acres which comes to about 81 per cent of the total area under food crops.¹⁴ Against this out of a total of about 417 million of people, we were required to feed about 337 million, i.e., about 80.8¹⁵ per cent. There should not therefore have been any point or question of alarm about our food position; the percentage of the area under the food crops being a little more than that of the population. The position would become more clear if we study the grain trade in the United India. "Sindh used to supply rice to the provinces in India to the extent of 1.5 lakh tons. Punjab and Sindh used to supply wheat to the deficit provinces of India to the extent of 5 to 7 lakh tons a year. Pakistan has (today) a surplus of 5 to 7 hundred thousand tons of wheat.¹⁶ If Pakistan today cannot afford to spare more than 5 to 7 lakh tons of food-grains, we can safely presume that the maximum loss that India suffered could at the most amount to a few lakh tons. Much is made out of the loss that India suffered in respect of the irrigated area of which her share was about 75 per cent of the total. Against this one should not forget that 91.4¹⁷ per cent of Pakistan's population is rural whose cereal requirements are 25 per cent more than the urban. The rural population in India as every one is aware of is estimated only at 70 per cent. It would thus be seen that even after the partition, there was not any question of deficit.

Now a word about the position existing as today. The population figures by age groups are not available for the year 1951. Working on the basis of 1941 census¹⁸ and taking the average of three provinces, we find from Table I below that children below 12 formed 36 per cent of the population.

TABLE I

Province	Total in 000s.	Percentage by Age Groups—				
		Below 1	Between 1 & 3	3 & 4	4 & 7	7 & 12
Bengal	11746.6	1.3	5	2.9	11.6	13
Assam	7909.2	2.8	5	3.0	13.5	13
Bihar	36545.8	1.9	5.2	3.3	12.9	13.4
Average of the three provinces		2	5	3	13	13
		Total 36				

Estimates were calculated by him at the rate of 16 ozs. per day per consumption unit.

14. *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in Undivided India (1936-37 to 1945-46).*

15. C. N. Vakil : *Economic Consequences of Divided India*, p. 69.

16. Dr. K. K. Sharma : *Evolution of Indian Economy*, p. 103.

17. C. N. Vakil : *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

18. *Census of India, 1941 on Y-Sample*, published in 1949.

Applying the same percentage to 1951, we get the distribution between children and adults as in Table II below per hundred of the population :

TABLE II

Population Distribution

Children up to 12	Adults—		Total
	Rural at the rate of 70 p.c.	Urban at the rate of 30 p.c.	
36	44	20	100

The requirements of children as laid down by the Nutrition experts for the various age groups are as given in Table III below :¹⁹

TABLE III

Age groups	Ozs. per day
Below 2	0
2 to 3	1
3 to 4	2
5 to 7	4
8 to 12	6 to 10
13 to 14	10 to 12

With due regard to the fact that consumption of cereals in India is more than the normal, we may reconstitute the age groups as in Table IV below after giving a further margin in the sense that all children above 12 are considered as adults and maximum is allowed for the groups as a whole including the one of minimum age, and that a child after the age of 1 starts taking cereals.

TABLE IV

Age groups	Ozs. per day
Below 1	0
1 to 3	1
3 to 4	2
4 to 7	4
7 to 12	10

Now calculating at the rates given in Table IV for children up to the age of 12, giving 16 ounces per head to the rural and 12 ounces to the urban adults according to Table II above ; presuming that all the ladies and all the old men above 50, whose percentage alone is about 9, consume as much as the young, our requirements for a population of 100 come to 11.3 tons a year. Rounding this figure again to 11.5 so that a provision is made for table wastes, etc., it would be seen that the total population of India which is 361.68 millions according to the 1951 Census would consume a little less than 42 million tons of cereals.

The estimates of cereal requirements have also been made from time to time by the various authorities on the subject. According to Dr. Baljit Singh,²⁰ the cereal requirements for the whole of India in 1941 when the population stood at 389 million, was 46.6 million tons. Working on this basis for a population of 361.68 million, we require not more than 43.3 million tons. It should be borne in mind that Dr. Baljit

19. Lt. Col. Barkat Naraïn : *Nutrition*.

20. Dr. Baljit Singh : *Op. cit.*, p. 15 and p. 29.

Singh had also taken into consideration the extra consumption required for marriages, etc.

Table V given below shows the requirements as worked out by Shri J. C. Kumarappa, Nutrition Advisory Committee and the Food Ministry :²¹

TABLE V

Nutrition Advisory Committee Standard		Food Ministry Nutrition Standard		(in 000 tons) J. C. Kumarappa. Standard	
Vegetarian	Non-vegetarian			Vegetarian	Non-vegetarian
41.554	41.554	37.511	47.490	47.490	47.490

Our food requirements can again be calculated more accurately on the basis of the actual issues of food-grains in the year 1950 from the Government stocks in statutory areas. In an answer to question No. 1578 by Pandit Bhargwa, the Honourable Food Minister, Mr. Munshi, stated on February 12 that the total issue from the Government stocks during the year 1950 for statutory rationed areas whose population was 45.36 million in that year, was about 4 million tons. Population under statutory rationing may be taken as purely urban, though there are labourers whose consumption of cereals is more than others. Out of the total population of 361.68 million, we have thus 110 million (30 per cent of the whole) urban population. According to the actual off-take as given above, 110 millions of people would consume about 10 million tons. The requirements of the balance of 251.68 million rural population (giving them, of course 25 per cent more) come to nearly 27.5 million tons. The whole of India would thus require something like 38 million tons only for human consumption.

This fact is again corroborated when a smaller and compact area like Delhi is taken as a unit, where there is statutory rationing and no smuggling from outside is permitted. The black market, if any, is only from the stocks issued from the Government stores and smuggled by the dealers. The average actual off-take of cereals per fortnight in the Statutory area of Delhi including Shahdra and Mehrouli during the years 1950 and 1951 was 156,300 and 167,700 maunds respectively and the population of the area who consumed this much of the cereals was about 15 lakh during both the years.²² At the rate of issues and population given above, we find that 110 million of the urban population requires exactly the same amount of cereals as worked out in the preceding paragraph according to the data supplied by the Food

Minister. Total requirements would also be the same therefore.

Having calculated out actual requirements by the various methods, I leave it now for the reader to judge for himself as to how much we must have for human consumption. It must be emphasised here that the calculations made on the last page on the basis of the actual issues from Delhi as well as the whole of India include all sorts of wastage that we find in the cities. There cannot be any quarrel about their accuracy as every ounce of food-grains issued from the stores has to be accounted for and a daily record is maintained for the same.

Before we dismiss this issue and pass on to the next point, it would be interesting to note here that even according to Government calculations we do not require more than 42 to 43 million tons as shown above. At the earlier Food Ministers' Conference, the advance estimates of production for the year 1951-52 were made as 36.9 million tons. It was then decided that the country would be required to import 7 million tons more to feed the nation for the whole of the current year. This in simple and clear words means that it was estimated that the country could very well pull on with a total production of 44 million tons. Now when according to the revised estimates the production is said to be 46²³ million tons, it is really a pity that the Government insists on an import of 5 million tons.

That was the demand side about which there has been and still is a lot of controversy. I do anyhow hope that an impartial reader will be fully convinced from a study of the previous pages that our requirements for human consumption would not even on a liberal estimate exceed 42 to 43 million tons. As regards the supply or the production the only course open to us is to go by the figures given out by the Ministry of Food from time to time, although they have been under-estimated to a great extent as already explained in foot-note 23. As the final figures for the year 1950 are now available, it would be better to concentrate on them. This would be all the more proper because we have all along been considering the demand for the population as it existed at the beginning of 1951. In the year 1950, the amount of food-grains (including gram) produced in the country was 49.86²⁴ million tons. If we subtract from it, the amount required for purposes of seed and

21. J. C. Kumarappa : *A Note on Balanced Cultivation*, p. 19.

22. Figures obtained by courtesy from the Director, Civil Supplies, Delhi. The number of permanent, temporary and guest ration cards during the two years was as follows :

Year	Permanent	Temporary	Guest (average daily)
1950	15,01,000	67,000	1,000
1951	15,08,000	59,000	1,000

Their Statistical officer has made an elaborate study of the actual population during the two years and told me that it could not in any case be less than 15,18,000.

23. The gap between the first and the revised estimates confirms more clearly the statement made in the opening paras at page 1 about our statistics of Food. The trouble here as admitted by the authorities is that the surplus States want to hide their surplus and the deficit ones want to exaggerate their deficits, both to save themselves from the hard task of intensifying their procurement drive and thus remain popular with the peasants.

24. *Supplement to the Bulletin on Food Statistics* (January, 1951), published in August, 1951, p. 5, and *Agricultural Situation in India* (July, 1950).

wastages, etc., at 12½ per cent (the percentage accepted by the Government) we get a net production of 43.66 million tons. This should and certainly is sufficient to meet our requirements, particularly so when we take into consideration that there are a large number of people who consume huge quantities of subsidiary foods like tapioca and sweet potatoes in the South and potatoes in the North²⁵ and also there are huge tracts²⁶ of land—'non-reporting' areas—the production from which is not reflected in the All-India figures.

Objections would be raised for including gram in the total production taken in the last paragraph. Gram was excluded by the authorities from the category of cereals for the first time in the year 1950 for reasons best known to them. Every North Indian knows it well that this is the food not only of the poor, but the rich relish it all the more. The *Report on the Marketing of Gram in India* (1945) says:

"For human consumption gram is used in the form of boiled whole gram, ata, dal, baisin and parched gram. Gram ata is consumed in large quantities, usually after mixing with wheat and/or

25. The total area under tapioca in Travancore-Cochin is 6 lakh acres and in Madras about 3 to 4 lakh acres. The area under potatoes in the year 1950-51 was 1.5 million acres with a production of 1.6 million tons.

26. There are 224 million acres as 'non-reporting' areas out of a total of 781 million acres.—*Agricultural Situation in India*, Vol. V, p. 32.

barley ata, in the form of *chapaties* and is very popular in villages particularly when the price of gram is lower than that of wheat. In urban areas also, specially in North India, gram and wheat ata *chapaties* are much relished.²⁷

A study of the marketing of gram would further reveal that only a very negligible portion of the total produce in the various States is exported outside, the rest being consumed within the borders of the producing areas. There would not therefore appear to exist any justification for excluding gram from other cereals.

To summarise the ground so far covered we find that India never suffered from the shortage of food in its history. Periodic famines have no doubt been there which were mostly due to transport difficulties in the earlier periods and mismanagement at the later ones. Nobody can at the same time deny the fact that the country is facing a serious food problem for the last so many years and we have imported about 10 million tons of food-grains costing hundreds of crores of rupees during the last few years. The causes of this problem and the remedies thereof will form the subject-matter of a separate essay.

27. *Agricultural Marketing in India—Report on the Marketing of Gram in India*, p. 14. Also see *Economic Geography of Indian Republic* by Dr. R. N. Dubey, p. 93: "Barley and gram are two other winter grain crops which rank along with wheat as staple food-grains of Northern India."

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PAKISTAN—"THE STRANGE EVOLUTION OF A POLITICAL PARTY"

By ZALMAY MAHMUD*

THE partition of India on the eve of the British departure is perhaps one of the most notable events of the first half of our century. An empire rich in natural resources, offering vast cultivated areas of a sub-continent, fully developed in terms of communication and transportation, in brief, the land which with justification had been called the shining jewel of the crown, had overnight been transferred to its legitimate owners, and its destiny, whatever it may be, left for its inhabitants to decide. Events which took place during those fateful days were witnessed or watched from afar with mixed emotions. The end of the British rule was perhaps the anti-climax of decades of planning, plotting, and scheming on the part of the great powers, and the beginning of a new era. It came peacefully, peaceful that is as far as the relations of the ex-masters and subjects were concerned, to some it was a manifestation of the age of reason, to others it was the ultimate triumph of patience and persuasion. At last India was free. India for the sake of whose maintenance so many lives had been taken, so many homes ruined, and so many battles fought had peacefully bade

farewell to its late conqueror and was set to occupy its position in the free world.

A long-cherished dream had admittedly been realised, and a new era had just dawned, but the jubilation which the occasion might have deserved was killed in its bud. Hatred filled the hearts which were eagerly awaiting joy, and violence and bloodshed flared in far corners of the land. Thousands who died of wounds and starvation might have easily been called the victims of fanaticism, but the underlying causes were deep and not easily brought out to light. The dead and the dying were in fact the victims of treachery, lack of faith, and one of the most villainous schemes mankind has ever witnessed. They were the victims of a ghost hand reaching out of the grave to kill, to maim, and to punish. Fanaticism was only its vehicle.

The full story of the partition of India is somewhat beyond the logical scope of this short study. Much has been written about it and more is undoubtedly forthcoming.

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History alone shall be the final judge of its merits, or lack of them, and its verdicts take time to formalize. Only time may reveal the secret agreements and expose the contents of files carefully hidden, in the inner sanctums of the foreign offices. Certain issues, however, need not await the verdict of history. Their defects, their wretchedness, and their utter disregard of justice speak loudly for themselves. The world may choose to disregard them or to turn a deaf ear to their clamor for a while, but the question is for how long? The partition of India solely based on religious considerations gave rise to a number of such issues.

The creation of Pakistan and its emergence as an "independent" nation bears the ugliest earmarks of certain old and outmoded policies of the British empire builders. India was divided in two parts, and the newly created state of Pakistan was given to include territories carved out of India proper as well as areas forcibly severed from Afghanistan in a not distant past. The consent and willingness of the millions inhabiting these territories in throwing their lots with the new Moslem state were not even questioned. Britain had decided to leave a divided India behind, and the leaders of the Muslim League were clamoring for an adequate reward for their unquestioning loyalty to the crown. Pakistan was thus born, and the knights of Karachi were given the dubious honor of forming the nucleus of the new state. All other considerations were hastily brushed aside.

In view of the present tension between the East and West, and in the face of great dangers created by militant communism, particularly in Asia, the great Western Powers can no longer even pretend to remain aloof from the disturbing issues which stir the heretofore neglected millions of the Orient. India has always in the past been in the foreground of all issues pertaining to Asia, and shall continue to play that same vital part in any foreseeable future. The fate of India may well determine that of Asia, and hence the fate of mankind. A strong peaceful, and unified India might easily have been counted upon to control and to pacify the growing unrest of the Eastern nations. The divided India of to-day, however, is plagued with unrest and confusion herself. While the Republic of India is sometimes rashly accused of seeking alliance with the communist dictators, the knights of Karachi are often heralded as friends of democracy, and as saviors of Asia.

In view of such developments one seldom fails to question the underlying causes of the present confusion in the Indian sub-continent, and to seek any possible remedies. The answer, according to a majority of those who know that country, lies with the fact of partition. Here we face then a new set of questions. Is the division of India along the present lines the ultimate solution, and Pakistan as a nation a real going concern? Is there any likelihood of peaceful co-operation between India and Pakistan in any near future? These and similar questions are never easily answered. Their importance not only to the people of the Indian sub-continent but also to the world,

as a whole cannot be over-emphasized. Mere speculations and rash prophesies are obviously ruled out. A logical approach will have to bring out to light the underlying causes of the partition. These are perhaps best revealed by a study of events in India since the turn of the century. Only a study of the past may offer us glimpses of the path still lying ahead.

One could hardly maintain that the division of India was in any way designed to secure the welfare of the Indian people whether Hindu or Moslem. The entire scheme, as it turned out, was designed, carefully prepared, and finally carried out by the British government of India. The interests of Britain, in India as well as elsewhere, were the only motivating forces behind the partition. The millions whose destinies were entrusted to the leaders of the Muslim League simply became the unwitting tools of a new version of British imperialism.

It would be obviously absurd to ever maintain that the Hindus and the Moslems of India have failed in the past to develop the sense of unity which makes a nation a going concern, or cannot hope to achieve that unity in the days still ahead. Yet such contentions were the only excuses offered for the act of partition. The history of India clearly reveals the fact that Hindus and Moslems have for hundreds of years lived in harmony, and have fought for India side by side in numerous campaigns. The sense of unity and allegiance to a nation above and beyond the narrow considerations of religious antagonism do not seem to have been lacking during the period of greatness which India achieved under the banner of the Great Moghuls. Nor are today the millions of Moslems who chose to remain in India after the partition treated as aliens or have their loyalties questioned. A number of them are now occupying positions of great responsibility within the framework of the Indian state. There was no likelihood of the Moslems becoming an insignificant minority at the mercy of a purely Hindu state once India had achieved its long-denied freedom. Separation of the electorate system for the Hindus and the Moslems was a purely British scheme, designed and carried through for furtherance of British aims in India. It is a pity that pure selfishness, greed, or baffling ignorance blinded some Moslem leaders to that simple fact.

The nationalist movement of India started as a unified effort. There was no question of religious antagonism or separation along religious lines when the cry of liberty was first heard in that land. The man who later came to be known as the founder of Pakistan was at the outset an ardent champion of unity and devoted his energy to the task of building a unified and independent India. One often wonders whether Jinnah himself was fully aware of the scope of the disservice he rendered his country towards the end of his life. In view of his mental alertness and his fine education one finds it hard to classify him together with the exalted knights of the

Karachi regime. Could his great error be attributed to a case of all-consuming ego and intense vanity?

The partition of India and the creation of Pakistan were to serve the British aims in two separate areas. The scheme as originally planned was to secure for Britain certain definite advantages in India, as well as in the countries collectively known as the Moslem World. A brief survey of the plan, as revealed of late by certain events taking place throughout that part of the Orient might well establish our point.

The aimed effects of the partition on the future of India are in their general scope nothing short of what we might term as sadistic. India as a whole unified nation, endowed with great riches, and well on its way towards industrialisation might soon have been intolerant of any type of foreign control, and might indeed have chosen to ridicule the idea of remaining within the commonwealth. She would soon find herself in the enviable position of a sought-after customer and furnisher, and would bargain only at terms most satisfactory to herself. England today is in no condition to compete with the younger and more productive commercial rivals in the modern world. The dilemma was a hopeless one, and England would have to suffer great losses. It was time for the well-known British wit and cunning to rescue whatever hits it could. For decades Britain had ruled India by playing on the petty quarrels of the two powerful factions who had worshipped God each in its own way, and thus prevented the growth of a sense of unity. Why not keep India divided along the same line? Why not create a new state which indirectly would force India to remain within that large and convenient organisation known as the British Commonwealth? That was a masterly stroke and it certainly paid well. India was literally forced to remain a member of that huge happy family. Were she to sever her ties with the British Empire, the arms and ammunition, the tanks and the jet warplanes so readily placed at the disposal of Pakistan as a member of the Commonwealth would threaten her security.

The position of India as a potential great power has long been recognized throughout the civilized world. India is endowed by nature with vast supplies of raw material, occupies an exceptionally favorable geographical position, with respect to Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia, may one day in the future rule the Indian Ocean, and commands vast areas of a sub-continent thickly populated by hundreds of millions of hard-working men. The expansion of Indian industry, spreading of technological knowledge and skill among the millions of workers, better nutrition and better standards of health could not fail to bring that country in the near future among the rank of the leading powers. India controls the means and has developed the will to become a great power. Such developments will obviously take time, but when they take place their influence will be felt throughout Asia and perhaps also Africa. The British position in those parts of the world would be hard to maintain indeed. India might not only

become self-sufficient but might also furnish the ever increasing demand of the vast areas which presently absorb a great percentage of the British manufactured goods. Politically as well as economically India would be a strong rival for Britain to contend with. The scheme of partition was thus to remove also the danger of India becoming too powerful or too self-sufficient at least for the time being. Mutilated bodies need time for recovery. While there is still time a number of things can happen. Time and more time is the urgent demand of despair.

The presence of a Pakistani army armed and supplied with some of the best and the latest weapons that England can produce along the India borders produces in India the very conditions that Britain hoped for. During the crucial years when India should be assigning the greater part of her national income to the welfare of her long-neglected millions and to improvement of her economy the larger proportion of her annual budget is allotted to national defence. Her security now is assured only at the expense of peaceful and profitable enterprises. She must spend millions on arms and ammunitions in order to keep the mercenaries of the Karachi regime at bay. The process will obviously weaken her economy and the profit made on sale of armaments will flow to the British treasury. In this instance many birds seem to have been killed by one stone.

One seldom fails of late to notice with amusement the bold and somewhat peculiar attempts of Britain and Pakistan to display the latter country as the undaunted champion of the Moslem World. The cause of Islam from the shores of the Atlantic to the islands of Indonesia seems to have become the main concern of Pakistan. Strange as it may seem a number of Western observers, particularly in the United States, actually believe that Pakistan by acquiring the position of leadership in the Moslem World may eventually bring that area in line with the policies of the West. The revival of the Caliphate, a fanciful dream of certain Indian Moslems, seems to have impressed even some logical Western thinkers. It might be sad indeed to witness such basic lack of understanding of the actual issues in the East, but that under-estimation of the Eastern mentality is not altogether new. It has been rather fashionable for years now to throw up one's arms and candidly state the area has not changed at all since the days of the prophet. To the British, however, the issue is clear and simple. The present British policy follows with great consistency the path of the original scheme which further motivated the creation of Pakistan. A large Moslem state, inhabited by millions of people already accustomed to British subservience, and ruled by the leaders of a party originally created for furtherance of British aims, might place in the latter's hand a trump to be used in the Middle Eastern "Great Game." It is hard not to pity the fate of the Moslem World. They seem ever to find a self-appointed champion or leader amidst their chaos. A decade ago it was Mussolini, and now it is the turn of the exalted knights of Karachi.

Pakistan as the leader of the Moslem World would indeed have been a handy tool at the British disposal. Through Pakistan and her leaders Britain hoped to control the policies of Moslem governments across the width of Asia and of North Africa. Under the banner of Islam that solid bloc, they hoped, would turn hostile to other Asians who did not share their faith, and would thus undermine any solidarity which might develop on that continent. One seldom fails to wonder at the consistency and scope of certain British policies. Britons are indeed a very conservative race. For decades they ruled India by playing the Moslems and the Hindus against each other, and now they plan to control not only India but also other vast expanses of Asia by perpetuating the same religious antagonism.

Our study so far establishes the fact that the partition of India was not necessitated by religious antagonism or any other consideration which might in any way be termed as beneficial to the people of the countries in question. In view of what has been said one often tends to wonder about future developments in that area, and the political set-up which may some day replace the present chaotic conditions.

It is hardly a confession of human failure to admit on any occasion that the future of any issue remains largely shrouded in an aura of mystery. Too many unforeseen and unforeseeable factors may at any moment come into play and radically modify the fate and the destiny of a nation. With such definite reservations in mind we may still attempt to catch a glimpse, furtive as it may be, of what lies ahead in order to better prepare for it. The elements of any rash estimates and prophecies are, needless to say, ruled out in such undertakings. We may, nevertheless, approach our problem by making an analysis of events, past and present, and derive our clues from any logical pattern which these may evolve.

It may be high time now to recognize the fact that India never has, and perhaps never shall consider the large areas severed from its body under the convenient pretext of religious difference as permanently alienated. Several million Indian Moslems live happily today under the banner of the new republic and we have no reason to believe that other millions now separated from it could not have done the same. India will sooner or later reclaim the territories of Sind, Punjab, and Bengal, and the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan might return to their logical orbit. The issue of Kashmir, the present source of disagreement between India and Pakistan, is perhaps only a link in a chain of events still in the making. India is fully aware of the fact that she cannot look forward to achievement of her legitimate national aspirations in her reduced form, and is not likely to forget her dreams of future greatness. A needless battle in this case has been forced upon her and should the need arise she shall stand to fight it out.

Britain even today pursues in that area the policies which in the past have won her the hatred of millions living

throughout the Eastern countries. The shipments of arms, ammunitions, and jet planes silently slipping through the port of Karachi to be used for purposes of aggression in Kashmir, and "pacification" of the Pathan borderland, are daily observed and taken into account. The policies pursued by Pakistan are actually dictated from London; the arms, logically enough, needed for their enforcement are supplied by Britain. The constant preaching of the "big Moslem brother," a reincarnation of Lawrence of Arabia, has deceived only a few gullible souls in the Moslem World, and the comical act of parading Pakistan as a bulwark against communist aggression has lately ceased even to be funny. The ceaseless flow of war materials into Pakistani seaports has at best upset the balance of power in that area, and is never likely to accomplish much more than that. Need we remind everyone that there is a balance of power to maintain among the smaller states also?

How long, one wonders, will Britain continue to remain the undaunted champion of Pakistani cause, and how much more borrowed money is the British treasury willing to pour into Pakistan? Perhaps only time and circumstances will provide us with the accurate answer. On the whole, however, as long as Pakistan remains a handy tool of Whitehall, and is ruled in accordance with best traditions of the Muslim League the British help will not cease to pour in. The goodwill of Britain on which Pakistan thrives today is thus dependent upon the latter's usefulness as a tool.

The vision of Pakistan, so dear to the heart of Whitehall, as the power through which Britain might control the Moslem World is perhaps an inspiration dictated by the facts of a world largely left behind. The days of Caliphate are as irretrievable in the modern Middle-East as the heroes of the Arabian Nights. The Middle-East of today is swiftly moving ahead on the path of Turkey, and whatever solidarity they might develop among themselves will be chiefly inspired by political motives not by religious affinities. Pakistan, one might say, has already outlived its usefulness to Britain in that particular respect.

Speculation at this point about the future of Pakistan, in so far as its ties with the British Commonwealth are concerned, is perhaps relevant to a logical conclusion of our study. A number of factors beneficial either to Britain or to Pakistan, seem to assure the permanence of the set-up as it exists today. Nothing, however, in the nature of racial, cultural, religious, and historical affinities which keep the so-called "White Dominions" attached to the crown exists between the Asiatic dominions and Britain. The overwhelming majority of the people in the former dominions are British in origin and refer to the British islands as the mother country. These are the real bonds which keep the British Commonwealth together, and in their absence the Asiatic dominions are not likely to remain permanent members of that family of nations.

We must repeat here that the future always retains an element of mystery. In view of the foregoing arguments we may, nevertheless, assume that Pakistan is not likely to outlive its usefulness to Britain. Indications are clear that Pakistan has failed in a number of respects. She has failed to produce a rift between India and the Moslem countries, and has suffered set-backs in her bold attempt to gain leadership in the Moslem World. Despite the atrocities, the mass imprisonments, and secret trials the Pakistani regime has failed to subdue the Pathans of the North-West Frontier and the people of East Pakistan. In these

areas the opposition is daily gaining strength. Some day when reality emerges out of chaos, and the people of Pakistan become aware of the true foundation of their country, the leaders of the Muslim League shall have to pay the price of treason. We may then look forward to an era of peace, understanding, and true co-operation among the countries of Asia. With the disappearance of the last relics of British Imperialism from their midst, the people of Asia will have an opportunity to live peacefully and to devote their energies and resources to reconstruction of their lands and improvement of their lots.

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HATFIELD : THE HOME OF THE CECILS

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

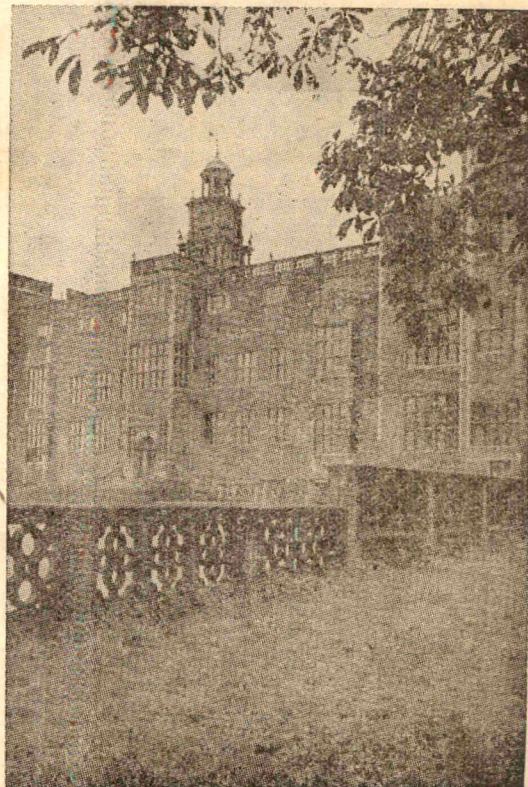
Of all the great houses in England, Hatfield surely takes pride of place. Others may seem more lovely or own as beautiful things but Hatfield is the house which sticks closest to the past. It is said that the history of the Elizabethan and Jacobean ages could be written from the records and manuscripts which are preserved there. But it is not only in the library and muniment room that history is paramount. From its site, from its origins, from its trees even, the past leaps out at the visitor from the moment he enters the gates of the Park.

It is part of the fascination of this mellow Jacobean house that it should begin life with a couple of ghosts. The ghosts, of course, are Queen Elizabeth I and Robert Cecil. Both of them pervade the place and neither of them ever lived in it. The house was built by Robert Cecil, the younger son of William Cecil (Lord Burleigh) who was Elizabeth's faithful Treasurer for nearly forty years. He began to build it in 1607—just about the time of the building of India's famous Taj Mahal—four years after the death of the Queen, and he died in 1612 just as the house was nearing completion.

Elizabeth's portraits, her gloves and her stockings, her garden hat—and for some, above all, her beautiful handwriting in the library—are the things which will always be associated with Hatfield House. But if we want to retrace her steps we must go outside. And here we come to its origins.

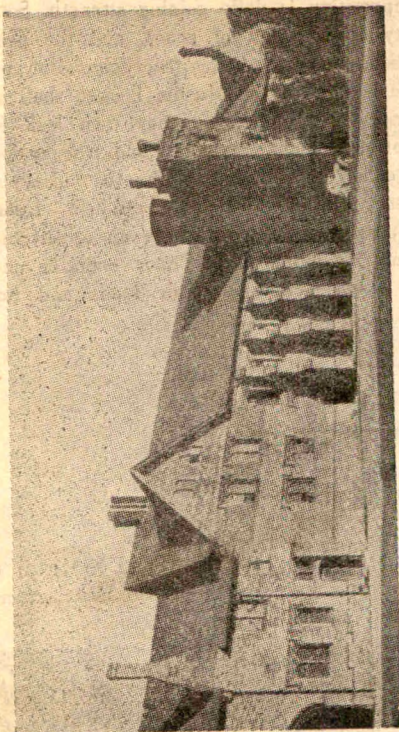
A few yards away from the present house is a very different kind of structure. It is a vast Tudor hall with flying buttresses and it is all that remains of the old fifteenth century Palace of Hatfield. This Palace belonged originally to the Bishops of Ely but in 1534 it was ceded to Henry VIII. He used it as a country home for his children, and Mary I, Elizabeth I and Edward VI all lived here. Elizabeth and Edward were

especially attached to the place and to each other. Both were precocious children of the Renaissance and

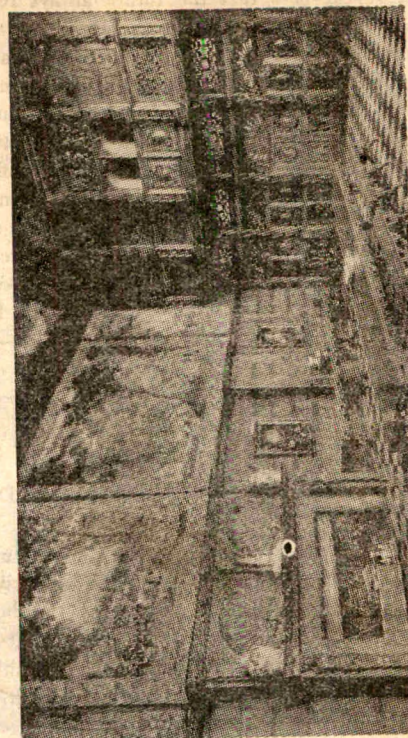


Hatfield House. The North Front

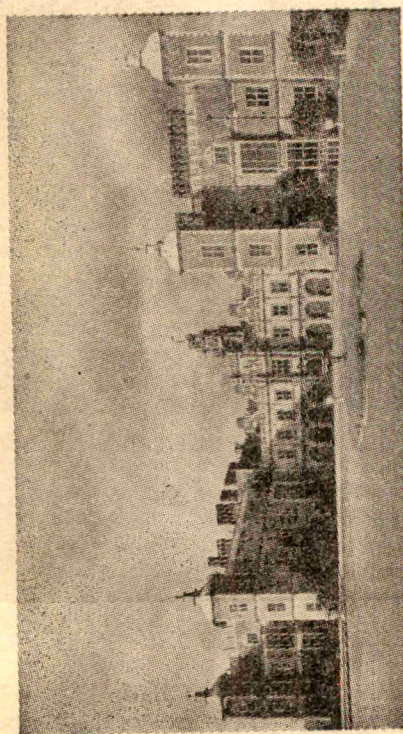
it is recorded of them while at Hatfield that 'they desired to look upon books as soon as the day began.' Poor Edward VI! He was only ten years old when



The Old Palace



The Marble Hall

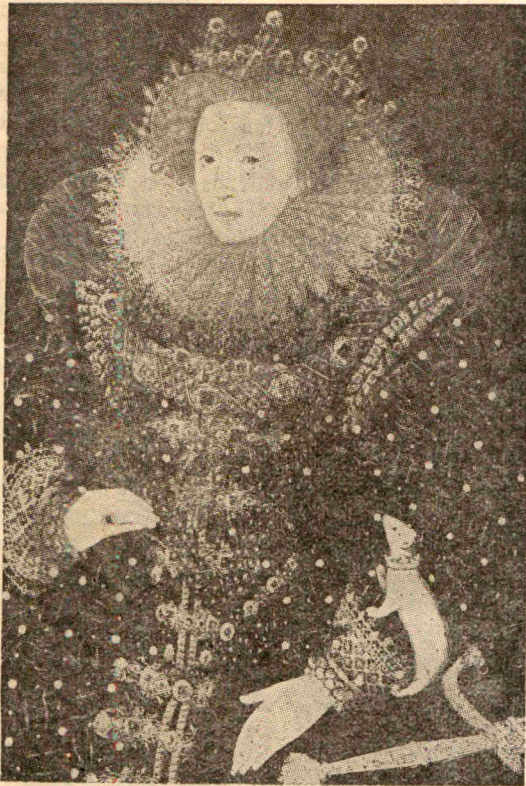


Hatfield House. The South Front



Tudor Portraits. Henry VIII and his wives

they carried him away from Hatfield to become King. Four years later and two before he died he gave Hatfield to his sister Elizabeth. And that is how Elizabeth came to be sitting under a tree in Hatfield Park—in



The Ermine Portrait of Queen Elizabeth

November one cannot help remarking—when she heard that her sister Mary was dead and she in turn had become Queen . . . As for the old Palace today, it is remembered chiefly as the place where the weary tourist can get some tea? Even the Cecils make use of its walls to dispose of some very indifferent wall paintings. Yet in this hall, beneath its fifteenth century rafters, Elizabeth held the first council of her reign. And from its roof the tragic Mary Tudor waved adieu to her father Henry VIII—who had divorced her mother and was bent on cutting his daughter too.

A legacy from the old Palace of Hatfield and now in Hatfield House are the many early portraits, painted on wood and perhaps not very remarkable, but which enhance its atmosphere enormously. We are told that they are to be found all over the house. Three of the most attractive are in the Marble Hall. They are of Henry V, Henry VI and Richard III. All are wearing their crowns and all, as the guide points out, are 'fiddling with their rings.' The rings—and the hands—are extraordinarily beautiful. But this fidgeting with their rings! It recalls Malvolio in Shakespeare's

Twelfth Night. It will be remembered that when the steward Malvolio is indulging a phantasy of what his life will be like when he becomes the husband of his mistress, the Countess Olivia, he speaks of how he will perhaps 'play with some rich jewel.' Was playing with some rich jewel a trick of kings and nobles in olden times?

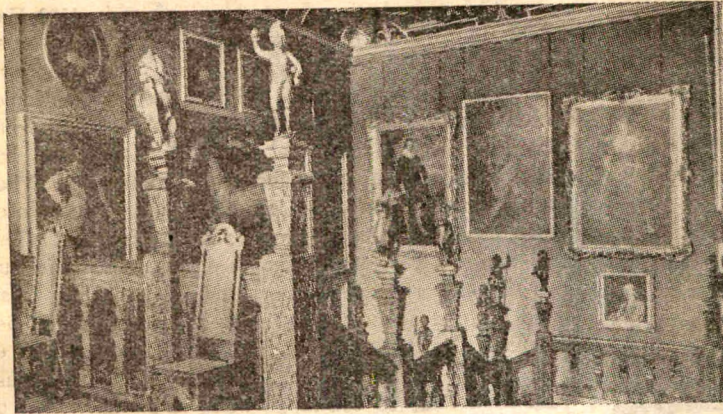
When Elizabeth came to the Throne in 1558 Hatfield House was still half a century ahead in the mists of time. But the Cecil star was already on the horizon. William Cecil was one of a brilliant group which hailed from Cambridge and included Roger Ascham who had been Elizabeth's tutor. He was a Protestant and had held office during the minority of Edward VI. When Mary Tudor succeeded Edward and reintroduced Catholicism he was 'prudent' and conformed. (This kind of *prudence*, as we shall see, was to be a feature of the earlier Cecils). But Elizabeth knew her man and her first action was to make him a member of her Council. In this way began the long ascendancy of the Cecils, father and son, which was to outlast Elizabeth and to continue well into the reign of James I.



The Rainbow Portrait of Queen Elizabeth

Close to the three Kings in the Marble Hall is a portrait of Mary Queen of Scots painted, as the artist inscribes on the canvas, in the tenth year of her captivity in England. By then the once dashing and beautiful Queen had come to live only for the Catholic religion and its restoration in England by way of the assassination of her cousin Queen Elizabeth. In her black gown, with a crucifix as its focal point, and a rosary hanging from a still larger cross, she seems

like an Abbess. Only the lovely frame of the head-dress and the sad, cautious eyes suggest a different destiny. Cecil, of course, played a principal part in bringing Mary to the block. And this portrait, which she is said to have sent to an adherent in England, was confiscated by one of his agents.



The Grand Staircase

The Marble Hall is a Jacobean version of the great hall which has come down to us through the ages. It has the usual features: the minstrels' gallery at one end, the great carved screen at the other, the very imposing fire-place. But this hall has the artistic advantage, of facing north. So there is an excellent light in which to view the portraits, and some 17th century Flemish tapestries, which are set above the fire-place, survive in all their unfading glories.

There are two famous paintings of Queen Elizabeth here and one in the lobby outside. All are allegorical. They are known as the Diana, the Ermine, and the Rainbow portraits. In Elizabeth's day, and before her, allegories and symbolism were the fashion in Europe. The first of these portraits is the simplest to understand (although it carries symbolism rather far in that it does not even pretend to be a likeness). Elizabeth, Virgin Queen, appears as Diana, Virgin Goddess of the Moon. It is a guise in which she is often found in contemporary sonnets. But the painting is no mere courtly gesture. This moon-goddess, as a critic has pointed out, has a 'strangely compelling, magical glance.' It is, in fact, a highly psychological composition.

The Ermine portrait is very different. It is bold and successful and strident. On a sword which lies beside the Queen is the date 1585, that is two years before the execution of Mary Queen of Scots and three before the defeat of the Armada. These two great crises of her reign were rapidly approaching and the Queen seems already to be staring them down. The whiteness of the hands and the face and the ermine give tremendous force and clarity to the conception. The ermine with its jewelled collar is a symbol of

chastity and is said to derive from a poem of Petrarch. But the collar here is a crown. And it is pointed out that in that great Elizabethan allegory, Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, Sir Artegall who represents Justice also carries on his shield the device of a crowned ermine.

I suppose the Rainbow portrait is Hatfield's greatest glory. Certainly one could look at it for hours on end. Every detail in it is said to be significant. And yet an observer, who knows nothing and cares less for allegory, must still be transfixed by its beauty. The rainbow in her hand, the strange and lovely balance of the head-dress, the serpent embroidered on her sleeve, the line of the cloak which echoes the line of the rainbow—all combine to make a most exquisite painting, so light that it seems almost to move. (A superb retort, is this portrait, to the modernist who proclaims that a picture which tells a story must be bosh artistically. It need not be).



Lady Mary Amelia, First Marchioness of Salisbury, by Sir Joshua Reynolds

Zuccaro, who painted it, must have been deeply attached to its subject. It is the only painting I know

of in which the Queen's expression is one of immeasurable sadness.

Rising up from the lobby in which the Rainbow portrait hangs is the Grand Staircase which leads to the state rooms. Though it has not the grace and lightness of the staircase at Knole, it has its own peculiar charm. It is a combination of Italian and English craftsmanship. Jolly little boys, such as abound in Italian court-yards and fountains, share the pillars with heraldic English beasts. And the sides of the pillars are decorated with carvings of simple domestic subjects—a more elegant version, this, of the kind of

called Theobalds. James coveted the place because it was nearer London and had 'the commoditie of a navigable river falling into the Thames at a place convenient for His Majesty's princely sports and recreation.' (All that need be said about Theobalds here—in case it throws some light on the first Cecil—is that its great hall had an exciting plaster ceiling, decorated with the signs of the zodiac, in which 'the sun by some mechanism ran its course and the stars came out at night'! It was destroyed during the Civil War by the sour-puss Puritans).

Robert Cecil, whom James I was to create first



George III by Sir William Beechey



Frances Mary, Second Marchioness of Salisbury,
by Sir Thomas Lawrence

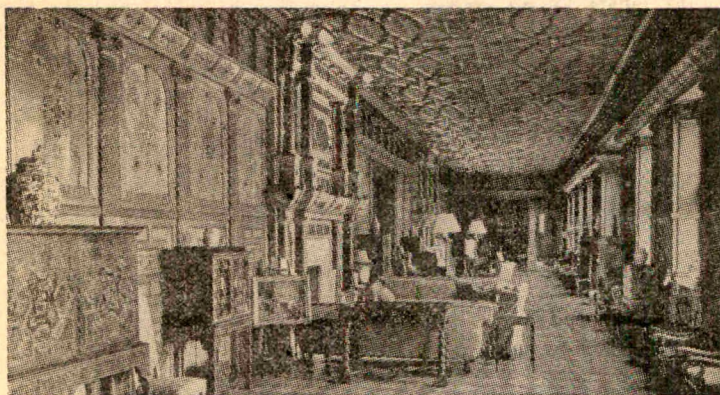
art which has existed in our churches from the earliest times. On one pillar, for instance, there is first a design of gardening tools (so delicate that they seem fit for a great lady's chatelaine); above it is a basket of flowers; and topping it all, as he should do, is the gardener in smock and hat. On the walls are many local portraits and portraits of Cecils past and present. Conspicuous amongst them is a large white horse. It is the horse which Elizabeth rode when she visited Tilbury and made that never to be forgotten speech on the eve of the battle of the Armada. Riding that horse, in the words of an on-looker, 'she passed like some Amazonian Empress through her army.'

At the top of the stairs is the King James Drawing Room. Here we must make an important digression. It was not until the reign of James I that the Cecils came to Hatfield. In 1607 James asked Sir Robert Cecil if he would take the Palace of Hatfield in exchange for his house near Waltham Chase which was

Earl of Salisbury, was perhaps not pleased with the exchange. At any rate he began at once to demolish the old Palace, except for the hall, and to use its bricks to build the present Hatfield House. He gave it the shape of the letter 'E' in memory of Elizabeth. It was a fashion which many had adopted—a lucky whim which was to transform English architecture. Gone was the old method of building with its stuffy courts and quadrangles. Great houses at last had views and fresh air.

It is to the covetousness of King James that we owe Hatfield House and whether by accident or design the Cecils have made the King James Drawing Room a mirror of family history. The curtains belong to the 17th century, the windows and furniture to the 18th, the decoration to the 19th and the portraits span the whole time down to the present. (Robert Cecil seems the great absentee. But he is by the staircase, in the

Library, in the Winter Dining Room and I suspect all over the house). James himself, presented by himself, presides in bronze from the mantle-piece. Next but one in line with him hangs a glorious Reynolds. It is of Lady Mary Amelia, wife of the first Marquess of Salisbury, and a close runner-up to Elizabeth in the legends which she has left behind her at Hatfield.



The Long Gallery

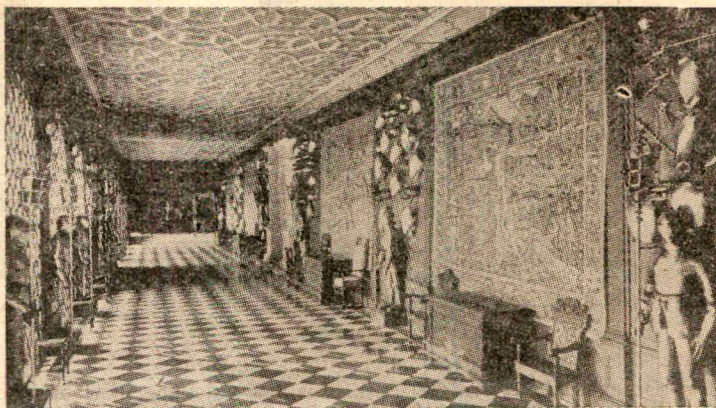
Indeed from the death of Robert Cecil in 1612 until the advent of Lady Mary Amelia in the middle of the 18th century, the Cecil records are not momentous. It is the house that is the principal character. The second Earl, during the Civil War, sided first with the King and then with Cromwell. (Charles I, as prisoner, stayed at Hatfield House on his way to his trial in London). This Earl comes down to us as 'My simple Lord Salisbury.' It is how he is described by Pepys who saw him in Hatfield Church on a far-off Sunday morning in October, 1664. Pepys was more interested in the house 'and above all the gardens, such,' he wrote, 'as I never saw in my life.'

The house still makes the news in the days of the third Earl. James Duke of York and his wife, fleeing from anti-Catholic rioting in London, decided to seek shelter there. But the Earl, Protestant and impolite, absented himself and left it unprovided. So that when the Duke arrived he had to send into the town for food and candles. Even more eccentric was the fourth Earl but he bequeathed to Hatfield its principal tourist-stunt. For, at first he favoured the rebellious Duke of Monmouth and hung his portrait on the stairs. But, uncertain how the rebellion might end, he grew uneasy and had his own portrait painted over that of the Duke. In the last century the canvas was

cleaned and Monmouth's head came into view! So now, over the staircase, hangs a strange figure with two heads.

The fifth Earl, we are informed, was remarkable only for his large turned-out feet. But he married an energetic lady who founded a school near the old Palace and, above all, planted the wonderful copper beeches which today—after more than two hundred years—form such beautiful views from the great windows. The sixth Earl claims attention only for the injury which he did to the house. Feeling overpowered perhaps by too strong-minded a mother, he refused to live there and sold off the family plate.

But with the seventh Earl, the Cecil family comes into prominence again. He it was who married the Lady Mary Amelia in the Reynolds portrait and became the first Marquess. For twenty-four years he was Chancellor to George III who in June, 1800, came to Hatfield Park to review the Militia. In honour of



The Armoury

the occasion the King presented the Earl with a portrait which now hangs in the Winter Dining Room. He is represented standing in Hatfield Park and the house appears in the background.

The Lady Mary Amelia, first Marchioness of Salisbury, was also the first of the great political hostesses whose sway, alas, has ended with the days of austerity and the passing of Londonderry House. She brought breeding, gaiety, and courage to Hatfield House—and got away with anything she wanted. Thus she held card parties in the Long Gallery on Sunday afternoons and even saw to it that her butler should announce in church such items of news as: 'Her Ladyship's band will play on the terrace this afternoon.'

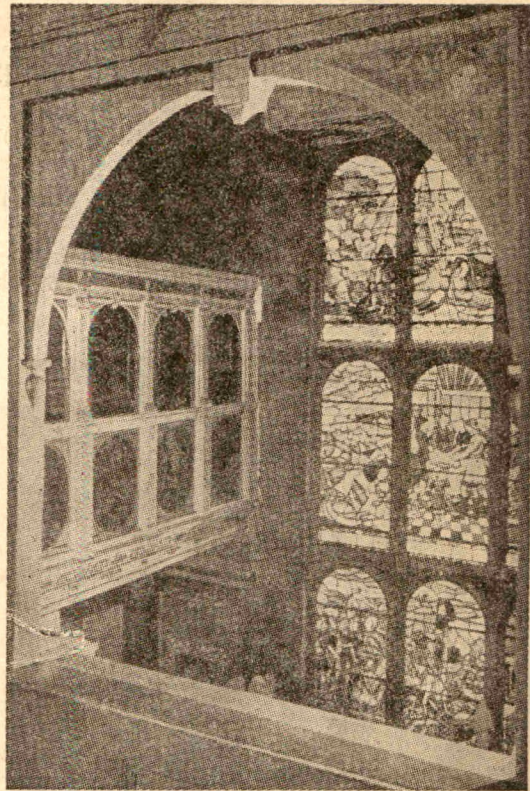
She started the Hertfordshire Foxhounds and continued to hunt when she was nearly blind. It was this approaching blindness which led to her death in the famous fire at Hatfield which is described by Dickens in *Oliver Twist*. (She was writing in her room and had sent for more tapers. It is thought that stooping over her desk she set her head-dress alight).

Another lovely if lesser portrait in the King James Drawing Room is that of the second Marchioness by Sir Thomas Lawrence. She was a friend of the Duke of Wellington whose portrait also hangs here. He gave her the many captured banners and trophies there are in the house and he used always to wear the coat of the Hertfordshire Hounds when he was campaigning. It was the second Marquess, her husband, who made Hatfield the easiest of all the great historic houses to get at. In 1850, when the railway was being constructed, he determined to have it at his very gates! (The Great North Road was deflected to make this possible). As a result, and I have timed it, one can reach Hatfield from Westminster in exactly one hour. But the house is not spoilt in any way by the nearness of the railway. Standing high on a hill it is shut off from station and trains by the massing of trees in the Park.

All the guides and guide-books, of course, lead up to the third Marquess as if he were the greatest of the Hatfield Cecils. Leader of the Tory Party and three times Prime Minister in the time of Victoria he sits solidly at the entrance to Hatfield Park in an enormous statue put up by his admirers. There is also a painting of him by Richmond. With his deep-set eyes and broad black beard he seems the very embodiment of triumphant terrestrial Toryism. He is not to my taste. I prefer the portrait of his grandson, Lord David Cecil. He too is in the King James Drawing Room, painted as a child and with his mother. As a great admirer of his books, and especially of his life of Metternich, I was delighted to meet him at about six years old! Gentle and eager he seemed, which is surely the right beginning for an eminent historian. Two other members of the family, still alive, are Count Cecil of Chelwood (perhaps better known as Lord Robert Cecil) renowned for his keen interest in the League of Nations, and his brother Lord Quicksand (formerly Lord Hugh Cecil), who was Provost of Eton College from 1936 to 1944.

But this room is too crowded with history for comfort. Leading out of it is the Long Gallery. It is a peaceful shadowed place with patches of sunshine cast by the windows. Here, behind some sliding panels, and then behind some iron gates, and then behind a sheet of glass, is what the Cecils evidently consider the loveliest thing in the house. It is a crystal and gold posset set and was a wedding present to Mary Tudor when she married Philip II of Spain. It is by the great Italian craftsman Benvenuto Cellini.

Long Galleries were intended as an indoor promenade. This must be a delightful one, with its views across the Park, and the family still use it. Except in the lobbies at either end, where there are more Tudor paintings including Henry VIII and all his wives, the walls have only carved panelling for decoration. Otherwise the field is left clear for promenading and admiring the 17th century furniture. But half way down its length and leading out of it is a smaller gallery where Elizabeth's hat and stockings and gloves—and the cradle of Charles I—are to be seen.



The Chapel. East Window

After the Long Gallery comes the Winter Dining Room. In the window stands a long elmwood table cut in a single piece from the tallest imaginable tree.

And so at last we come to the Library. What drama is shut up in one of the cases! Next to a letter in Elizabeth's beautiful handwriting is one from her successor, James I. Elizabeth executed his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and he begins his letter to her 'Madame and dearest Sister' . . . Over the mantelpiece is a portrait of the builder of the house, Robert Cecil. It is in mosaic and was the gift of our Ambassador in Venice who in 1609 had it made there. With the gift he sent a 'spetiall' injunction from the artist that it should be 'set in his true light and at a little

more height for the eye than a coloured picture would require.' A point to remember with mosaics.

There remain the Armoury and the Chapel. The Armoury is another indoor promenade and it is hung with old Gloucestershire tapestries. Much of the armour here was salvaged from Spanish ships after the defeat of the Armada. How small the Spaniards were! Or were we all much shorter in days gone by?

It is most fitting that the tour of the State Rooms should end with the Chapel. The Cecils are great sup-

porters of the Church and prayers are said here daily. The stained glass in the windows is Flemish and was put in when the house was built. Round the chapel runs a little gallery meant for distinguished foreign visitors. Not sympathetic to the Anglican communion—and so perhaps reluctant to come into the body o' the kirk—they could none the less join their hosts in prayer.

Westminster, London, July, 1952.

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ART OF SREEMATI DEVI

By D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

BEFORE I enter into the main features of Sreemati Devi's contributions I may be permitted to make a brief survey of the function of art and how it is executed in keeping with the temperament of the artist.



Goddess Bani

Every form of art reveals a symbol of beauty. The symbol is the outcome of a sincere search and hard labour. The search is initiated by a strong emotion which is always in urgent need of satisfying

a purpose. The purpose aims at a serious project which is a revelation of truth, I mean the truth that underlies the created form, it is the inherent quality. The difficult task of search, discovery and release is not accomplished without effort but we often come across such an expression as "effortless execution." Usually it comes from the pen of over-enthusiastic connoisseurs or critics in the making. The expression is intended to lay emphasis on mastery of technique. However well-meaning the remark might be, it loses its objective and value if false understanding sits on judgement and explanation. It is so indeed when self-constituted critics become desperately ambitious to be artistically bent and intellectually arbitrary.

The expression "effortless" is applicable only to technique because technique stands for a language which is the vehicle that conveys the expression. In the circumstances the load, the distance and the time required to cover the destination have to be adjusted according to the capacity of the carrier.

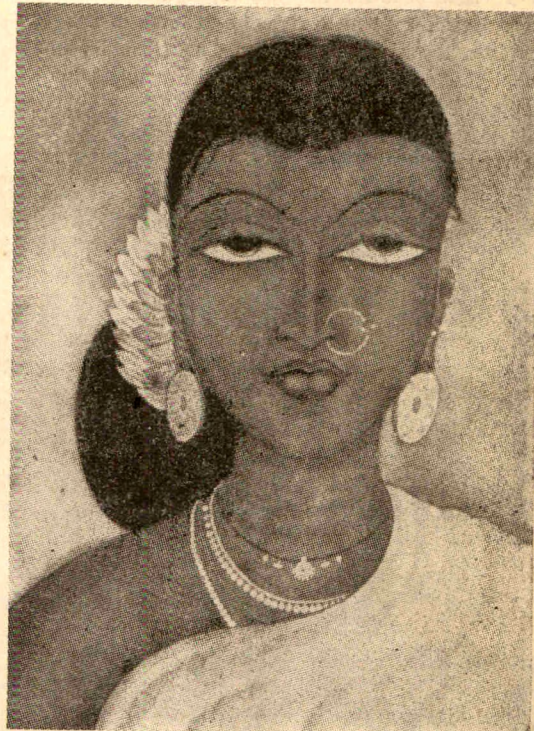
I am constrained to say that many critics, particularly of the new order, do not even know which part of a painting is called technique, how the one is distinct from the other, or why a particular treatment is necessary for a particular theme. Let us compare this aspect with the language we use every day for our exchange of thoughts. The language of our daily use has also its different stages which convey meaning according to the capacity of an individual's knowledge and power of pressing his point of view. For instance, a child's thought and expression will be different from that of an adult and the adult who has cultivated language to be intelligible on an intellectual level will be different from an adult who had not had the benefit of education in this direction. Therefore the understanding of language and what purpose it is going to serve is desirable before an analysis is indulged in. But the current of the day has swept away this common sense.

Presume this unfortunate condition has come to stay on account of a sudden rush for quick cultural attainment. In consequence of which, the enthusiasts of the class I have mentioned find no time or patience to study how a picture is made. The indifference towards a proper understanding of values does not count much so long as some quotations from any article on the modern trend of art find a place in their so-called learned treatises.

honour thrust upon him, or he is condemned by a sweeping remark which effectively crushes his work that might have taken months or years to complete. The wrong thus done in both the cases gets no change for a fair trial because of the cultivated indifference and lack of interest of the public. It is strange that even a cricket or a hockey player is privileged to defend himself if such a situation arose, but, alas, the artist who feels for the masses and speaks



Profile



Village Belle

Criticism as I understand it, in its true sense, is an interpretation of facts as they exist in the patterns, with such suggestions as would be constructive and could be helpful for a progressive outlook and not merely supporting a propaganda just because it is to be a raging fashion of the day. To get at the correct attitude one has to be prepared to face the facts and limit expression to the capacity of one's knowledge. But labour and knowledge do not go well where a quick survey has to be made on impressions which are gained superficially to meet the demands of the press as otherwise their news value is lost. So haste takes the place of speed and the result is frustration.

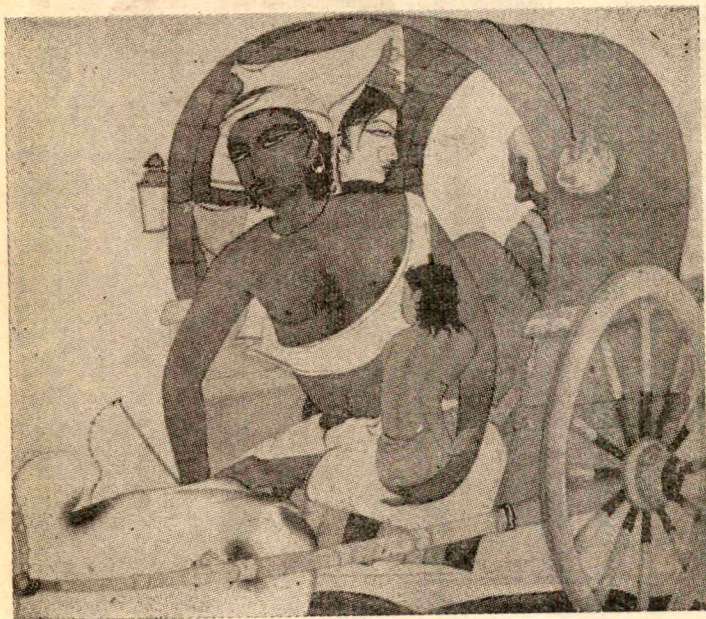
Sense of responsibility under such circumstances is considerably reduced, if not completely disowned. The consequence is a catastrophe as I have already said. Either the artist is boosted up to a dizzy height just to collapse for want of stamina to fit in with the

on their behalf is left at the mercy of these irresponsible critics. This, in spite of the fact that telling stories of joys and sorrows of life through the medium of art lends no little service to the understanding of humanity. Therefore, we cannot but accept the artist's contribution as a great asset that reinforces that strength of the pillars on which grows the structure of civilization. Despite this fact, he remains a condemned being and the pursuit of his religion is considered to be an extravagance in luxury.

It has not come to light yet, that the vocation of an artist is nothing short of a *sadhana*, a *yoga* for which every bit of energy has to be harnessed and concentration accentuated often to meet failures which succeed each other to lead to the path of success. The path goes beyond from one destination to another and so on continues the search. It is something like swimming in the midst of an im-

measurable ocean. Approaching the shore remains only a hope.

We can conclude from this that the genius in this sphere is not born, but he is made as the result of hard struggle. As such, what appears to be effortless or simple on the surface, is really a concealment of labour and complications. Simplicity also in its illusive presentation is nothing other than the sum total of *complications* which is most intriguing. The illusive effect is the outcome of a serious thinking to avoid a clash between the unwanted and the indispensable; each of which is arrogant and insists on staying in a disorderly manner. To establish harmony in such an atmosphere, requires a thorough grip of the subject.



From the fair

This principle is not confined to picture-making alone, but it also applies to sculpture, literature, music, dancing and architecture. Each of the creative arts has a composition of its own. And in each sphere the arrangement is condensed to the bare essential by eliminating the jarring elements. Otherwise the disturbing factors do create a discord which is not the function of art since art stands for harmony and joy.

A well-arranged pattern therefore cannot be accomplished by a beginner, or those who delight in reckless experiments for a successful chaos. The care-free attempts of a beginner, I do not mean the innocent child, but the experienced grown-up, have a tendency to be carried away by the strong emotion which stresses all importance to the subject without considering how the contents of the subject will have

to be revealed. There is again the boosted one who takes for granted that he is an artist. He is a menace to the cause of progress since his belief leads to a conviction and the conviction begets contagion which adds to the number of conceits. In the circumstances, the question of a reference to the facts of nature which can tell the truth does not arise, since reliance on truth threatens a cure. They thrive on ignorance when it is bliss; hence folly is taken as wisdom. Works of these artists excite curiosity on account of a following made by propaganda just because it is something queer. The project has a vested interest which is an exploitation of the artists on the one side and self-glorification of the interested on the other.

The whole question cut short would mean that one must know where to stop. This is where discipline comes in, which is subjected to severe restrictions imposed by the medium and also the limitations of personal experience. But discipline and *sadhana* have been done away with by the fanatic domination of unassimilated modernism borrowed from the West in order to make simplicity an easy affair. No doubt, the objective has been gained since the pictures composed by cubes and cones or so-called dashing strokes create complicated puzzles, and the puzzles are placed on such an intellectual plane or abstract themes as could be hardly understood even by one who is prepared to extend a liberal attitude towards the new movement. Whatever sort of sympathy one may wish to extend, in this respect, the reactions of

truth and falsehood remain opposed to each other, that is to say, a puzzle capable of giving a headache can never be converted into a picture that radiates joy.

In this tumult of life where pride is eclipsed by vanity and haste joins aimless speed to arrive nowhere, one feels a great relief to come in contact with the work of Sreemati Devi. She has all the best assets to grow and I do hope she will.

Patience is her main hold and perseverance is her stimulating force. Combined with these rare qualities that an artist must possess, she has the gift to take any amount of pains to satisfy her mission which is motivated by religious trends and supported by conventions of traditional technique.

I am glad to say that despite the presence of the strong sentimental aspect of religion Sreemati

Devi has not failed to pay due attention to the pattern that translated her subject-matter into a visual form. It is indeed a difficult performance as one is apt to be carried away by the devotional aspect which often ignores the aesthetic delight that the form beautiful can give. It would not be out of place if I mention that out of millions who visit temples very few see the beauty of the shrine. Beauty, as such, needs entirely a different approach which may be associated with Bhakti but absolute Bhakti does not depend on this form or that to meet its objective, since the quality of the form to be worshipped is built up in imagination which would work even if the form were not visible, or devoid of aesthetic appeal.

She has chosen wash and tempera as her medium for the execution of her works. The effect is influenced by the Rajput, Moghul and Ajanta schools, the last being the dominating one in respect of form and colour scheme as well. The arrangement of colour has a musical quality. It is no wonder that it should have been so, because, in my opinion, her musical attainment excels her graphic expressions. It is due to the fact that the form of art created by the artist would reflect on her whole being.

Coming back to the arrangement of colour, I should say it is sober and a source of relief to the

eye and the mind when contrasted with the effect produced by the ultra-modernists. The colours of their choice are hardly good to their neighbours. They are restless and scream till they shake your healthy nerves and force them to succumb to a physical pain.

Sreemati Devi could have been easily recognised as a genius for the amount of pains she takes to see the minutest details carried out in order, and the arrangements of the composition balanced to the best of her knowledge.

But details too have their dangerous elements since all of them do not make for profit unless they are filtered. This is where a scientific training is required but she could not go through rigid discipline for not being able to work under a master. She is entirely self-taught and extremely shy. This modesty prevented her from exhibiting her works before the public earlier. But for the gentle and continuous persuasion of her brother, Mr. Duraiswamy, this exhibition would not have been possible.*

* An introductory speech delivered by D. P. Roy Chowdhury on August 25, 1952, asking C. Rajagopalachari to open an Exhibition of Paintings by Miss Y. G. Sreemati, under the auspices of the South India Society of Painters, at the Museum Theatre, Madras.

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REMINISCENCE OF M. ROMAIN ROLLAND

By PANDIT DEVACHARYA, M.A.

It was perhaps January, 1933, when I was finally persuaded by a friend of mine, who was at that time studying Comparative Philology in the Post-Graduate class, to read the *Life of John Christopher*. For sometime previous to this I had discarded novel-reading as a harmful occupation, dangerous to mental peace and spiritual progress and not at all justified because of emotional disturbances easily created by a powerful writer, depicting life in an atmosphere of romantic extravagance. How I took to M. Romain Rolland's Nobel prize winner, I do not exactly recollect now. Perhaps, I had argued that a friend who is interested in Comparative Philology as a career must be a level-headed fellow, and a book with the title of a biography should be considered with prospects of mental elevation. Being a bigot—almost a fanatic lover of physiocratic simplicity I had developed a number of prejudices, and I was at that time unable to find out a single profession or job which could satisfy the demands of my inmost soul. I was restless and as storm-tossed as John Christopher—the subject of my study.

Imagine my surprise when I turned over the first page and knew the baby was born. An ugly child. I could hardly swallow the description. A hero is always beautiful to look at, that is, what the average reader expects from the author. But then all babies are ugly at the time of birth and John Christopher like the ugly duckling might still grow up into a fine-looking young lad. I maintained my hope and persevered through the labyrinth of musical discussions and other details of the social and family background. I was amazed to discover that the father of the hero could be a drunkard with a violent temper and the mother could be drawn from the class of the ordinary masses. And then girl after girl came and went out of John Christopher. It was difficult for me nursed in Puritanic traditions and prejudices to forgive John Christopher for what appeared to me the ordinary man's passion for sex. How idiotic of him to be so intimate with Ada, a woman with no soul, I supposed. O what nonsense that a character with vast dreams for brother man and endowed with rare creative genius should fall down at every new turn of the road like a reed shaken by the



M. Romain Rolland and Gandhiji

wind of sexual hunger. I was then myself young and knew little about the tragedies of human nature.

Any way I finished volume after volume and I was agreeably surprised to meet Marie Antoinette in the third volume. She was the daughter of a bankrupt banker who committed suicide. She had made the supreme sacrifice of her life in living and earning only for the sake of her brother's success; and though as governess she was noticed by John Christopher who was also a music-tutor in the same family, she was never addressed by the hero. When at the opera everybody ridiculed or ignored Christopher's new music-composition, she was mortally aggrieved. She sent her silent solace through the gaze of her eyes. She was aware of John Christopher who was equally aware of her. Both had fallen in a state of mutual attraction and mental sympathy and this time John Christopher came up to the expectations of an Easterner's standard; and I thought that at last the hero was going to settle in life. How nice it would be for a restless soul to be looked after by such a woman of sweetness and heroic self-sacrifice! And how poetically just it would be for the author to reward such a character of nobility who has been the victim of life-long suffering without compensation of any form—nay, not even in the form of a single sentence of love from any youthful suitor! I mused and nursed my hopes. O cruel! the author simply finished her in one sentence, so to say: She

had developed signs of consumption, went to Switzerland and passed away.

I can hardly describe the agonising pathos of the story at this juncture. Alone and friendless a young woman of rare charm passes away and the author hardly stops in his narrative and goes on to describe the friendship that now develops between Antoinette's brother Olivier and Christopher. I could hardly concentrate on these chapters as the wound was still fresh in my mind.

I could not persuade myself that it was only a story I was reading. For days and nights during one whole week, the woman, who passed away from the world of life I shared, haunted my memory. There perhaps a private context of this trial of my abilities. I had an aunt who had been given in marriage to a fair-looking boy when she was barely nine. The boy died soon after marriage and the girl widow—handsome maid who later on received high education also—had to face the realities of life without the consolation of motherhood. I had heard that she had a desire to adopt me as her son; but another aunt—my father's sister—stood in the way; and the lady pined away before she was even twenty-six years of age.

Having lost my mother when I was only ten months old, and being fed on the breasts of kindly ladies during brief intervals when their own kiddies did not want to suck, I was a sensitive child from early

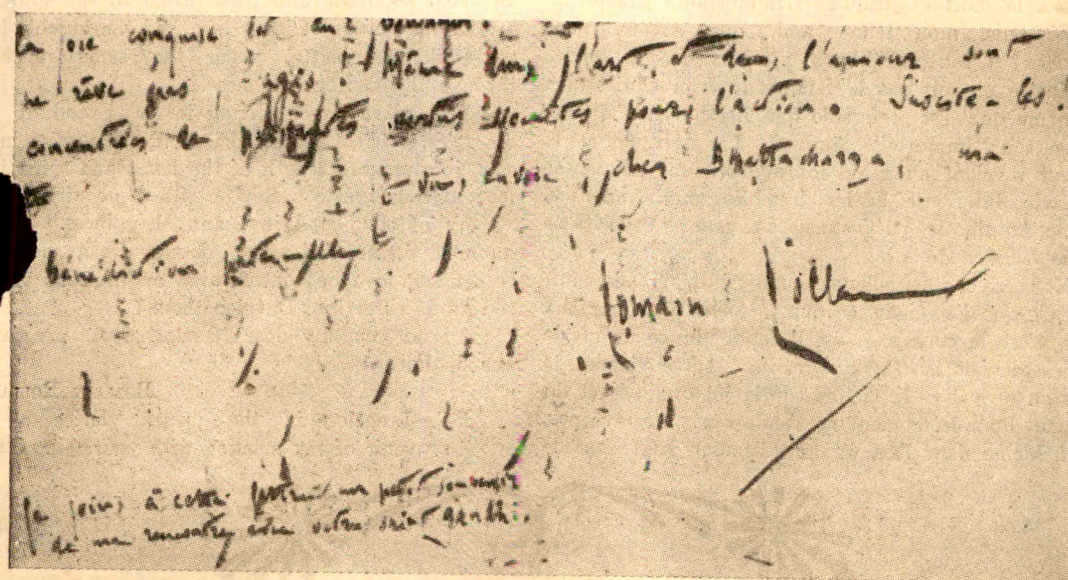
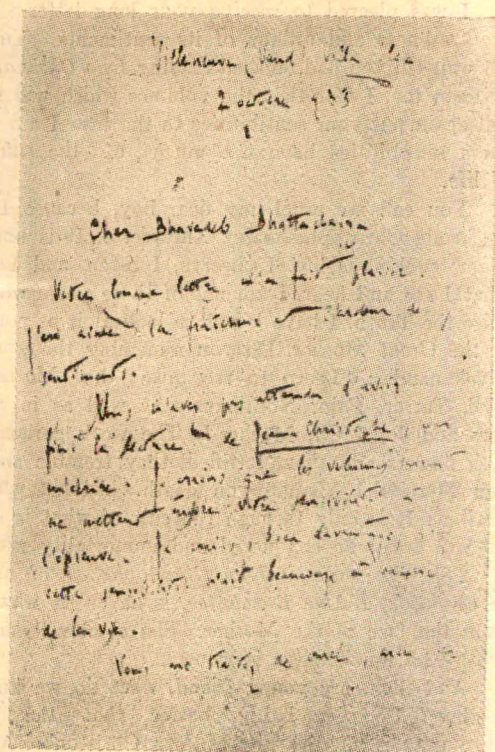
boyhood. I could therefore hardly resist the temptation of tearing off a number of pages from the first note-book I could lay my hands on. I wrote a long letter to M. Romain Rolland in which I unburdened my mind in a boyish manner and accused him of heartlessness in having disposed off Antoinette.

"... No doubt," I wrote, "the sudden removal of

Antoinette from the stage heightens the pathos; but it verges on the distressingly painful. The author who inflicts such pain on his readers may not be pardoned. You are cruel—cruel beyond measure . . ."

M. Romain Rolland is a big name and I was and am still the man of the street. I had naturally doubts about my getting a reply. Months passed, no reply came. I was a bit ashamed of my rash venture. I did not disclose to any of my friends in the post-graduate class—and I had a good number of them—that I had addressed a letter to Rolland. I kept it as a secret and ultimately in the course of a few months I forgot the whole incident. I had then lost all hopes of getting any reply. It was a big surprise for me when one day in November, 1933, the postal peon delivered to me a bluish registered packet with acknowledgement due. The packet bore the seal of an unknown foreign post-office. Naturally I could not be sure if it would be the long-awaited reply from Rolland. I opened the packet—a big envelope with chambers—and found a photograph of Rolland and Gandhiji signed by Rolland in his own handwriting. In another chamber there was the letter in reply given in his own handwriting in French.

Being innocently ignorant of French I could only decipher my name addressed in the beginning of the letter and saw the date of the letter given at the top. I ran to a friend of mine living in the neighbourhood. He knew French and was himself an ardent admirer of *Jean Christophe*. He immediately translated it for me excepting that portion which was underlined and in which Rolland was referring to a quotation from Swami Vivekananda. Those lines, my friend informed me, were rather stiff and he would not risk his own version. This portion remained untranslated for long



years because of my failure to contact any good French scholar who would do the job gladly for me. Recently I have been lucky in getting the letter completely deciphered and translated by a lady scholar of the French embassy.

True copy of Rolland's letter in French

Villeneuve (Vand) Villa Olga
2 Octobre 1933

Cher Bhavaddeb Bhattacharya,

Votre longue lettre m'a fait plaisir. J'en aime la fraîcheur et l'ardeur des sentiments. Vous n'avez pas attendu d'avoir fini la lecture de *Jean Christophe* pour m'écrire. Je crains que les volumes suivant ne mettent encore votre sensibilité à l'épreuve. Je crains, bien davantage, que cette sensibilité n'ait beaucoup à souffrir de la vie.

Vous me traitez de cruel, mon cher garçon, parce que je n'ai pas donné Antoinette pour femme à Christophe. Ce n'est pas moi qui suis cruel c'est la vie—Je l'observe je l'écoute, et je dis ce que je vois et entends. Je ne suis pas poète qui gardent la vérité. J'ai appris à la regarder comme vous regardez la grande mère . . . Vous souvenez-vous des paroles de Swami Vivekananda ?

"Apprenez à reconnaître la Mère, aussi bien dans le Mal, la Terreur, la Douleur, la Néant que dans la Douceur et la Joie ! Oh mère ! Les faibles entourent ton cou de guirlandes de fleurs et puis, ils tremblent terrifiés et l'appellent du nom de la Miséricordieuse ! Méditez sur la Mort ! Adorez le Terrible ! Seulement par le culte du Terrible, le Terrible peut être vaincu et l'immortalité gagnée."

Le vrai sens de *Jean Christophe* comme de l'Annette de mon "*Âme Enchantée*," est de ne jamais remonter devant le visage de la Mère. Elle les escorte jusque'à la mort et jusqu'à "*L'immortalité gagnée*."

Et puis, mon jeune ami, que savons-nous des destinées ? C'est probablement mieux que la tendre Antoinette ne soit pas la femme de *Jean Christophe*. De même qu'il est préférable que Beethoven n'ait pas épousé son "*Immortelle Aimée*." La solitude et la douleur révèlent au génie les mystérieuses puissances de la vie intérieure. Et les humbles âmes aimantes, comme Antoinette, parviennent aux mêmes révélations par le sacrifice de soi.

Nous vivons actuellement une ère de grands combats. Ce que j'enseigne, ce que je tâche d'inspirer aux âmes, c'est le courage, c'est l'énergie du cœur et de l'esprit devant la tragique réalité. Après viendra le repos du rêve dans la victoire de la joie conquise et du bonheur. Pour le moment ne t'endors pas, ne rêve pas, agis ! Même dans l'art et dans l'amour, sont concen-

trés de puissantes vertus secrètes pour l'action. Susciteles—Je vous envoie, mon cher Bhattacharya, ma bénédiction paternelle.

ROMAIN ROLLAND

P.S.—Je joins à cette lettre un petit souvenir de ma rencontre avec votre saint Gandhi.

Dear Bhavaddeb Bhattacharya,

I was pleased to receive your long letter. I like the freshness and ardour of its sentiments. You did not wait till you had finished reading *Jean Christophe* to write to me. I fear that the volumes which will follow will again put your sensibilities to the test. I am afraid these sensibilities have not much of the suffering of life.

You call me cruel, my dear boy, because I have not made Christophe marry Antoinette. It is not that I am cruel, it is life. I observe, I listen, and I relate what I see and hear. I am not of those poets who disguise the Truth. I have learnt to look at it as you look at the Great Mother. Do you remember the words of Vivekananda : "Learn to recognize the Mother in Evil, Terror, Pain, Nothingness as well as in Sweetness and Joy ! Oh, Mother ! The weak garland you with flowers and then, terrified, they tremble and call you Merciful ! Meditate on death. Adore what is terrible. It is only through the cult of what is dreadful will dread be conquered and immortality won."

The true sense of *Jean Christophe*, as of *Annette* in my book, *L'Âme Enchantée*, is never to draw back from the face of the Mother. She escorts them until death and immortality is won.

And then, my young friend, what do we know of destiny ? It is probably better that the gentle Antoinette is not the wife of *Jean Christophe*. As it is better that Beethoven did not marry his "*Immortal Beloved*." Solitude and pain reveal to the spirit the mysterious powers of inner life. And the humble loving souls, like Antoinette, reach the same revelation through the sacrifice of oneself.

We are at present living in a period of great struggles. What I teach, what I try to inspire in the soul, is courage, strength of the heart and spirit in the face of tragic reality. Repose will come after the victory of conquered joy and happiness. For the moment, do not fall asleep, do not dream, and in art and love be concentrated on puissant secrets of all action. Develop them !

I send you, my dear Bhattacharya, my father's benediction.

ROMAIN ROLLAND

P.S.—I enclose in the present letter a small souvenir of my meeting with your saint Gandhi



SOME RECENT BOOKS ON THE TANTRAS

By PROF. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

AN extensive literature was produced during a fairly long period both by the Hindus and the Buddhists known as the Tantras or the Agamas that have been regulating the religious life of the vast majority of the Indian people. But it is a pity that the literature has not received as much attention as it deserved at the hands of modern scholars. This is in no small measure due to the fact that the teachings of the Tantras are held as close secrets by their followers and it is difficult to get at their real significance on many points. To add to this there were revolting rites and practices prevalent among people professing the Tantric form of religion and described in a portion of the literature, partly genuine and partly spurious. A number of scholars have from time to time made laudable attempts at interpreting the contents of this literature though their conclusions cannot be considered, for the reasons stated above, to have always been accurate. We may mention here three of the latest publications in this line which we have received for reviewing.

*The Garland of Letters or Studies in the Mantra Shastra** by Sir John Woodroffe is a collection of essays on the cardinal principles of the worship of Shiva-Shakti. The work was first published about thirty years back. We have now before us a new edition in a handsomely got-up volume brought out by a well-known publishing firm of Madras. Students of Indology, particularly those interested in the Tantras, will extend their hearty welcome to it and be thankful to the enterprising publishers for issuing and proposing to issue similar editions of other works of the great savant whose writings for the first time succeeded in attracting sympathetic notice of the world of scholars to a phase of Indian religion and culture that has been much neglected and evidently misunderstood in these days.

There are widespread misconceptions about the nature and contents of the Tantras. We find an echo of this in the *Tantras, Their Philosophy and Occult Practices†* which identifies Saktism with Tantric religion and makes the dogmatic statement (p. 34) that "all the Tantras deal with the worship of Sakti." In the Preface, however, curiously enough, "Tantrism" is distinguished from Saivism, Saktism and Vaisnavism. There are similar other cases of apparent inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the book. The *pancha*

makaras of the Tantras, it is pointed out, are intended to be taken in a figurative sense and not in their primary sense as done by 'vicious people more from a desire to give a sanctimonious air to their animal appetites than from real ignorance' (p. 113). Almost in the same breath the significance of the use of *pancha makaras* in their crude form is also explained (pp. 125-6). There is an old view about the close connection between the Tantras and the Sankhya system of philosophy. But according to the present book this is a 'wrong' and absolutely 'erroneous' belief held by even 'many educated people' of the modern times (p. 21). The manner of presentation in the book is not quite happy and the language is occasionally defective.

It is a relief to turn to *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism‡* by Dr. S. B. Das Gupta which throws welcome light on an obscure aspect of Tantric religion. Buddhist Tantras are little known in these days and Tantric Buddhism has a very narrow circle of followers in a comparatively small area. Dr. Das Gupta has spared no pains in reconstructing an account of this obsolete creed on the basis of a literature only a small portion of which has been published. He had therefore to collect considerable material from manuscripts deposited in different oriental libraries in India and abroad. The work is divided into six chapters which deal with topics like the different schools of Tantric Buddhism, the theological position of the Tantric Buddhists, the element of esoteric *yoga* and the argument of the Tantric Buddhists in defence of their *yoga*. A chapter on the literature and renowned authors thereof would have been welcome.

As regards the relation between Tantrism of the Buddhists and that of the Hindus Dr. Das Gupta has tried to show that there is no essential difference between the two. "The ultimate goal of both the schools," to quote the words of the learned author, "is the perfect state of union—union between the two aspects of the reality and the realisation of the non-dual nature of the self and the not-self. The principle of Tantricism being fundamentally the same everywhere, the superficial differences, whatever these may be, supply only different tone and colour" (p. 3). According to him, "Buddhism in the later phases of Mahayana seems to have adopted these (Tantric) practices, which were a growth of the soil and as such a common heritage of the Hindus and the Buddhists" (pp. 2-3). And gradually, in course of time, all the features of Tantricism including even the "Sexo-yogic Tantric practices" found their way into Buddhism.

* Second edition. Published by Ganesh & Co., (Madras) Ltd., Madras-17. Price Rs. 15.

† Edited by D. N. Bose, author of *Hariamsa*. Revised by Hiralal Haldar. Published by Dharendra Nath Bose, Proprietor, Oriental Publishing Co., 11-D, Arpuli Lane, Calcutta-12. Price not mentioned.

‡ Published by the University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 7-8.

"But the aim of these practices is not always the fulfilment of some or other mundane desire (though instances of them are not wanting), but these practices with their minutest details are said to be undertaken only for the attainment of the Bodhichitta, i.e., for the realisation of perfect knowledge and for the uplift of

all beings" (pp. 70-71). It will be seen that the Hindu Tantras also had similar high ideals placed before their followers. The book will thus be interesting not only to students of Buddhism but to students of Brahmanism as well.

—O:—

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SELECTIONS FROM THE NAGPUR RESIDENCY RECORDS, Vol. I (1799—1806): Edited by Dr. H. N. Sinha. Published by Nagpur Government Printing. Pp. xxxii + 565. Price Rs. 12.

Though the Bombay Government has been the first and most successful among the Maratha States to publish its historical records and Baroda a very good second (with much later and poorer materials), the Bhonsle Government's successor has made a good beginning with this volume. The early British dealings with the Nagpur Government are available in print in the State papers of Warren Hastings and Volume V of the Poona Residency Correspondence Series (*Nagpur Affairs, 1781—1820*, edited by Y. M. Kale). But the latter does not replace the book under review, which is fuller and more varied and has a value of its own for purely provincial details. Dr. Sinha has done a laborious work well. The crude old spelling of the thousands of oriental names in the volume could have been modernised only at an immense cost in retyping the entire press copy, and this, I know from my experience as joint-editor of the Poona Residency Records, is impossible in these days of economy. It ought to be kept in every research library. These English records are touched at the end by the Marathi volume, *Atihasik Patravayavahar*, 2nd Edition, edited by Sardesai, Kulkarni and Kale (1933).

J. SARKAR

THE VEDIC AGE (The History of the Indian People, Vol. I): General Editor R. C. Majumdar, Asst. Editor, A. D. Pusalker. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Pp. 565. Price 35 shillings.

This is the first instalment of a noble national work sponsored by the *Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti*, an institution started in Bombay in 1944, for this very purpose by our distinguished countryman Dr. (now H. E.) K. M. Munshi with the generous support of the well-known industrial magnate Sri G. D. Birla. The work is designed to be a comprehensive history of India in ten volumes dealing according to the most approved methods of historical criticism with the

whole history of our land from the earliest times to the present. When completed, it will form a standing monument to our newly-awakened spirit of constructive endeavour in the service of our motherland. It is impossible in the course of a short book-review to notice even all the important chapters of the present volume and we have necessarily to make a selection. The title of the volume, to begin with, is admittedly anomalous, as it "begins from the dawn of human activity in India" (Preface p. 25) and indeed further afield with the story of the Aryans in their original home, to which is prefixed "an introductory section dealing with certain general topics bearing upon the history of India as a whole" (*ibid*). In chapter I the learned General Editor deals at length with the difficulties in the way of reconstruction of ancient Indian history and its special appeal, while shorter notices follow as regards the methods of reconstructing the mediaeval and modern history of India. Chapter II from the same learned pen describes the sources of Indian history under the three heads Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern. The author treats his subject with his usual lucidity, thoroughness and critical acumen, but we may be permitted to make a few remarks. On p. 47 he refers casually to "the lists of teachers in various Vedic texts as well as writings of Buddhists, Jains and other religious sects along with 'songs and poems in praise of king heroes referred to in Vedic literature.'" Instead of this vague and meagre statement, one would have expected from the author a fuller consideration of the Vedic sources (under the heads of the *vamsas* and the *gotra-pravara* lists and the *gathas* and *narasamsis* and the *itihasas* and *puranas*) and of the Buddhist and Jaina sources (under the heads of sacred biography and church history). The author's statement (p. 49) about the absence of Purana-like texts in the post-Gupta period ignores the evidence of such a work as the *Manjusri-mulakalpalata*, while his account of the *Harshacharita* and the *Rajatarangini* (pp. 49-50) is silent about such features of these works as vivid characterisation of individuals and types and brilliant descriptions of contemporary manners. Instead of making a dubious reference (p. 56) to "kings or

states" as probably issuing the so-called punch-marked coins, the author might have mentioned that silver coins of this type with five obverse marks have been shown by the recent Taxila excavations to fall into two distinct categories. Of these one, consisting of small thick coins, is now generally assigned to the imperial Mauryas, while the other, comprising large thin pieces, is attributed to the earlier ruling houses. Chapter III gives a good account of the progress of Indian archaeological excavations under British rule from the expert pen of the late lamented Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. Of this chapter we have only to complain that the Sanchi excavations should not have been dismissed in one single sentence (p. 73), while the account of archaeological explorations in Greater India is too sketchy and imperfect to be of much use. In chapter VIII Dr. S. K. Chatterji presents us with a highly suggestive and important description of the contribution made by each of India's component racial stocks to the common culture. Chapter IX consists of an excellent summary (with well-selected illustrations) of the salient features of the Indus civilisation, written by Dr. A. D. Pusalker, though his statement (p. 195) that "the Rigvedic Aryans probably contributed their share to the evolution of the Indus Valley civilisation" is not likely to command general acceptance. In a very learned chapter (chapter X) Dr. B. K. Ghosh, an accomplished scholar (alas, too soon cut off in the midst of his activities) states on what appears to be conclusive grounds the case against India as the original home of the Aryans and then proceeds step by step to show that this last is most likely to be sought in South Russia. After this the short Appendix containing a list of arguments for the theory locating the original Aryan home in India appears to be quite unnecessary, and the General Editor himself appears to be of this opinion when he says elsewhere (Preface p. 26) that this theory has "a sentimental appeal to Indians" but is believed by few scholars today. The very high standard of scholarship shown by the author of Ch. X is well-maintained in his two following chapters (Chs. XI-XII), of which one describes the relations between the ancient cultures of India and Iran and the other presents us with a general review of Vedic literature from the Rigveda to the Srautasutras. The concluding portion of this work deals in successive sections with the Vedic period under the captions, 'The Age of the Rik-Samhita,' 'The Age of the Later Samhitas' (add. and the Brahmanas), and 'The Age of the Upanishads and Sutras' (read, Kalpasutras). In these sections Dr. B. K. Ghosh contributes very useful chapters (Chs. XVI, XX and XXIV) on art and literature, while useful chapters on the legal aspects of Vedic civilisation, viz., political and legal institutions (Chs. XVII, XXI, XXV), religion and philosophy (Chs. XVIII, XXII and XXVI) and social and economic conditions (Chs. XIX, XXIII and XXVII) are added by Dr. V. M. Apte. On these latter chapters we propose to make a few remarks. In Ch. XVII, the author should have added some references to the status of the king's retainers and dependants (*ibhya, upasti*, etc.) and the order of princes and nobles (*rajaputra*) as well as the limitations imposed upon the king's authority by the conception of an all-powerful law or custom and still more by the separation of the priestly and ruling functions. Ch. XXI in its account of political theory

should have included, on the one hand, fuller notices of the theories of creation of the divine king by the will of the Highest Deity, (Prajapati or Varuna) and on the other hand, some references to the ideas of "divine covenant" for strengthening the political society of the gods. The account of political theory in Ch. XXV is silent about such important topics as the sources of Dharma and of *vyavahara-law*, while it fails to bring into clear relief the opposing principles and clauses of the law relating to the king's authority as well as obligations. Throughout these chapters no mention is made of the striking theories of the relations of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas with the others as well as *inter se*. The volume concludes with a good bibliography which is exhaustive for the chapter on Indus Civilisation, two maps showing the division into botanical regions and the distribution of the Indus Valley sites, as well as a valuable index of nearly 20 pages. Occasionally, however, the bibliography is altogether a blank (as in the case of references to archaeological explorations in Greater India), or out-of-date (as in the reference to the first (1923) edition of the present reviewer's work *A History of Hindu Political Theories*).

Altogether the publication of the present volume is a great event in the history of Indological studies in this country and abroad, for which we owe a deep debt of gratitude to the enlightened founders of the Institute, and especially and above all to the learned editors of this volume as well as the scholars who have contributed to it its different chapters.

U. N. GHOSHAL

GANDHIJI'S AUTO-BIOGRAPHY : *Abridged by Bharatan Kumarappa. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. February, 1952. Pp. xi + 296. Price Rs. 2.*

The original of the Auto-biography runs to well over six hundred pages (Second edition, 1940). The Navajivan Publishing House has therefore thought it fit to bring out the present abridgement at a very popular price. Mahadev Desai also once compressed the book, but that was done specifically for school-children. The present abridgement however retains much more of the original than the former, for it is meant for the general reader.

DRINK, DRUGS AND GAMBLING : *By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. January, 1952. Pp. xi + 175. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Gandhiji was an ardent social reformer, and one of the principal items of his endeavours in this direction was temperance work. He wrote often on drink and drugs in the *Young India* and *Harijan*, and also invited others to write on the same subject. Such articles have been gathered together in the present booklet. They are altogether 97 in number.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

HISTORY AND REGISTER OF KRISHNAGAR COLLEGE (1846-1945) : *Part I—History, compiled by Tarak Nath Talukdar. Part II—Register, compiled by Nirmalkanti Majumdar. With a Foreword by Principal J. M. Sen. Price Rs. 10.*

Like the History and Register of the Presidency as well as the Hugli College, this is a publication of Government of West Bengal—Education Department. In the history of modern education in Bengal, Krishnagar College occupies a prominent place. Lord

William Bentinck settled once for all the controversy over the medium of instruction in secondary and higher stages of education, which was raging for the previous ten years, by his famous Resolution of 7th March, 1835. Since then English schools and colleges multiplied. Krishnagar College, though founded a decade later, was one of the finest fruits of the government's educational policy. The College was started as a Government institution, but the zeal and contribution of the local people, headed by the Maharaja of Nadia, hastened its fruition within a few months from the issue of the Government circular, on 1st October, 1845. The public meeting held on the 18th November of that year for this purpose is very important, and though the author has drawn upon the account of the meeting, published in *The Friend of India*, he would have done well to get it published in *extenso*.

In the short compass of fifty-four pages, however, nothing but a rapid survey of the achievements of the college can be expected. But even in this, the author has entertained us with many interesting topics and observations. The views of Principal Lobb on higher education in Bengal simply betray the mentality of at least a section of those who guided our educational policy at the time. The statement of Umesh Chandra Datta, the first officiating Indian Principal of the College, on the utility of Bengali medium, at least in History, Geography and Mathematics, in the higher stages of University education, is very refreshing and is yet to be materialised. It is also refreshing to find a Principal propose to the D.P.I. for eschewing Sanskrit for ever, while at another time the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Richard Temple exhorting the students to take to Sanskrit studies seriously. Principal Satish Chandra De's stress upon the loyalty of the students during the revolutionary activities of the first World War will also sound queer to the reader of Independent India. Mr. Talukdar, even in the space at his disposal, has done considerable justice to the academic and extra-academic activities of the premier institution of Central Bengal. Krishnagar College had the possibilities of becoming a fullfledged university, but the State policy changed from time to time, and once had to be demoted to a second-grade College in the time of Sir George Campbell! The author had to ransack many records, both in MSS and in print to prepare this history. The stamp of his industry and research is evident at every page.

One word should be said on the *Register*. To compile the names of the students and the instructing staff for a hundred years, is, to say the least, a herculean task. Like Mr. Talukdar, Mr. Majumdar had to handle records both in manuscripts as well as in print to ascertain many things regarding each individual whether student or teacher. Principal Sen's informative Foreword, tracing the governmental activities regarding the foundation of a college in Nadia for Sanskrit studies upto the foundation of first-grade English College at its headquarters, has enhanced the value of the publication. For the historian of modern education in Bengal this volume will very well serve as a source-book. It will prove instructive even to the lay reader.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE VOICE OF A POET: A collection of Subramanya Bharati's Poems. Published by the Bharati Tamil Sangham, 93 Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta.

Subramanya Bharati lived during the Swadeshi period of the Bengal Anti-Partition days, and in the introduction we get an estimate of his life and work. "Bharati, the poet, was the voice of the newly-awakened national consciousness. He is the father of the present era in Tamil . . ." What that fatherhood has meant to the evolution of this particular culture, enshrined in a provincial language, spoken by 3 crores of people, is found described in the publisher's note. It quotes Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, whose balanced use of words is an art in itself, "Just as in ancient days, Vyasa and Valmiki served human progress and culture, so has Poet Subramania Bharati the Tamils. In recent times by his writings . . ."

Again, "he wove into song" what had "preceded Gandhi," whose field had been prepared by men and women from Ram Mohun Roy to Dadabhai Naoroji, Vivekananda, Tilak, Bipin Chandra, Aurobindo and their other colleagues like Upadhyaya Brahmabandhab. The poet stands apart as the voice of ages, ancient and modern, throwing a bridge of reconciliation of creeds and races.

Bharati's life-story, its human details, are not given in this booklet of 48 pages only—a defect which the publishers propose to remedy on the occasion of the next Bharati Day—December next. The present attempt gives us an idea of the infinite moods of Bharati—his worship of the country as Mother. In the Introduction (IX) he has his quarrels with the world when the Mother bade him:

Sing and soar with a song
The sickness and poverty of the land,
Sing and forge with a song
The peoples of the earth into one love-knit band.
And then the Mother's voice is heard
"No, my poet, sing of Me."

Liberty (The "Mother" here) is a jealous goddess who exacts the last ounces of blood and tears, so that She may win. In his own life Subramanya Bharati paid this price; he died young, at about 1921, at the age of 45. The British regime drove him to the French Settlement at Pondicherry where Aurobindo Ghose had taken shelter. Thither had come from Britain V. V. Iyer, a Tamil prose writer of note, a friend of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and others from Bengal, Maharashtra and the Punjab. In this company Bharati passed a few happy years, afflicted with poverty though these were. The Aurobindo Ashram can throw the needed light on this period, and the Bharati Sangham can easily arrange to have a little work carried there.

OUTER MONGOLIA AND ITS
NATIONAL POSITION: By Gerrard M.
Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd.,
Price 25s. net.

The Communist victory and the consolidation of that victory in China has increased manifold the importance of the understanding of Outer Mongolia—the Mongolian People's Republic—which separates China from Russia. It is the common meeting ground of influences radiating from China, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and new centres of political ferment such as Korea. Yet we know next to nothing about this country. The U.S.A. voted against its admission to the United Nations as it knew "too little about the country or its government."

The six chapters of Dr. Fritters' work describe the social, economic and geographical condition of Outer Mongolia, her relations with Russia, China, Japan, France, Great Britain, Germany, America, Sweden and other States and the present position in that country. The Appendices include a very useful bibliography, the constitution of the Mongol People's Republic, short biographical notes of some notable Mongol personalities and a catalogue of important events in Mongolia from 1688 to 1948.

The learned author has written more or less a connected and very readable volume based on original materials. He has searched the files on international diplomacy to collect his materials. But unfortunately he has not been able to find much "in the way of statements of fact and expressions of opinion by Mongol participants in the events of Mongol politics." The paucity of original Mongol materials is, however, a problem to all serious students of the history of Mongolia—Inner and Outer. Dr. Fritters, nevertheless, has done the best of a bad bargain and his work, to quote the *International Politics* (July, 1950), "fills a crying need in the contemporary English documentation on the Far East."

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE KATHA UPANISHAD (With English translation and notes): By Ganga Prasad, M.A., M.R.A.S. Published by the Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Delhi. Pp. 122. Price Re. 1-4.

The author, who is the retired Chief Justice of

Tehri Garhwal state, has more than a dozen books in Hindi and English to his credit. His translation of the Kena Upanishad has preceded the book under review. In this book the verses of the Katha Upanishad are given in Devanagari script followed by word-meanings, free rendering and important notes. The notes contain some information that are very valuable and interesting. In his notes to the fifteenth verse which refers to the number and size of bricks required for the making of a sacrificial altar the author quotes the remarkable opinion of Dr. Thibaut, the German Sanskritist. Dr. Thibaut observes that these Vedic formulas not only laid the firm foundation of Geometry in ancient India, but also travelled to ancient Greece and inspired the Greek scientists to formulate their Geometry including the celebrated works of Euclid. The author, who is a staunch follower of the Arya Samaj, interprets this Upanishad according to Swami Dayananda. In an introduction he criticizes the advaitistic interpretation of Sankaracharya and quotes Sri Aurovindo to show that this and other Upanishads consistently support a kind of dualism. Hence this book will be more welcome to the Arya Samajists than others. The author's endeavour to popularise the Upanishads is however commendable and exemplary.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENGALI

MANDALAYER KATHA: By Sudhansu Bimal Mukherjee. Baikuntha Book House, 183 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta 6. Price Re. 1.

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ADVAITA ASHRAMA

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::

CALCUTTA-13.

As the Head of the Department of History in the University College, the author had to stay at Mandalay in the year 1949. Sometime after the declaration of independence, a rebellion broke out in Burma, in which the Communists and the Karens joined hands. During the author's stay at Mandalay, the rebels grew so very strong and active as to capture this capital city of Upper Burma. The city was, however, recaptured by the Government forces soon. The author has given us a day-to-day account of the events that happened during this period covering about three months in the form of a diary. The account began with 22nd February and ended in 12th May when he sailed back home from Rangoon. Some of the events are quite thrilling. The author has got a penetrating insight into human character, and he has been able to depict it in its true colours. We are thankful to the author for putting in black and white his first-hand experience of a period which was critical not only in the history of Burma, but also in the life of the individuals like him. The book is an welcome addition to our literature.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

NABAYUGER MAHAPURUSH : By Swami Jagadishwarananda. Published by the Orient Book Co., 9 Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta 12. Pp. 444. Price Rs. 6.

This nicely got-up cloth-bound book is a welcome addition to the growing Ramakrishna-Vivekananda literature in Bengali. It is unique in this respect that it presents in a handy volume short biographies of twenty-four disciples of Sri Ramakrishna and six disciples of Swami Vivekananda for the first time in Bengali. Materials of these biographies are collected from authentic records published in Bengali and English. Some biographies appeared as articles in the Bengali monthlies—*Udbodhan*, *Prbartak* and *Viswabani*. Separate lives of some monastic and lay disciples of Sri Ramakrishna have already come out in Bengali or English. But they are not within the reach of busy readers for whom the book under review is specially meant. Life of Sri Ramakrishna may be likened to a substantial aphorism and those of his disciples to the commentaries on it. As the aphorisms are not fully understood without studying their commentaries so the depth and breadth of the significance of the Master's life cannot be fathomed without knowing the lives of his disciples. The author who has devoted a decade of his studious life to the perusal and research of the lives of Sri Ramakrishna and his disciples rightly observes in the preface that the life of each disciple is, as it were, a chapter of the greater life of Sri Ramakrishna.

The lives of six monastic disciples of Swami Vivekananda such as Swami Swarupananda, Vimalananda, Prakasananda, Suddhananda, Atmananda and Paramananda given in this book are equally interesting and informative. For the first time the lives of these dedicated souls are brought out together for the public. These lives may be regarded as chapters of the greater life of the illustrious Swami. The first three disciples were closely connected with the Advaita Ashrama at Mayavati and the *Prabuddha Bharata*. Swami Swarupananda was the first president of Advaita Ashrama and the first editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata*. Swami Vimalananda worked many years at Advaita Ashrama and died there. Swami

Paramananda and Prakasananda dedicated their lives and died for the Vedanta movement in U.S.A., started by their Master. The title meaning 'Great men of the New age' is appropriate. Pictures of some lives dealt with adorn the book. A long list of the principal events of the Ramakrishna movement is appended. The frontispiece picturing the Kali Temple at Dakshineswara is significant. The book deserves perusal by the Bengali followers and admirers of Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda.

B. N. PRATHAR

HINDI

BHARAT KA VIDHAN : By Sundaral, Secretary, Hindustani Culture Society, Allahabad. 1950. Pp. 278 + 60. Price Rs. 7-8.

This has been a complete translation, not the first in modern Indian languages, of the Constitution of India, but it has the unique distinction of keeping in view the background of the people's language, Hindustani. The yoke of the classical language is never felt in this version, which by itself constitutes a challenge to the official Hindi version. In the meantime, along with use, some Hindi words in the technical context have gained currency, and it would be now difficult to dislodge them—and would it be any good?—from their position. The bold simplification of spelling even of *tal-sama* words resorted to in this version also does not appeal to the conservative reader, though the interest in and attitude to the language of the people as apart from that of the government or the scholars is certainly an emphasis on the right side.

The last sixty pages contain the glossary from Hindi to English and from English to Hindi, necessary for the understanding of the constitution as embodied in the governmental publication, and this will be very useful for the translation of the document to other modern Indian languages.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

SAMULI KRANTI : By Kishorelal D. Mashruwala. Revised second edition. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, July, 1950. Price Re. 1-8.

This book of essays is divided into four sections : (i) Religion and Society, (ii) Economic Revaluation, (iii) Political and (iv) Educational. Those who are inclined towards reforms will find here a complete code for consideration, indeed, ready for adoption. There is a Ruskinian flavour in all of them. The summing up in verse forms by way of recapitulation of the findings is a novel feature in some of them and commendable.

P. R. SEN

GANDHIJIKI SADHANA : By Ravijibhan Manibhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1949. Thick card-board. Pp. 344. Price Rs. 2-4.

This is a Second Edition, the first was published in 1939, and noticed then. Messrs. Kaka Kalelkar's informative Introduction gives the reader glimpses of what is to be found in the succeeding pages. About forty incidents in Gandhiji's early life are narrated here, together with jail experiences in South Africa of the author himself. The picture of the Satyagraha practised there is vivid.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Meaning of Freedom

Prabudha Bharata writes editorially :

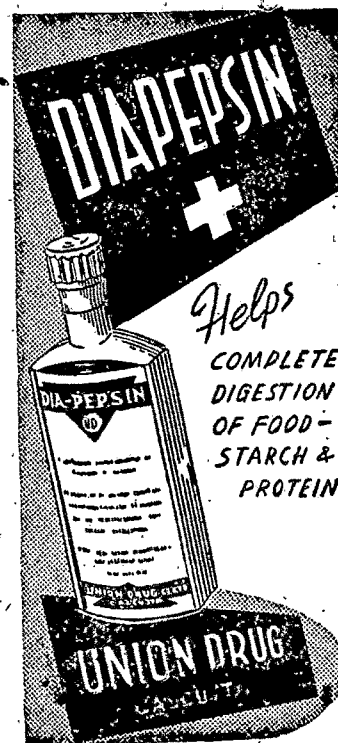
The strength and power of a nation or State depend largely on the innate strength and power of the individuals, who more or less determine the shape and organization of their government. Freedom is the will to be responsible for oneself ; it is judicious exercise of the right to seek work, wealth, and happiness in the manner most appropriate to oneself, without transgressing the law or hindering the freedom of others. A perfect society that can regulate its own affairs and govern itself has the least occasion for an authoritarian or militaristic type of government. Hence is it often said that self-government is better than the best form of good government. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, 'Government over self is the truest Swaraj, it is synonymous with Moksha or salvation.'

None can deny that freedom is the most essential condition of all progress. Where there is no freedom—political, social, and spiritual, there can hardly be full growth and well-being of the human personality. Many a modern State, while granting complete political and economic emancipation to the people, seeks to curtail or deny social and even spiritual freedom. The physical needs of the body—food, shelter, and the largest amount of pleasure possible—have assumed a profoundly meaningful aspect to the majority of men today. The reason is obvious. At no time has the world been wanting in those who glorify the laws of the flesh and find 'freedom in the thousand bonds of delight'. Self-seeking mass orators, with deceptive slogans and insufficient factors of altruism, are surely the least fitted for meeting the demands of the present situation humanity finds itself in. The price one has to pay for achieving real and genuine freedom is much more than a mere revolutionary urge or a life of privation. It calls for infinite patience, simplicity, renunciation, and purity of motive. It may seem strange, but it is true, that the meaning of freedom can be properly understood only in relation to an abiding and deeply felt faith in the Divinity or Reality inherent in man.

The war-weary world is aghast at the insincere ways of some of the vociferous protagonists of peace and freedom, who speak with their tongues in their cheeks, hiding the most lethal secret weapon in one hand and holding out the olive-branch in the other. A hectic race for the increase of armaments is occasionally interspersed with glib talks of freedom and feelers for peace, the implications of which even their ardent sponsors do not seem to be aware. Mutual rivalry and clash of self-interest have given rise to mutually repellent ideological superstructures, and spheres of influence. Standing in the midst of mighty world movements, India finds herself in an unenviable position. The raging conflict of norms and ideologies is not unknown or non-existent in India. But, true to her great ideals and lofty aspirations, India has stood firm as the symbol of man's complete freedom from every shackle that binds the individual and contracts his infinite personality. She has preserved and proclaimed not only social, political, economic, and religious freedom, but also cultural and spiritual freedom, and that for everyone throughout the world, irrespective of any distinction

based on birth, caste, race, religion, or nationality. Hence, let not her sons and daughters forget that India stands for the most exalted freedom—the Freedom of the soul of man. She has no less emphasized the mundane and more immediate aspect of freedom too, ensuring thereby, to all the people of the land, "justice—social, economic, and political ; liberty—of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship ; equality—of status and of opportunity ; and fraternity—assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the national equality."

Where individual freedom is unhampered and the right of each individual to live the life of his choice is fully assured it is imperative that the sanctity of human personality should be realized and accorded due recognition. Freedom, as a Vedantin would view it, is nothing short of ultimate Freedom or Mukti, the transcendence from the world of limited freedom to the state of Infinite and Eternal Freedom. To be free in every respect one has to remain independent of the control of and subservience to anything other than the Self. 'Man the brute' has to loosen the bonds that tie him down to the myriads of passions and prejudices, sorrows and sufferings, and attain the blissful state of 'Man the divine', who not only enjoys the highest freedom for himself but also helps others to attain the same.



Bhu-Dana-Yagna—Its Meaning and Place

Suresh Ramabhai writes in *The Indian Review* :

Narrating the condition of India's masses Gandhiji observed in 1921 :

"The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state which has got to be experienced to be realized."

More than three decades after, even when we are citizens to-day of a sovereign and independent Republic, our flag flying high in all the capitals of the world, the plight of the vast majority of our countrymen has not known any change. Rather it has gone worse, unemployment has grown and starvation or semistarvation stares in the face of a greater number of our people than perhaps ever before. Besides, there is the widening gulf between the rulers and the ruled. Our predicament is very much like that of a patient whose condition gets deteriorated with the progress of the treatment.

But is there any way out of this morass? Cannot we save ourselves at this critical hour of our existence? There is a calm and quite answer :

"In olden days when disturbed conditions prevailed in the country, our ancestors used to perform Yagnas. I also want to perform a Yagna. So I have started experimenting this Bhu-Dan-Yagna. I have asked many persons to donate lands. Everyone should take part in this Yagna which is in the interest of the upliftment of the people. Just as we give our share to the Yagnas, so also we should donate lands."

It comes from Acharya Vinoba Bhave, well-known as India's first Satyagrahi of the Great War II. He launched this Bhu-Dana-Yagna movement on April 18, 1951, while trekking his way through the Telangana area of the Hyderabad State. Like a lonely stream winding its way through hills and hedges, crevices and cleft, he has now taken the form of a river majestically flowing on and at whose sacred waters many a needy and oppressed have slaked their thirst.

And why does he want land? His reply is :

"We must make sacrifices for the poor. I am asking for land. It is just a symbol of that spirit of sacrifice. In every heart there should be a desire to serve Daridranarayan."

Thus this Bhu-Dana-Yagna strikes three targets :

- (1) The sacrifice of the rich brings them nearer the poor and breaks the great wall in between;
- (2) The possession of land revells the sides of the new owner with a furious spur to activity and work, thereby increasing the food-production of the country;
- (3) It provides the world with a way to solve its socio-economic problems in a perfectly peaceful and lovable manner.

Significantly enough, Vinobaji does not want donations in money. He knows that distribution of money-alms will not be of any avail at the moment. To quote his own words :

"Why do I not want money? It is because money has brought the country to its present state. It is at the root of the country's degradation.

"People should work rather than ask others for money. Money should be eliminated from the daily routine. Money tells lies and is like a loafing tramp. And yet it has been made the basis of trade and commerce."

Obviously money has so overpowered men that he has degraded himself. But if man is to recover his lost soul money must be dethroned from its present pedestal. Vinobaji is quite conscious of it :

"I realize that money, like God, is present everywhere, and it is not easy to eliminate it from life. But that is my aim. I never cared to undertake an easy task. I became enthusiastic when the task was difficult. I have taken up the land question knowing it to be full of difficulties. Similarly, I have undertaken to free the worker and the peasant from the shackles of money fully aware of the difficulties involved. Freeing people from the dependence of money means saving them from all kinds of bad and evil influences. I have, therefore, been asking people to reduce their dependence on money by producing things they need."

Stupendous though the task is, Vinobaji has no doubt about the success of his mission. As he said at Lucknow the other day :

"The work I am made to do is the continuation of the 'Dharma-Chakra-Pravartan,'—revolving the wheel of Dharma which Buddha had started. And mark what I pronounce with the same commanding voice as that of the lion which drowns all other smaller voices and rings clear across the forest. The land has already come to me; it has already gone to the landless. It remains for you only to choose the manner of effecting the transfer."

He went on :

"The equal sharing of wealth is the cry of the age and it will come to be. Land will have to be redivided. I have no doubt that it can be done peacefully. I can see it quite clearly and this is why I speak so confidently about it; and this is why I ask you to wake up, for as Tulsidas sang to Rama, I sing to you, who are but other forms of Rama : 'The day is dawning and the birds on the trees are chirping merrily, and it is time when gifts should be made to the poor, so get awake, Oh Rama!'

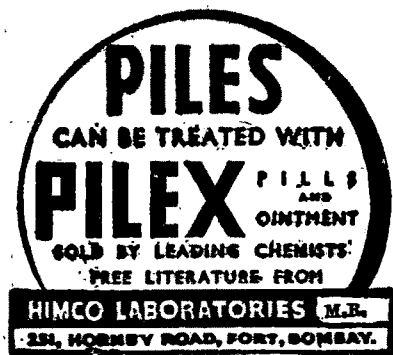
In fact the same warning was given by Gandhiji as early as 1929 :

"There is no other choice than between voluntary surrender on the part of the capitalist of superfluities and consequent acquisition of the real happiness of all on the one hand, and on the other, the impending chaos into which if the capitalist does not wake up betimes, awakened but ignorant, famishing millions will plunge the country and which not even the armed force that a powerful Government can bring into play can avert."

Vinobaji seems to awaken the powermad capitalists, landlords and all varieties of "haves" and asks them to read the writing on the wall. Like the proverbial Vaman who covered the earth in three steps, Vinobaji's three steps are :

"What I want the people to do is, first, to give away some of their land. Secondly, they should engage themselves in the service of others. Finally, in their service they should lose all and voluntarily sacrifice everything. This is the path into which I want to initiate the people."

And what is his objective in this Yagna? In Vinobaji's words :



"My object cannot be achieved by obtaining a little *Bhudan* here and there. It is to transform the whole society."

The *Bhu-Dana-Yagna* is, therefore, a movement to make the people stand on their own feet and be self-sufficient. Discarding the servile method of begging for food, money or experts from without, it teaches us to solve our problems by seeking ways and means within and by our own earnest endeavour and innocent skill.

Surely, it is the selfless and honest devotion to his duty that by now he has acquired more than two and a half lakh acres in Uttar Pradesh alone and about 50,000 acres in the rest of the country.

Higher Education in India

Science and Culture observes :

The problems of higher education came up for discussion at the House of the People in connection with the passing of the budget demands of the Ministry of Education. Prof. M. N. Saha, one of the principal speakers from the Opposition Benches, drew pointed attention to the important recommendations of the University Education Commission. These recommendations were the results of mature thought and long experience of distinguished educationists who toured the whole country, visiting all the 30 universities and institutions of university rank, interviewing heads and ministers of States, educationists and other men highly placed in life. Prof. Saha observed that these recommendations, if given effect to, would have put new life into the frame of our universities and prevented them from falling into decay as they are doing now. It is a matter of extreme regret that within these three years no action has been taken to implement any of these recommendations.

A few of these recommendations given below are :

- (1) that university education should be placed on the concurrent list ;
- (2) that the President of the Republic should be the visitor of all universities ;
- (3) that the concern of the Central Government with the universities be with regard to finance, co-ordination of facilities in special subjects, adoption of national policies, ensuring minimum standards of efficient administration and liaison between universities and national research laboratories and scientific survey etc. ;
- (4) that for allocating grants to universities a Central Grants Commission be established, its composition and functions to be as indicated.

BACKGROUND OF RECOMMENDATIONS

According to the Constitution of India, education including that of universities, is subject to provisions of entries 63, 64, 65, 66 of list I, and entry 25 of list III. Provisions under these entries may be briefly summarized.

63 : The Banaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University and the Delhi University and any other institution declared by Parliament by law to be an institution of national importance.

64 : Institutions for scientific or technical education financed by the Government of India wholly or in part and declared by Parliament by law to be institutions of national importance.

65 : Union agencies and institutions for :

- (a) professional, vocational or technical training, including the training of police officers ; or
- (b) the promotion of special studies or research ; or
- (c) scientific or technical assistance in the investigation or detection of crime.

66 : Co-ordination and determination of standards in

institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions.

According to these schedules, university education is a provincial subject, except for the Universities of Delhi, Banaras, and Aligarh to which recently the Osmania University and the Visva-Bharati have been added.

The Commission were not satisfied with this state of affairs. They say :

"There are issues in India to-day in which there is grave and obvious danger of disunion through the provinces acting independently both of each other and of the Centre. Some of these issues vitally affect universities, e.g., communal quotas, and the use of national or regional languages. We feel very strongly that the universities, as the main source from which India is bound to draw not only most of its leaders but all its high-grade national officials must throw their weight on to the side of national unity (which need not mean uniformity)."

This explains the need for concurrency and the desirability of the President being the visitor of all universities.

PUBLIC OPINION ON THE PROPOSALS : CONCURRENCY RECEIVES UNIVERSAL SUPPORT

The Commission took the opinion of hundreds of witnesses, including men occupying the highest responsible positions in society regarding their proposals for concurrency. They say :

"Nearly all our witnesses have expressed their opinion as to the proper category for university education—Central, Concurrent or Provincial. A minority, but a minority including some important witnesses, think it should be Central. A very large majority both of university spokesmen and of public men and women think it should be Concurrent. Practically the only witnesses who thought it should be Provincial were the representatives of Provincial Governments in only one or two provinces. The significant thing was that even among the representatives of Provincial Government a substantial majority preferred Concurrency" (Page 404).

The Commission found that Concurrency would not to the slightest degree interfere with either university autonomy or authority of the Provincial Government.

The Commission were alive to the need of provision of ample finances for universities by the Centre, and recommended the establishment of the Central University Grants Commission about which we expressed our considered views in our editorial article, "University Education Commission" (*Science and Culture*, Vol. 15, No. 7). In the Commission's own words,

"Generous grants from the Centre must be forthcoming ; and these grants the Centre will not, and should not, allocate blindly or mechanically. A Central University Grants Commission working through the Ministry of Education must allocate the sums made available by the Central Government, in accordance with the special needs and merits of each University".

It may be added that the grants to most of the Indian universities have not received proportionate addition after the World War II, though the value of the rupee has gone down by one-fourth, the number of students has increased and the burdens on universities have multiplied. The consequence is that most of the teachers in colleges and universities are underpaid, the laboratories are without equipment, and libraries remain poor.

In certain universities—in the University of Allahabad for example, there is an Enquiry Committee appointed by the State Government to find out the way the university had overspent their budget. According to the information received, the university authorities were actuated by the highest of motives. They did not want to increase their salaries, as many Government officers had done whenever

they were able to do so, but wanted to make ample provision for education to meet the growing needs of the country, and it was a mockery of fate that they should be punished for their enthusiasm.

An extraordinary demand on higher education in post-war years is not peculiar to this country alone. The great role that science and technology play in the national economy and defence was recognized specially during the last war and it was found in these countries that resources of all educational institutions were inadequate for meeting the additional burden. In the United Kingdom, all the universities found at the end of the war that they were grossly under-financed for the tasks they were asked to shoulder. To help them the British Government had appointed, a whole-time University Grants Committee to which a magnificent sum of £30 million, a little over 1/100 part of their national budget was annually given in order that these universities may be financed properly for the great task of post-war reconstruction. Even the great universities like Oxford and Cambridge which before the war refused to accept any grant from the Government for fear that it would interfere with their autonomy, obtain 50 per cent of their receipts from the grants made to them through the University Grants Committee. The total receipts of some of the great American universities approach those of our class A States.

Attention may be drawn to the great work which is being done in the University Division in Russia. From a recent issue of *Nature*, May 3, 1952, Prof. Saha obtained the following information which he quoted in his speech: "Russia, as everybody knows, bled almost to death during the Second World War; they lost about 1 crore and 40 lakhs of people; their country suffered devastation on a scale not known to history. But after the War, they courageously undertook the reconstruction of their Universities. For the Moscow University alone, they have built new quarters, new buildings, at a cost of £70 million which comes to about 100 crores of rupees." Dr. Radhakrishnan is reported to have said to Prof. Saha that he was present at the opening of this new University of Moscow, and he was thrilled with what he saw. "I wish", said he, "I could have witnessed similar occasions more frequently in my own country". But unfortunately nothing is being done for the universities in free India, where they are being allowed to fall into ruin.

The Commission made very valuable recommendations for helping the universities. They did not want that the States should entirely wash their hands off from university education. They came to the compromise that while education up to the Bachelor's stage should be wholly a State subject, M.A. and M.Sc. teaching and research work, higher professional training, medicine and technology should be the joint concern of States and the Centre, and costs should be shared on a 50:50 ratio between them. Their estimate of the expenses to be incurred by the Centre was Rs. 5 crores to start with which will ultimately rise to Rs. 10 crores, and recommended that this amount should be granted from the Central Exchequer.

This would raise the present education budget to 12 crores, which will ultimately grow to 17 crores, a bare 4% of the total budget. This falls far short of the recommendations of the Kher Committee (*Vide Science and Culture*, ed. art. Vol. 18, No. 1) which was 10% of the Central Budget, i.e., nearly 40 crores of rupees. But we must not forget that there are other urgent demands on the Centre for education, and 40 crores of rupees are not much for a country of India's size. China has it in her constitution that 15% of its budget should be spent on education.

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The Ten Commandments—And Today

In the course of an article in *The Aryan Path*, Elizabeth Cross observes :

Every now and then there is a revived interest in the Ten Commandments. Sometimes it is due to an outstanding personality in the Church, sometimes it is part of a religious revival, sometimes it seems nothing but a journalistic "stunt." In any case it is taken for granted that all Christians are familiar with the commandments and believe that they form a worthy moral guide. Whenever the commandments are studied and perhaps "interpreted in the light of today" (whatever that may mean!) it is assumed that if only everyone took greater heed of these particular directions and endeavoured to live in strict accordance with them the world would be so much the better. And, indeed, when we consider the commandments with an open mind we are bound to agree that they consist of a set of extremely comprehensive and worthy regulations for almost any society. In fact, if one took each command and tried to trace it to logical conclusions it might be possible for the whole system to show applications to all stages of civilization.

An example of this was given by Pearl Buck, in a book based on the theme: "Thou shalt have none other Gods . . ." in which she showed the great moral danger of giving extravagant admiration and worship to human beings. In this case the "hero" was a young mountain climber and the frantic admiration of the public was not only bad for the worshippers but almost destroyed their idol. There is, in almost all Western

countries, a tendency to this type of idolatry: public figures become excessively popular for often trivial reasons. There is the cult of the film star, the theatrical entertainer, the outstanding performer in some sport; and this public worship grows into a monster. What is of particular danger is that young people, dazzled by the brief success of some such idol, spend much of their time dreaming and wishing for equal fame and luxury and so lose the chance of progress in a more reasonable and worthy manner. There has always been a certain amount of "hero-worship" in all ages, but in the past the heroes (whether of a high or low type) were usually people who had actually done something by very real efforts. They may have been soldiers, explorers, discoverers of new plants or chemicals, but in all cases they had "worked their passage" as it were, and were not the mere chance result of a well-shaped nose or photogenic eyes!

Thus we can see that idolatry, although non-existent perhaps in the original meaning of the commandment, is very much alive today. There is also a still more dangerous form, because more subtle, which is becoming prevalent. That is for men to assume powers that belong, by ancient right, to the supernatural. Because we have gone so far along the road in chemistry, medicine and general power over natural forces, there has come the temptation to imagine that men can usurp the powers of life and death. This was shown clearly in the 1939 war and its legacies of the concentration camp; some human beings were used for experiments, others were disposed of as so much waste material.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Economic Crisis in Israel

H. Berger writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, July, 1952 :

The Central Economic problem facing Israel at this time is not basically different from those of many countries. Today Israel cannot provide its inhabitants with a fair standard of living because of the gap between its productive capacity and the wants of the people which is wider than in most countries. During the past year (a year of unusual drought, it is true) Israeli agriculture supplied only about one-fourth of the country's austerity food requirements. Industrial production was probably even lower than this, if we take into account the imported raw materials that went into it. The result was a shocking trade balance. Imports were five times as high as exports, and even when we consider that some of the imports were earmarked for investments to increase the productivity of the country, the trade balance would still remain unfavourable at a ratio of about three and a half to one. But Israel cannot renounce these imports. A reduction in the import of essential consumer goods would lead to famine; a cutback in the import of goods intended to increase the productive capacity of the country would within a few years destroy the economic basis of the country. The catastrophic trade balance results in a persistent and severe shortage of foreign currency. Thus far Israel has met this crisis with the aid of loans, campaigns, grants-in-aid from the United States and capital imports. The Sterling accounts accumulated during the years of the British Mandate, especially during the war when Palestine was an important supplier to the allied forces in the Middle East were quickly consumed. It is also clear that outside aid will not continue without end, and it already does not suffice to overcome the foreign currency shortage. Already there are instances of delays in the distribution of rationed goods, and prolonged work stoppages in factories for lack of raw materials. The Israel treasury has to resort to extraordinary efforts to meet its foreign obligations.

But the chief cause of the inflation in Israel is not the unfavourable trade balance but the shortage of goods. Under a regime of economic *laissez faire* these shortages would long ago have led to "natural" solutions—starvation among the masses, flight from the country and perhaps even a total breakdown of the economy. The government of Israel has taken steps to mitigate the effects of the inflation. Rationing assures a minimum of food and clothing for the masses thus obviating hunger. Control of currency and foreign trade assures the import of the most essential products for consumption and investment. Social factors and the future needs of the country determine what should be brought in. Another social measure is full employment, because rationing only provides the opportunity to

buy essential goods, and it is also necessary to provide the masses with the purchasing power to take advantage of this opportunity. In view of the shortage of raw materials and the limited facilities for manufacturing goods of everyday consumption, the policy of full employment is directed toward projects that will pay off in the long run. The net result of this policy is inflationary. The budget of the Israel government was not balanced during the past three years partly as a result of the financing of large scale public works and partly because of the high expenditures on the security of the state. An unbalanced budget is in itself an inflationary force, and the past three years witnessed a constant increase of currency in circulation without a corresponding increase in available goods. This led to a great depreciation of the value of the Israel Pound.

The Government thereupon decided to introduce three different values for the Pound. The former rate of \$2.80 to a Pound was retained for essential food supplies, a rate of \$1.40 to the Pound was set for most other products and for tourists and a rate of \$1.00 a Pound for investors bringing their capital to the country. These three different rates aimed to mitigate the social effects of the deflation, just as rationing and public works tried to protect the masses from the effects of inflation. It is necessary to bear in mind that the social factor carries greater weight in Israel than in other countries, if only because such a large part of the population consists of new immigrants lacking that social and economic resistance which is attained in the course of generations of economic stability. Here a nation is being built out of atomized human material coming from different cultures and standards of living. An economic crisis that emphasizes social differences is therefore more dangerous in Israel than in other countries.

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Efforts to skim off the surplus purchasing power by means of compulsory loans and more effective collection of taxes are only part of the plan to solve the basic problem of Israel's economy, which is one of productivity. If the above and other measures will succeed, they will accentuate the trend toward directing labor and capital into basic production and increasing exports. But the ultimate solution lies in a radical increase of the productivity of the Israel economy.

The Israel economy has a low productivity ratio. This is due to a number of causes. The country lacks sufficient machinery in a number of basic industries. Agriculture does not supply the quantities of food required because not enough land has been put under irrigation. Though agricultural settlement has expanded, it has not kept pace with the growth of the population through immigration. Furthermore, many of the new settlements have not had time to attain their maximum productivity. The same holds true for a number of basic industries, such as building materials.

Another factor affecting productivity is the shortage of raw materials. Israel industry has to import the bulk of its raw materials, and until this year the dairy and poultry industries were likewise dependent to a large extent on the import of feed. The result is a state of insecurity and instability. There were instances of work stoppages when the government could not supply the necessary foreign exchange to finance the import of raw materials. Industry thus lives "from hand to mouth" and is hampered in planning its orders and introducing improvements. Why plan improvements when it is not even certain that it will be possible to maintain production at the existing level.

Prospecting for the natural resources of the country has made considerable progress in recent years and the number of raw materials that it will be possible to obtain within Israel is increasing. The resumption of the potash extraction from the Dead Sea will be a great boost. Should the explorations for oil and other materials prove successful it will mean a still greater improvement in the raw material situation. But in coming years, and for a long time perhaps, Israel will be largely dependent on the outside world for the raw materials for its industry. Since the government is not in a position to provide the necessary foreign exchange, it will be up to the industries to obtain the requisite foreign currencies by increasing their exports.

Until now industrialists had little incentive to produce for export. Profits reaped on the local market were greater than could be obtained abroad. But now the export of an appreciable part of the products manufactured will become essential if an enterprise is to continue operating, as this will be the only way to pay for the needed imported raw materials. This arrangement will no doubt lead to the collapse of a number of inefficient concerns which will not be able to adapt their produce or their prices to foreign requirements. But competition, which has disappeared from the country's economy for some years, will again become an operating factor.

The Israel economy is largely capitalist though from the standpoint of its social structure it has made significant progress beyond the customary forms of capitalist economy. Two-thirds of the Israel workers have no private employers. They work in co-operative or self-owned enterprises in city and village, or they

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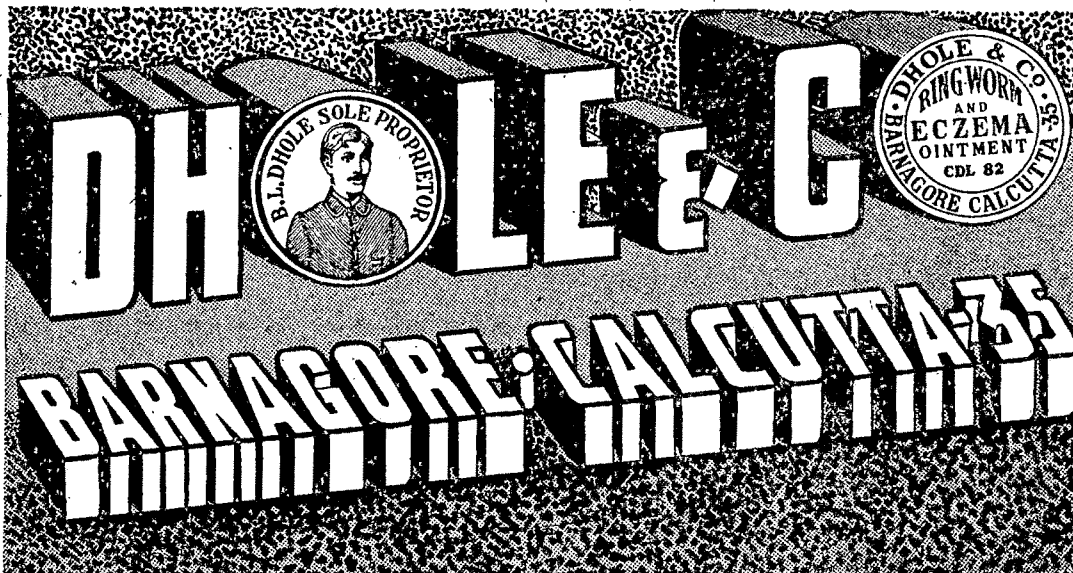
are employed by public bodies such as the *Histadrut*, the government, municipal bodies, the Jewish Agency, ect. The economic activities follow along capitalist lines, even in the co-operative and public sector of the economy. All the negative trait of modern capitalism are there, but the positive trait of competition is lacking. The constant shortages have brought about a situation wherein any commodity offered on the market finds ready customers and the producers do not have to compete with one another in the quality and price of their goods. This condition has been in effect since the beginning of the world war. During the war, when Israel industry supplied the British forces, the "cost plus" system was in effect. This system, by which the manufacturer's profits rose in accordance with the cost of production, was not conducive to a high degree of productivity. There thus arose the strange situation that the trade unions, rather than the manufacturers, became the ones to press for greater productivity. Negotiations between the *Histadrut* and the Manufacturers' Association regarding the establishment of a joint industrial production committee dragged on for years and were concluded only a few weeks ago, when the first effects of the new economic policy were beginning to be felt.

In recent years the *Histadrut* has exerted much effort to arouse the working community to the importance of increasing productivity. These efforts unfortunately were not entirely successful. Opposition to the system of bonuses for greater productivity remained strong. The example of the United States, where the standard of living of the workers rose sharply as a result of greater productivity, did not change this attitude. The example of the Soviet Union and its satellites, where wage levels were made depen-

dent on production norms, likewise proved unconvincing. The Left Wing of the Israel labor movement, which hails everything in the Soviet Union, including its wage system, opposes the introduction of similar systems in non-Soviet countries.

The American press has recently reported that the government of Israel is considering doing away with rationing and control of a number of non-vital commodities in an effort to determine whether abolition of controls may not serve to encourage production. These reports were accompanied with a surmise that the new trend indicated a departure from "socialist" principles in the management of the economic life of Israel. Naturally there is no basis for these surmises. Rationing and controls are not a socialist ideal; they are not even characteristic of socialist economic policy. The rationing and economic controls in Israel are not the result of socialist trends; they are an outgrowth of the special conditions that prevail in a poor country that is absorbing a huge immigration. As long as the purchasing power far exceeded the amount of goods on the market, and a great part of this buying potential was thus directed toward non-essentials, any relaxation of controls would have diverted capital and labor from vital sectors of the economy to those producing non-essentials. Now that the surplus purchasing power in the community is being skimmed off, the danger of a drift of capital and labor away from essential production will be reduced and the factor of competition will be reintroduced into the economy of the country.

The new economic policy is thus an attempt to hasten the process of the economic construction of the country, the basic elements of which have been laid down by the labor movement and the government of Israel in the early days of statehood.



Imhotep—Father of Medicine

When speaking of Ancient Egyptian history, it is customary to mention the names of kings whom we credit with all the glorious achievements of the Past. In point of fact there were prominent statesmen among the high officials, generals and other dignitaries of the court who, as often as not, were the real motive power behind the kind and whose genius and initiative left a lasting stamp on the history of their period.

Whenever we come to consider the Great Pyramid of Giza the name of Khufu is recalled to mind, but nobody ever thinks of Hem-Iwn the able architect who is responsible for the planning and building of this huge masterpiece of Egyptian engineering.

Thotmes III affords another example. While all Egyptologists are agreed to consider him as the greatest monarch of the New Kingdom, as well as a first-rate army leader and foresighted administrator we learn from inscriptions on the tombs and temples of Thebes that there were other distinguished men in his reign, such as Rakh-mi-Ra, the Prime Minister, and General Amenemhab who, in fact, were the authors of the achievements usually ascribed to the statemanship and creative powers of their master.

As these men, however, have always remained in the shadow of the throne their names have hardly been mentioned in their lifetime. But history cannot easily overlook their splendid record of great deeds, since they were the backbone and marrow of all the highlights of Egyptian civilisation.

Among these highly gifted assistants one of them rendered an unforgettable service to his country.

In the Third Dynasty, i.e., some time during the 28th century B.C., there was born a young man whose natural abilities raised him up from the lowly station of a junior scribe to that of a vizier. He had no royal blood in his veins nor was he of noble descent. Yet his genius and wisdom were so widely acclaimed that his name soon became a household word in Ancient Egypt. More than 2,000 years after his death he was made a god and temples were built in his honour.

Im-hotep lived at a time when the Egyptian civilisation was in a state of complete development. It was the custom then to erect rectangular buildings, much like the tombs of the commoners though noticeably larger, to be used as graves for kings. With his remarkable sense of proportions Im-hotep was quick to realise that it was only fitting to distinguish his master's tomb from those of his subjects. He therefore overlaid the first basic mastaba or stone ledge with other superimposed mastabas, gradually smaller in size, until they acquired the tapering shape of the pyramid—thus giving Egyptian architecture what is now universally known as the Sakkara Step-Pyramid, a familiar landmark to tourists.

Not content with the new design of the royal tomb Im-hotep surrounded the step pyramid with wonderful stone buildings while, on the other hand, introducing other innovations in public edifices, innovations which were to have a lasting influence on the architecture of later periods.

The vestiges of these buildings earn the admiration of the visitor with their beauty and exquisite proportions, their imposing portals, their graceful columns and perfect finishing. Im-hotep's contemporaries and later architects of the Middle and New Kingdoms paid tribute to his genius in the numerous inscriptions they caused to be carved out on various tombs and temples of the time.

As a physician Im-hotep gained a still wider reputation in the history of Ancient Egypt, and we find his name associated with nearly every scientific discovery recorded in papyri. More than 2,500 years after his death, Im-hotep remains an undisputed authority in the field of medicine. Recognising his genius, King Zoser conferred upon him all sorts of honours.

From the list of his official titles we learn that Im-hotep had been at the head of every government administration. He was also dean of the clergy. Was not his name inscribed on the pedestal of King Zoser's statue? In a country where the king was worshipped as a god this indeed is the highest distinction that can be bestowed upon a subject. No other court official either before or after him had thus been exalted.

Ptah-shepses, Prime Minister of the Fifth Dynasty, boasted to his friends that he was related to the royal family because the king had given him an undeniable proof of his love and esteem by allowing him to kiss his sandals instead of kissing the hallowed ground on which he stood.

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The Greeks who admit to have gathered their knowledge and science from Ancient Egypt duly acknowledged his position in the history of Egyptian medicine, identifying him with Asclepius.

Despite the repeated efforts of reputed Egyptologists Im-hotep's tomb remains a mystery. But it is certain that when the life story of his great Egyptian statesman comes to light it will outshine the most dazzling and dramatic career of any court official of ancient and modern times.—*Cultural Bulletin of Egypt.*

A New "Great Wall" of Trees

Two thousand years ago, a ruler of China built the Great Wall to keep the country from being devastated by nomads from the desert. Today, the People's Government is building a much vaster system of ramparts to challenge the destructive forces of

nature itself. The new Great Wall consists not of brick and stone but of trees. Second only to the national forestry programme of the Soviet Union in scale, it has no parallel, past or present, in the capitalist world. In the spring of last year alone, more trees were planted in China than in all the 22 years of Kuomintang rule.

IN THE NORTH-EAST

The greatest single project in the tremendous afforestation programme that will change the climate and whole aspect of China is the North-east Shelter Belt. Much work has already been done on it. When planting is completed, ten years from now, the belt will take up 11,600 square miles of land. It will be 680 miles long and 190 miles across at the widest point. Its purpose is to eliminate the dangers of drought, shifting sands and floods that have long afflicted the most industrially-advanced region of our country. As one of its consequences, we shall reclaim 7,000 square miles now useless for agriculture, an area equal to one-third of all the cultivated land in England. The new north-eastern forests will stretch from Fuyu and Kannan in Heilungkiang province to the Liaotung peninsula, on which Talien (Dairen) and Lushun (Port Arthur) are located, and to Shanhaikuan where the Great Wall meets the sea.

In addition, local authorities in the north-east are undertaking to afforest the sources and banks of the Liao, Liu, Taitze, Hun, Nonni, Mutan, Luan; Hsiamulun, Kuntu and Yalu rivers. Trees will also be

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planted along all highways and railway lines and along streets in cities, towns and villages.

Apart from its protective functions, the programme will, in time, immeasurably increase the supply of timber for construction.

IN EAST CHINA

A second project that has already been commenced involves afforestation, on about half the scale of the North-east programme, along the seacoast of east China in northern Kiangsu province. Its aim is to check the violent ocean winds (typhoons) that often do serious damage to crops there, as well as the accompanying seawater inundations that have alkalinized much coastal land and made it unproductive.

The main North Kiangsu Shelter Belt will run parallel to the dykes along the shores of the Yellow Sea. It will have subsidiary belts on both sides to which it will be linked by a net of windbreaks. Over 360 miles long, it will abut on the estuary of the Yangtze river in the south and join the existing forests of the Yuntai mountains in the north.

This system has a shorter time-schedule than the one in the North-east. Plans call for it to be finished by 1958, at which time the great Huai river control scheme will also be near completion. The two projects together will change the face of the region. Water conservancy work will have eliminated floods, while the shelter belt will reduce the velocity of winds from the sea by 35 to 40 per cent. Farms and villages will stand amid groves of willow, acacia, ginkgo, mulberry, cedar and cypress. Some 7,700 square miles of land will be assured of secure crops with the result that the average annual output of agriculture in northern Kiangsu will increase by an estimated 50 per cent.

Preparations for this work were begun by the authorities of the East China Administrative Area in 1949, immediately after liberation. Teams of agronomists and forestry experts have already made surveys of the land, and 5 million pounds of tree-seedlings have been prepared for planting this year. Additional seedlings are being grown on 270 square miles of state-farm land in the area, while peasants are devoting 1,800 square miles of their own marginal land to the same purpose.

OTHER AFFORESTATION

Afforestation work in new China is not confined to the projects described above.

Trees are being planted at the headwaters of the Huai and the Yellow River as well as along the banks of rivers and streams all over the country. Along with dams, dykes, reservoirs and other installations, they will play an increasingly important role in flood control.

Shelter belts are being installed in western Hopei province, eastern Honan province and the sandy regions of north and north-west China. In the Central South China Region, the people have planted twice number of trees called for by the regional plan.

The present upsurge in tree-planting did not arise suddenly. Everywhere activity to repair the ravages of greed and reaction which had reduced the forest

area of China to 5 per cent began as soon as the people took control. Long before the liberation of the entire mainland even in the resistance bases behind the enemy lines in the course of the Anti-Japanese War, local revolutionary governments had paid the greatest attention to such work.

Immediately after its establishment, the People's Government spurred afforestation to greater heights. It also energetically undertook the protection of existing forests. To check forest fires, over 5,000 special protection committees with 21,000 sub-committee have been organized. In the Northeast alone 940,000 people were mobilized to prevent forest fire in 1951. As a result, the last two years have witnessed no serious forest fires, a situation entirely without precedent. Felling of trees is now strictly regulated so that the exploitation of timber resources can no longer turn into 'spoilation, as it once used to do.

All sections of the people are participating in the protection and extension of forests. The national minorities are showing great enthusiasm in the work and 25,000 Yaos in Liennan, Kwangtung province recently planted 2 million trees considerably ahead of the planned schedule. The People's Liberation Army too has made its own large-scale contribution to afforestation, carrying it forward with characteristic vigour in many garrison areas.

TRAINED PERSONNEL

As in many other fields of national construction the sweeping plans of the People's Government, and the mobilization of millions of people, have created a sharp shortage of qualified personnel to direct the work. To meet this need, 20,000 foresters are being trained. Some are studying in colleges and universities while others are taking short courses or learning on the job.

The long-range campaign to increase China's forests from 5 per cent to 20 per cent of the national territory is under way throughout the country, gathering momentum with every month that passes.—*Bulletin of the People's Republic of China.*

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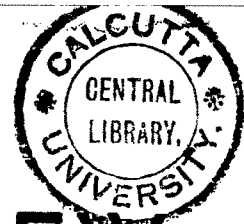


Asian Club of the Air. C. Mackenzie, well-known author and broadcaster, taking part in a session of "Asian Club," B.B.C., London. The audience here wearing national costume, is drawn from men and women from all parts of Asia who are living and studying in Britain



AT THE WELL
By Ramendra Nath Chakravorty

Prabasi Press, Calcutta



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NOTES

Neglected Peoples

This Indian Union of ours is as yet full of heterogeneous elements. Mahatma Gandhi and one of his ablest lieutenants, the late Thakkar Bapa of beloved memory, showed us by word, deed and precept, as to how harmony could be achieved out of seemingly discordant elements. Not all of this discord has come down to us as a heritage of ancient feuds, traditional erroneous concepts or secretly harboured resentments born of long-past wrongs. Good deal of it has come out of ill-conceived definitions of Rights of small majorities in localised areas as also out of lust for power on parochial considerations.

We are a politically immature nation, loosely bound together by the bonds of common suffering and common effort to achieve independence, during the days of struggle against foreign rule, under a unified command.

But now that the goal has been reached at least to all outward appearances, those bonds seem flimsy and insecure in the extreme. On all sides we see usurpation of powers, suppression of the rights of the weak and the flaring-up of distrust. The political arena is filled with a seething mass of small minds, each intent on securing some advantage, for the individual or the group, at the cost of someone else's rights. There is no regard for the other man's feelings or for the greater consideration of national security or progress. It is gradually developing into a "Free for all" the weakest going to the wall. The Union seems to us to be cracking up in all directions.

This is no discovery of ours. The Powers-that-be are well aware of it, but they seem to be unable to do anything beyond placating the bullies and

sermonizing the wronged and dispossessed weak on peace and accord "within the family" and on the virtues of patience. When matters approach a crisis, then the Olympians go into a huddle, utter some more incongruities or futilities and perhaps in the end shelve matters for the time being by appointing a commission.

Some time back Pandit Nehru seemed to have had an uneasy feeling, and we had the following bit of press reclaim thereupon :

"Addressing a public meeting in Indore on the 14th September, Prime Minister Pandit Nehru said that though he was born in Uttar Pradesh, he did not belong to any particular State. He told the gathering :

"I have grown up in every part of the country. I have loved her mountains and her rivers, her villages and green fields of corn. I belong to India."

His recent visit to the tribals in the North-Eastern frontiers of India, is probably a consequence.

We have nothing to say in criticism regarding that visit. It was in the fitness of things that the smallest and the most backward of all communities amongst us should be thus visited by the great, and solaced, comforted and made to feel that not only do they belong to the Union, but that the Union belongs to them and not merely to the most vociferous, numerous and obnoxious group in their part of the world.

But there are many others similarly placed as the Nagas, and their geographical regions have not been so lime-lighted by world-political shifts as has been the regions about the Indo-Tibetan frontiers. There are the Bhils and Bhilalas of Jhabua, Dhar and Ratlam districts. There are the Gonds of Madhya Pradesh, and there are the backward peoples, tribals

and others of the areas of the erstwhile Eastern States grabbed by Bihar and neglected thereafter.

Regarding the last there has been some commotion in the Orissa Assembly, demanding back those areas which linguistically and ethnically belong to Orissa, although ceded to Bihar without rhyme or reason or any justification whatsoever.

Besides the above, there is the controversy between Bihar and West Bengal regarding a group of people who are not backward by our standards of reckoning—at least they are not so by any account compared to the rest of Bihar—we mean the peoples of the Bengali-speaking areas incorporated in Bihar by the British Satraps as punishment for the Bengali's aspirations for independence, and as a preliminary to easy exploitation of the mineral wealth of Singhbhum and Manbhum by rapacious British firms, who could swindle the ignorant owners of the rights with impunity in a politically backward province.

In this last controversy there is also the question of breach of faith by the Congress to the Bengali peoples. Denials there have been and manipulations of truth. But the Truth remains there in spite of juggling with facts, even up to census figures.

If those Congress leaders who are in control of Bihar had not forgotten the cardinal principles of the Congress, if they had not betrayed the trust bequeathed to them, indeed if they had not been false utterly to the teachings and tenets of Gandhism then this sorry state of affairs would not have ensued. But now it is too late and the only remedy is to remove the oppressed from the clutches of the unworthy in power.

It is about time the Congress bigwigs understood that mere platitudes would not suffice, not even a commission. The day of reckoning has to be prepared for.

Plans, Projects and Consequences

Of plans and projects we have had—and are still having—myriads. In the beginning we were told that these grandiose schemes would not only bring relief and succour to the millions for whom ostensibly the plans were made, but would also transform the very face of that bit of distressful earth which we are supposed to call our own.

In the matter of ways and means, we were told that most of the wherewithal would be found in our own coffers and for the rest we are sure to find sympathetic accommodation from our foreign friends.

Plans were made, advice was sought from foreign experts and after a few preliminaries the schemes were put into going. Foreign advice was not taken with regard to choice of men to control the working of the plans. They were chosen by our Tin-gods along the lines on which their brains function.

Since then hundreds of millions of the hard-

earned money of our poor nationals were poured into the schemes and—by the same token—quite a few score millions were wasted, embezzled or spent to fill the insatiable maws of the dependants, flatterers and political henchmen of the mighty.

Now our coffers are nearly empty. The suffering millions are no better off. Therefore we have to beg for loans and likewise beg for expert aid to improve the lot of those millions whom the aforesaid feckless and spendthrift tin-gods have failed to relieve.

So far, so good—or bad. But if the money borrowed is also spent in the same way then the friend who provides the money with no tags on in this instance may be persuaded to impose conditions by those of his own advisors who are not so friendly to us. This may lead to dangerous consequences.

Such dire consequences were envisaged by Sri Suresh Ramabhai in his booklet *Agreement or Slavery Bond?* Regular readers of this journal may remember our criticism of the same when it was published serially in the *Harijan*. Now it is out in booklet form with a Preface by the late Shri K. G. Mashruwala. The Preface is so balanced that we consider it worthy of presentation, in the form that it has been printed in the *Harijan*, without comments, although we do not agree on a few points:

"Often a transaction of public event, which does not immediately create a great sensation in the public and is practically neglected, even by the general politician or economist proves later to have been the turning point in a nation's history. It plants a weed, which after some time, grows rapidly spreading itself far and wide, going deep into the soil and smothering everything in its vicinity. It looks harmless and even pleasant in the beginning, but ultimately when it begins to exert the influence on its surroundings, it would already have become too late and too difficult to get out of its entanglements.

The Agreement signed between U.S. and India on 5th January, 1952 has appeared to Shri Suresh Ramabhai and many of us a transaction of this type.

The Government of India having entered into it with great deliberation and evidently on the advice of experts, is naturally completely satisfied with its achievements. Not a few of the leading dailies and economic organs of industrialists have also given it their blessings.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's deep concern for bringing about the economic regeneration of India at the quickest possible pace is well known. He is impatient with lethargic people who are easily satisfied with a little advance here and a little achievement there. He has great faith in modern technical science and wants it to be fully employed in India for the economic advancement of the country. He wants to see India undertake and complete projects as grand as any in any part of the world. There is no doubt that India is capable of doing all this. Who does not know her past achievements and her position as the leading nation of the world for centuries in every field of life? We are descendants of

the same people, on the whole intellectually well-developed, and given adequate opportunity, guidance and means, there is no reason why we may not achieve as much again.

For more than two centuries past, enormous wealth has been drained away from India into foreign lands, and she has been bled white. It is not possible, Pandit Nehru and many other probably feel, that India can rebuild her prosperity with the aid of her own resources. At any rate it cannot be done at anything more than a snail's pace. If we can obtain, by way of either loan or gift, funds or materials needed by us for developing our country, consistently with our national independence and self-respect, no sense of either timidity or vanity on our part should prevent us from seeking, negotiating, or accepting such aid. There is nothing intrinsically wrong or immoral in it. People enter into partnership and loan agreements every day in their private life and still retain their individuality and equality of status. Whether doing so will put a person in a position of subordination to the other party in matters outside the sphere of agreement depends upon the quality of self-confidence possessed by him. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, perhaps, feels that it would be cowardly on the part of India to reject aids or loans undoubtedly needed by her merely from the fear that the acceptance of such aids may render her incapable of preserving her independence in national or international affairs. Pandit Nehru has more than once shown his independence of spirit, and why should he think that any Government succeeding him will not be able to do so equally well? No doubt, there is some risk, but none can achieve much without risks.

This is theoretically a valid attitude. But it is not in conformity with the actual experience we have in the private life of individuals or the political history of nations. On the contrary, the general experience is that a debtor becomes subservient to the creditor in every manner. He loses all initiative and freedom to decide his course of action. The consequences of disobedience to the will of the creditor or the benefactor are so grave that he does not dare to take the risk.

A study of the Agreement of 5th January, 1952 and of some of the secondary agreements that have since been signed in pursuance of it, shows that the risk to which India has become exposed through these is so grave that the Agreement may well prove to be virtually a bond of slavery. I need not repeat what those risks are, as they have been well described by Shri Suresh Ramabhai in his booklet. The risks are not only economic but also political and psychological. The psychological risk that I refer to is the possibility that at least two opposite types of complexes might be created in the people: that we cannot live without the goodwill and friendship of America; and that (as a strong reaction against the first) we must run into the Communist camp in order to liberate ourselves from the first. The very thing, which is sought to be avoided by U.S.,

might happen, with greater impact by agreements of this type. The drama of China and Korea might be re-enacted in India.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's sincerity of purpose is not to be doubted. He has confidence in himself, confidence in the innate capacities of our people, and faith in the role which India must play in future as a great nation of the world. He believes in the unity of the world; in the abolition of war and in peace. He believes that this is possible only through non-violence and not through armaments. That he cannot run away from the war machine in the immediate present is a concession to the realities of the situation and not an acceptance of the proposition that peace can be saved by piling and perfecting destructive weapons. But simply because he has to make these concessions and cannot face up to all the implications of his faith, he does not want to run away from his duty.

On the economic programme, frankly, it seems to me that Panditji's thinking is not quite clear. He does not love centralization and regimentation; but he appears to me to have almost a superstitious faith in the power of the machine, of scientific appliances and of the economy of mass production. Production by the *charkha*, village industries and bullock plough methods, appears to him, perhaps, as of too rudimentary a nature to be considered seriously by the Government of a great Republic, with a population of 36 crores of people. Hence, he is indeed earnest to industrialize the country. He does not seem to agree with those who think that war and large-scale industrialization are almost inseparable companions.

Due to this attitude of his, he is constantly attracted towards gigantic schemes, and has launched so many of them. Some of them have been disastrous failures, and in some others, the Government has been cheated by its own officers, advisers, technicians and others. One of the greatest and costliest lessons of the schemes has been that we have proved ourselves to be too much depraved in moral character and wanting in love for our country. Other considerations apart, our national regeneration cannot be achieved merely by heavy economic reconstruction. The moral reconstruction of our country on solid foundations is even more important and basic than economic reconstruction. The latter should follow step by step in the wake of the former.

But, great though the losses have been on account of failures and dishonesty in connection with various schemes, they are most of them only isolated transactions. The present agreement is a continuous process. It is virtually a charter to U.S. to establish herself in India, first as a trading concern, and then as India's political boss. The Government of India has agreed to place at the disposal of U.S. all its administrative machinery and to become her advertising agency. U.S. officers, employers, etc., will be allowed to live in India and move and mix with the people of India without being subject to even civil laws of India. Who can prevent them from propagating any political or social views they please, and creating

factions in India? The next elections might well be a rivalry among U.S. sponsored, U.S.S.R. sponsored, and purely Indian parties.

I am in entire agreement with the principle that the whole world is one; that, after all, it is but human and natural that one section of mankind should help another in times of need; that he who has much should share his surplus with him who has little; and that both the giver and the receiver should feel blessed. Grand achievements and scientific advance should not be inconsistent with peace. But it is clear that motives of U.S. in aiding Europe and Asia are not so altruistic as are needed for such an attitude. They are frankly made for organizing an anti-Communist front. Equally similar is the attitude of the Communists. These two are at daggers drawn against each other, and each tries to spread its tentacles over other peoples for their own ends, and not out of any brotherly love. So long as this is the attitude of these two ambitious countries and their collaborating nations, we must rebuild our country by our own efforts. It is better to be slow in our progress, than to put up a facade of progress, when behind it there is only a state of bankruptcy that may lead to civil strife or international warfare."

River Valleys and Railways

We are thankful that a small group has been deputed to report on the D.V.C. scheme's working. The choice of the reporting committee is much better than we expected. We hope those gentlemen will go thoroughly into the matter and render a true and complete report without fear or flattery. Three years have passed and we see little apparent progress and there have been ominous rumours.

The working of the Railway zoning system brought in by Shri Gopalaswamy Ayangar practically on his own and in gross negation of advice in the Kunzru report, should also be examined now before the mischief becomes even more serious. We intend going into it in detail later, as we have had a whole mass of criticisms sent to us by informed and affected sections of the public.

Truman, Stalin and Gandhi

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa writes in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* for October, 1952 :

"A great deal of misunderstanding has arisen by my appreciation of China and Russia. Some have even expressed a surprise that anything good could be said of Russia by a Gandhian. All this arises out of not carefully studying the basis of values that govern America, Russia or Sarvodaya and by merely following interested propaganda."

According to Dr. Kumarappa, five values now govern the world. They are : The Mlechha value, The Sudra value, The Vaishya value, The Kshatriya value and the Brahmana value.

Elucidating the above values he writes that the capitalist or the imperialist way of life is based on a material standard and self-interest and is solely guided by the profit motive. It is basically self-centred and individualistic; and is much the same approach that characterises the behaviour of animals of prey. The fullest manifestation of this value, termed by Dr. Kumarappa as the Mlechha value, is to be found in the present-day U.S.A. He calls it a "parasitic economy."

The Sudra value is one that has no goal, no philosophy of life or any outlook to guide. People following this standard of value drift on as the wind blows them; they follow whoever is nearest them at the moment. It is a servile mentality. At the moment India is passing through this aimless, purposeless, visionless and rudderless stage.

The Vaishya value depends on an honest attempt to balance good and bad. There is a realization of the permanence of human relations. This characteristic is well brought out in the British civilization.

The Kshatriya value envisages a way of life where an idea of service prevails over selfish considerations. It aims at the welfare of the "masses" but will sacrifice the interests "of a few" for the sake of doing good to the majority. The moral stage of India was at this point of civilization at the time of the Mahabharata. *Life in Soviet Russia falls into this group.* There is a large measure of social values applied but is subject to compromises according to the exigencies of the situation. *Sometimes even Gandhiji sank to this level from his universal standards of Truth and Non-violence.* Gandhiji's consent to the division of India into Indian Union and Pakistan is such an instance.

Finally, the Brahmana value "represents an uncompromising, absolute stand on purely moral and universal consideration largely based on the desire to serve all—Sarvodaya. This is the stage of civilization or Ramarajya envisaged by Gandhiji.

"From this classification," concludes Dr. Kumarappa, "it is clear that Truman falls into the Mlechha group, Nehru in the Sudra group, Great Britain falls into the Vaishya stage, Stalin becomes a Kshatriya and on the whole, Gandhiji stands out as a Brahmana. Similarly, many of us can place ourselves in the above groups according to our leanings."

We would leave the Mlechha to take care of himself, which he is well capable of doing. Neither do we undertake to rehabilitate Pandit Nehru into the fold of the twice-born Saraswata.

We are truly dumb-founded at the classification of the British civilization as Vaishya. Where and how often did the honest attempt to balance good and bad occur in Indian history?

The Kshatriya value is all right. But a new *Gita* will have to be composed in order to justify Soviet Imperialism under Stalin. What about Finland?

Sales Tax Controversy

For some time controversy is going on over the imposition of sales tax by the States. Revenue from sales tax has come to occupy an important place in the income of the States and any development in this connection is being watched with interest all over the country. Recently at Delhi a conference of States' Finance Ministers was held which, among other things, cogitated over the sales tax issue and made certain recommendations in this respect. The sales tax is governed by Article 286 of the Constitution which reads as follows: "No law of a State shall impose or authorize the imposition of a tax on the sale or purchase of goods where such sale or purchase takes place—(a) outside the State; or (b) in the course of the import of the goods into, or export of the goods out of, the territory of India." In the conference, the Centre yielded to the insistent demands of States on the issue of sales tax. This is generally regarded as a personal victory for Mr. Rajagopalachari, who vigorously resisted the Central advice against States levying sales tax on the sale or purchase of articles intended for export or import or on commodities despatched from one State to another. The conference is reported to have reached the following conclusions:

Immunity from sales or purchase tax should apply to sale by the exporter and purchase by the importer; Immunity from sales or purchase tax should not extend to transactions taking place before the last transaction of purchase by the exporter or after the first transaction of sales by the importer.

Under the inter-State commerce clause, the arrangement, it was recommended, should be as follows:

(a) Where sale and physical delivery to an individual buyer are in the same State, there is no inter-State commerce and the State where the sale and physical delivery take place will tax.

(b) Where as a direct result of a sale by a dealer in State A, goods are despatched to State B there is inter-State trade; neither State A nor State B can tax the transaction under the Constitution, though State B can tax subsequent sales of the article in that State. But the Centre will examine the feasibility of promoting legislation to ensure that sales tax is not thus evaded by the dealer or consumer in certain categories of goods like motor cars, refrigerators, radios, etc.

On the question whether immunity should apply to the last transaction of purchase by the exporter and the first transaction of sale by the importer, it was decided at the conference that the judgment of the Supreme Court should be awaited. And the much expected judgment of the Supreme Court was delivered on October 16.

By a unanimous judgment, the Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court dismissed three appeals by the State of Travancore-Cochin arising out of the levy of sales tax by the State on three firms doing export business in coir products, lemongrass oil and tea. The appeals by the State were directed against the judgment of the State

High Court quashing proceedings on the question of levy of sales tax on the commodities by the State authorities. The High Court was moved by the respondent firms for a writ under Article 226 of the Constitution. The respondents contended before the sales tax authorities in the State that the goods in question were meant for export and were thus exempt from sales tax under Article 286 (1) (b) of the Constitution.

The respondent firms' contention was rejected by the State authorities, who held that since the sale of the commodities were completed in the State much before they were shipped for export, the protection of the above Article would not apply in the case of that sale. The High Court, however, accepted the contention and hence the appeal.

Their Lordships of the Supreme Court held that a sale by export necessarily envisaged some process, namely, an agreement to sell, transshipment of the goods, and ultimate delivery thereof, and therefore it would not be correct to say that only because the sale had been completed before shipping, they were not exempt from taxation. It was held that "a sale by export thus involves a series of integrated activities, commencing from the agreement of sale with a foreign buyer and ending with the delivery of the goods to a common carrier for transport out of the country by land or sea. Such a sale cannot be dissociated from the export, without which it cannot be effectuated, and the sale and resultant export for parts of a single transaction."

The Supreme Court's judgment on the meaning of Article 286 (1) (b) of the Constitution negatives some of the decisions taken at the Finance Ministers' conference at Delhi. This Article specifically prohibits States from imposing a sales tax on goods "in the course of" import into, or export out of, India. The words quoted hitherto offered diverse interpretations; the Centre itself was concerned to retain intact its exclusive power of imposing import and export duties. The Supreme Court's judgment will no doubt affect the States' revenues, still, however, it will bring uniformity to a certain extent to the levying of sales tax by the States. Under the judgment, the transactions in import and export commodities will become exempt from sales tax in Travancore-Cochin, Madras, and, from next month, also Bombay, where the multi-point sales tax system operates. The judgment of the Supreme Court will negative the decision taken at the States' Finance Ministers' conference that—"immunity from sales or purchase tax should not extend to transactions taking place before the last transaction of purchase by the exporter or after the first transaction of sale by the importer." An export sale involves a series of integrated activities and it is not completed until delivery to a common carrier.

The Finance Ministers' conference anticipated an unfavourable judgment by the Supreme Court over the issue and it contemplated further consultations in that event.

Estate Duty

In the last session of the Parliament, the Estate Duty Bill was introduced. The origin of the estate duty bill can be traced to 1925 when for the first time a measure of this kind was recommended by the Taxation Enquiry Committee then appointed. The recommendation, however, could not be given effect to on account of the impending constitutional changes following the appointment of the Statutory Commission in 1928. The necessity for such a measure was felt again during the last war which helped many people in acquiring enormous private fortunes, mostly by unauthorised means. Imposition of Estate Duty on the lines of the Duty obtaining in the U.K. could not be undertaken under the Government of India Act, 1935, for various reasons. Accordingly, in 1944 the Act of 1935 was amended so as to empower the Central Legislature to levy an Estate Duty in respect of property other than agricultural land, the latter falling within the ambit of the Provincial List.

In 1946, a bill seeking to levy a duty on estates "passing" or "deemed to pass" on the death of a person was introduced in the Central Legislature. The bill was however dropped for reasons unknown. The bill was reintroduced in the provisional Parliament in 1948 and although it passed through the Select Committee stage it was not proceeded with and it lapsed with the dissolution of the provisional Parliament.

The bill now introduced is practically a reproduction of the bill of 1948 as reported by the Select Committee. The following changes have however been made:

(1) When the earlier bill was drafted the Central Government had no jurisdiction to make laws in respect of agricultural land. But now some States have passed the necessary resolution under Article 252 of the Constitution and the bill therefore applies also to agricultural lands in such States. As and when the remaining States pass the necessary resolutions, the Schedule will be amended by a Notification of the Central Government to include such States.

(2) In respect of movable property of the deceased, the levy of duty will depend upon his domicile only. The alternative basis of residence in the Bill as amended by the Select Committee has been omitted.

(3) As in the case of Income-tax law, the fixation of the rates of duty and of the maximum limits of exemption will be regulated by the annual Finance Acts.

(4) For the sake of administrative convenience, the power to assess duty is assigned to the Controller of Estate Duty—a new authority which will function under the Central Board of Revenue.

(5) Appeals from the orders of the Controller of Estate Duty will lie to the Central Board of Revenue, and as in the Indian Income Tax Act, 1922, references to the High Court may be made on questions of law.

The object of the Bill is to impose an estate duty on property passing or deemed to pass on the death of a person. Though the levy and collection of Income-tax at high rates since the War and the investigations undertaken by the Income-tax Investigation Commission in a number of important cases of tax evasion have, no doubt, prevented to some extent the further concentra-

tion of wealth in the hands of those who are already wealthy, yet these do no amount to positive steps in the direction of reducing the existing inequalities in the distribution of wealth. It is hoped that by the imposition of an estate duty such unequal distribution may be rectified to a large extent. Such a measure would also assist the States towards financing their development schemes. The Draft Five-Year Plan has stressed the necessity of undertaking legislation to levy death duties in India as early as possible.

Under the Constitution of India, as in the original Government of India Act, duty on agricultural land falls within the legislative list of the States while non-agricultural property comes within the jurisdiction of the Centre. To secure uniformity of levy, several States, namely, Bombay, U.P., Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad and Rajasthan, have passed the necessary resolution under Article 252 of the Constitution authorising the Centre to legislate on their behalf in respect of agricultural property in these States.

Under the Bill, the duty realised on agricultural land situated in a State will be assigned to that State. As regards the net proceeds on non-agricultural property, the same will, under Article 269 of the Constitution, be assigned to the States on such principles of distribution as Parliament may formulate.

Cloth Decontrol

From October 1, the Government of India have removed controls on a few varieties of cloth. In recent times it is said that the production has increased considerably but offtake to that extent has not increased. In order to encourage larger consumption and to facilitate increased export, partial decontrol has been effected. That exports are vital to the maintenance of India's textile industry on a sound basis, nobody would dispute. It is not only the question of earning foreign exchange through textile export, but it is to be remembered that without exports India's textile industry cannot dispose of all its output. At the International Cotton Conference held recently at Buxton, India emphasised the fact that the industry was originally designed to cater to the market covered by undivided India; and the partition of the country has necessitated, it is said, a larger export of Indian textiles. Indian textile production is now running at an annual rate of 4,500 million yards. The export target is suggested at 1,000 million yards and the internal supply will be 3,500 million yards of mill-made cloth and about 1,200 million yards of handloom cloth, or a total supply of 4,700 million yards. The export target of 1,000 million yards, it is apprehended, will not be reached this year and in consequence the cloth supply for domestic markets will be more plentiful than in 1951. If the internal consumption does not increase sufficiently to absorb all this cloth, the textile industry will be in difficulty.

Indian textile export is progressively on the decline this year. During the first nine months of this year, exports of textiles aggregated hardly 430 million yards as against 741 million yards in 1951 and 1,074 million yards in 1950. Although the figure for the current year relates only to seaborne trade, exports along the land route have not increased. The factors responsible for the decline in India's textile exports are the general recession in world textile trade, the restrictions on the imports of cloth imposed recently by Pakistan, Indonesia and certain other countries. Japan is gradually becoming a formidable rival of Indian textile, particularly in the Middle Eastern and Far Eastern countries. Foreign demand is for fine and superfine varieties and during the current year nearly 50 per cent of the exported cloth consisted of these varieties. India is competitively at a disadvantage in the production and export of fine and superfine varieties of cloth, although importing countries allow preferential tariffs for Indian cloth. For the production of finer varieties, India has to import long-stapled cotton at higher prices. As a result of costs being thus higher, India is not strong enough to withstand the test of free rivalry in export markets. India will have to fall back mainly on the coarse and medium varieties of cloth against the increasing Japanese competition in finer varieties. That means, India's exports will suffer and she must develop her internal consumption in order to keep the industry as a going concern. In order to step up exports, the Government of India have permitted the millowners to sell forward for export even beyond the end of this year upto March 1953. The mills, however, state that considerable increase in export trade cannot be expected so long as the mills are handicapped by an export duty of 25 per cent on coarse and medium counts, which are the varieties that will constitute the bulk of India's exports in piecegoods. The duty has already proved a great handicap and a prompt reduction in the export duty will help the mills to compete favourably in the world markets.

Before conclusion, we must point out that internal prices of cloth are still very high and consumption inside the country cannot increase unless the prices are lowered to suit the pockets of all shades of consumers. It has so long been a folly on the part of the industry to bank upon export markets ignoring and starving the poor consumers of the country. Profit motive is to be adjusted with the changing condition and all efforts should be now made to increase internal supply at cheaper prices. The average *per capita* cloth consumption in foreign countries is about 60 to 70 yards per year, whereas it is only 12 yards in this country. There is, therefore, considerable scope for increasing domestic consumption and the industry can thrive better if it looks to the needs of the country. The industry has not acted in full co-operation with the Government policy and

to earn windfall profits they often acted undesirably against the interests of the Government and country and now their own greed is recoiling upon themselves. The days of 1947, '48, '49, and '50 are still afresh in the minds of the people when blackmarketing and profiteering in textile trade seemed to be the order of the day and the poor wearer best knows where the cloth prices and supply as well pinch. Too much infatuation may be conducive to the pockets of the millowners, but the country and people have nothing to gain by that.

New Food Policy

From Bombay comes the report again that a new food policy based on complete decontrol of food-grains and zoning of surplus and deficit States is expected to be announced shortly by the Government of India. Mr. Kidwai, Union Minister for Food, is reported to have stated that he would hold talks with Food Ministers of various States to evolve a definite policy in regard to decontrol. Under the new policy the ban on inter-State movement of food-grains would be lifted but instead certain food zones would be created by linking up a deficit State with a surplus State. It is understood, however, that under the new policy rationing would continue in big industrial cities like Calcutta and Bombay and such other industrial cities as the States might desire.

Much was heard about both proposals a few months ago after Madras State had decontrolled the food-grains. Suggestions for such zoning at that time encountered resistance and it is yet to be seen if the proposal can at all be put through. The States' opposition to decontrol is enigmatic, if not intriguing. Mr. Kidwai is reported to have stated that "self-sufficiency is within sight."

The war ended about six years ago. But control of foodgrains still persists and it has not improved the position. On the contrary, food deficit is progressively increasing. In 1951 India imported 4.7 million tons of foodgrains costing about Rs. 216 crores. As early as 1945, the Famine Enquiry Commission recommended the gradual relaxation of controls over foodgrains and building up of an emergency reserve. But that advice went unheeded so far. Instead, figures, mostly unreliable, are put forward to prove that the country needs controls as an eternal perdition. The late Father of the Nation cried hoarse to persuade the authorities to redeem control, but to no avail. The most important realization that is lacking among the ardent supporters of control of foodgrains is that control is no panacea for the alleged food deficit and moreover it is creating artificial scarcity. Another point is also overlooked in this connection and it is that the quantity of foodgrains which is wasted on account of control nearly equals the quantity which is imported. The

conclusion can be safely made that on account of control the quantity which is being wasted has to be covered by imports.

In the recent controversy in Bengal whether the State is self-supporting or not in foodgrains, it was proved to the hilt by the supporters of decontrol that the State is self-supporting and it can do away with the control. The best way to solve the problem will be to decontrol the food by building up emergency reserves. It is gratifying to note the report just published that in West Bengal food is likely to be decontrolled from January with the exception of Calcutta and the adjoining industrial area. Although belated, the step would be in the right direction. Anybody having the knowledge of the countryside would confess that control has created artificial scarcity.

Decontrol of Food

Under the new plan there would be complete decontrol of food throughout the country with the exception, however, that rationing would continue in Calcutta, Bombay and such other industrial cities as the states might desire. All restrictions on the inter-state movement of foodgrains would be lifted and certain "food zones" would be created by linking up a deficit state with a surplus one.

In the opinion of Mr. Kidwai the food position of the country had considerably improved and self-sufficiency in food was within sight. Consequently an experiment with decontrol could be made without any danger.

Mr. Kidwai told that West Bengal was now self-sufficient in food if it did not have the responsibility to feed the City of Calcutta. Confirming this view of the Union Minister, the Food Minister of West Bengal, Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen, said on October 23, that West Bengal was even in a position to contribute 150,000 tons of rice to the Central pool, if the Centre took the responsibility of feeding the Calcutta industrial area.

The total rice requirement of West Bengal, excluding Calcutta and the adjoining industrial areas, was 3.7 million tons. The food requirements of the Calcutta industrial area were about 600,000 tons including 350,000 tons of rice. The Centre had promised to supply West Bengal with 200,000 tons of rice and the State Government would contribute 150,000 tons of rice to the Central pool to be utilized for feeding the Calcutta industrial area.

This year the total production of rice in West Bengal is estimated to be 4.2 million tons against the average of 3.6 million tons and last year's 3.3 million tons.

A report, published in the *Statesman*, states: "With the introduction of the new food plan (in West Bengal), the system of procurement would also change. Under the proposed levy system, 200,000 to 250,000

tons would be procured from producers possessing 10 acres or more land and about 100,000 to 150,000 tons from rice mills which would be required to give one-third of their total procurement to the Government. The mills would be allowed to sell the balance in non-rationed areas.

"The total procurement, said the Food Minister, would thus be about 400,000 tons of rice. Contributing 150,000 tons to the Central pool, the State Government would keep the balance of 250,000 tons in reserve for emergency purposes.

"Except for statutory rationed areas, all inter-district restrictions on the free movement of rice would be lifted."

So far as the all-India situation was concerned Government would still have to continue the import of foodgrains. By the end of 1952 India would have imported about 2.6 million tons of wheat, 800,000 or 900,000 tons of rice and 600,000 tons of millet. However, the Union Government contemplated to restrict the import to the minimum; and the figure for 1953 might not exceed 2.8 million tons. Probably there would be no purchase of milo or millet from foreign countries in 1953.

We have seen that the results of past attempts at decontrol did not come up to expectation. That the experiment in Madras was not quite so successful as expected, could be gathered from the statement of the Chief Minister of Madras the other day that the whole of that province might have to be declared a famine area. Besides, the success of the new plan is dependent to a great extent on the willingness of the surplus states to co-operate with the government in the formation of the "food zones." Moreover, the crops are still in the field and the optimistic picture put up before us by Messrs. Kidwai and Sen may not prove to be fully correct. Therefore, it would be best on the part of the Government to keep a close watch on the situation before taking such a crucial decision affecting the lives of millions of poor people of the country. There is a tendency in this country to play tricks with the essentials of life of the millions, for the benefit of a few. Drastic measures to prevent this exigency cannot be framed, it seems, under the flimsy and flamboyant Constitution framed and passed by the wiseacres of the Constituent Assembly. Until such measures can be put in action, it would be dangerous to indulge in complacency over food supplies.

Tea Workers to be Laid Off

A PTI despatch published in the *Statesman* of October 25 states that about 300,000 tea garden labourers in Assam were likely to be "laid off without pay" early in 1953. The member companies of the Indian Tea Association took this decision as there was not sufficient work even for resident labour on many gardens.

An earlier report indicates that 7,000 labourers had already become unemployed as a result of the closing down of nine tea gardens in Darjeeling and another 20,000 would be similarly affected when another 20 gardens closed towards the end of October.

This is the result of boosting up of production out of greed for profit, regardless of quality, by the management and proprietors of tea-estates on the one hand and equally thoughtless and feckless framing of laws and regulations for tea-garden labour by Shri Jagjivan Ram and his advisors on the other hand. The quality of tea in India has gone down as deeply as the steep rise of prices. Labour has become careless, reckless and completely out of control likewise. Now comes the nemesis.

Rs. 10 Crores for Chambal Project

The implementation of the Chambal scheme in Madhya Bharat will require an amount of Rs. 49 crores. After completion it will enable 12 lakh acres of land to be cultivated and power supply will be available at six to nine pies per unit.

The response to the Congress Working Committee's resolution asking for public co-operation in the implementation of the five-year plan, Dr. Kailashnath Katju, speaking at the request of Pandit Nehru, made an offer in the recent A.-I. C. C. session at Indore "to collect Rs. 10 crores by September, 1954, from the people of Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan to be invested with the Government of India as loan earmarked for the development of the Chambal Valley Project . . ." reports the correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle*. He spoke in the capacity of a representative from Madhya Pradesh. Dr. Katju is not a member of the A.-I. C. C. He was requested by the Congress President to speak before the A.-I. C. C. session.

Shelter-belt Planting in U.S.S.R.

V. Y. Koldanov writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union* that "planting shelter-belts is a major undertaking in remaking the country's climate, and considerable achievements have been registered in the immense offensive launched against drought. Eight shelter-belts have been laid out in the steppe and forest and steppe districts of the European part of the U.S.S.R., and the afforestation tempo indicates that the national shelter-belts will be completed considerably ahead of schedule.

"The time is not far off when the 1,000 kilometre long forest-belts, created by Soviet people, will stand like a wall holding back the dry winds. Fields that are bordered with forest shelter-belts are immune to drought. The earth will reward man's labour with unparalleled bumper crops.

"No one anywhere has ever before been remaking nature on such a scale. Last year alone trees were

planted on 745,000 hectares in the U.S.S.R., which is almost as much as has been planted in America in the last 400 years.

"New and great tasks with respect to planting shelter-belts are set by the fifth Five-year Plan. . . ."

Should we not take a leaf out of the Soviet plans, and adapt it to our conditions, in our fight against the creep of the Rajputana desert into the green belt of the Hariana and North-West U.P.?

"Building a New Society"

This is the title of a pamphlet of 8 pages issued by the West Bengal Government. We quote from page 7 :

"There is the most vivid description of the fact that in the final analysis, our ability to sustain the programme will depend on the degree and extent to which the interest, enthusiasm and initiative of the local people can be enlisted in its support. . . ."

"The greatest emphasis is being placed on the careful selection and training of village workers. Two more training centres are being opened besides the one already functioning at Burdwan. Each course extends for six months. . . ."

"The organic character of the community development programme is the ultimate guarantee of its success. . . ."

"Thus we have begun our task of social regeneration: not unmindful of its stupendous nature or complex character. . . ."

These extracts speak of hopes to be realized, of "back to the village" slogan attempted to be given shape and form.

A companion booklet of 29 pages is entitled *Village Township Settlements for Middle Class Families*. The West Bengal plan does not differ in any way from the innumerable plans planned for different countries. Middle class unemployment is part of a general problem, worldwide. And the special features characteristic of India are being erased by the fashion of importing foreign "experts" on a few months' deputation; then they produce reports and go. Indian officials try to digest these in their own way; even Gandhiji's disciples appear to have more books in their library written by these foreign experts than their Indian compeers. When such is the atmosphere, our lone voice in favour of every man given his liberty to plan out his own life, is doomed to failure, we know. The totalitarian spirit, the deification of the State, will stand in the way of the individual finding his own self-fulfilment.

A Sikh State

The Sikhs have revived their claims for a Sikh State, a State where the Gurumukhi character will be the State script and Punjabi its language. It cannot but be a small affair—a State peopled by about fifty lakhs of people. But the principle of linguistic provinces looms behind it. And the Nehru Government has been breaking Congress promises in their blind pursuit of a policy which leads but to chaos. The July discussion in the Central Assembly reveals the

subservience of the Congress members to the party leaders. But it reveals also their moral decay.

We have always been in favour of linguistic provinces. And our "faith in it has been confirmed by the way in which the Oriyas have been making head-way towards modern life by the mere fact that they are fully satisfied today by the consolidation of their people—Sardar Patel's last victory over innate conservatism. The Sikhs will prove as contented a people as our Oriya neighbours.

Gas Workers' Strike in Bombay

The announcement of the end of the strike of the gas workers was made on September 14 by Mr. K. N. Joglekar, President of the Engineering Workers' Union, after numerous sessions with the workers' committee, reports the *Bombay Chronicle*. It was, however, understood that if all the demands of the workers were not referred to adjudication, fresh notice of strike would be given.

"Mr. Joglekar said that the company had taken unfair advantage of the 'time bar' which had prevented the workers from legally striking, and now made it imperative that they return to work . . . or suffer the consequences of an illegal strike."

The workers in a resolution condemned the high-handed manner of the Bombay State Government and the victimisation tactics of the company. The company has issued charge-sheets against seventy-five Union leaders.

Judges' View on Death Sentence for

Murder

Interesting observations were made by Dayal and Agarwala JJ. of Allahabad High Court while dismissing an appeal of Moolchand, who was sentenced to death by the Sessions Judge of Azamgarh under Section 302 I.P.C. Their lordships commuted the death sentence to transportation for life in the case of the other applicant, Phoolchand who was aged 20. According to the reports published in the *Leader* of September 20, Mr. Justice Agarwala said that the underlying policy of the whole scheme of punishment (Indian Penal Code) was the doctrine of deterrent punishment. But "of late it had been found that the policy of deterrent punishment did not solve the social problem of crimes." His lordship observed that though it was true that judges were not social reformers, but interpreters of the law and enforced it as they found it, "yet they must of necessity move with the times, or else the justice which they sought to do might, by change of circumstances, become inequitable. They kept pace with the progress of time in two ways: first, by interpreting the words of the law in the light of the accepted ideas of the age and newly discovered facts. Secondly, where the law gave a discretion to the judges, they exercised that discretion so as to ensure justice in accordance with the spirit of the times.

"Under Section 302 I.P.C., a discretion was vested in courts either to impose a sentence of death or of transportation for life . . ." He was of the opinion that "The sentence of death was awarded in cases in which the act was very brutal and highly repugnant to morals and the sentence of transportation for life was imposed in all other cases."

"His lordship said he was always averse to awarding the extreme penalty of law to accused persons more in number than the persons killed. . . ."

" . . . in the present case, his lordship found that Moolchand inflicted the gandasa injuries and Phoolchand merely held the legs of the deceased. Phoolchand was aged 20 years only. In the circumstances, a sentence of transportation for life would meet the ends of the justice in his case."

Mr. Justice Dayal held that "It was not necessary to his mind that the assailant who actually inflicted the fatal blow was liable to be awarded the extreme penalty of law and that his associates must be awarded the lesser penalty of law. Nor did he consider the number of persons murdered to be any criterion for awarding death sentence among the accused who were proved to have committed the murder."

"His lordship observed that the courts were not much concerned with the policy or reason behind the law which they had to administer. The policy was for the legislature to determine. If change of times, change of circumstances, change of moral values and sentiments were supposed to make a law out of date, it was for the legislature to step in and make the law consonant with the prevailing sentiments of what ought to be a crime and what ought to be the measurement of punishment."

His lordship said that "The provisions of the Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code had been consistently interpreted by the various courts to mean that whenever a person was convicted of committing murder, the court was to pass the sentence of death unless there be extenuating circumstances and that the court was not to withhold the passing of the death sentence on the ground that there were no aggravating circumstances to justify the death penalty. . . ."

"His lordship was, therefore, of the opinion that both appellants were rightly convicted and sentenced to death by the Sessions Judge. However, in view of the opinion of Mr. Justice Agarwala that the sentence of death passed on Phoolchand be commuted to transportation for life, he agreed with the order proposed by him."

Netaji

We are glad that the Bengal Assembly resolved unanimously on August 5 last to request the Central Government to start an enquiry into the mystery of the air-crash which is supposed to have caused Netaji's death. Now that both Shah Nawaz and Bhonsle are in the Central Government as Deputy Ministers, it is up to them to help go into the Habibullahi story.

The matter has become more urgent in view of diverse curious rumours and apparently responsible statements, made by men like Pandit Jaji, that Netaji is living and he is biding his time for his emergence into India. All these tend towards demoralizing both the Government and the people. Further, the confirmation by Netaji's family of his marriage, the printing of the photo of his wife and girl-child—all these have combined to make a fresh enquiry imperative.

Disturbances in Kenya

News of an outbreak of disturbances in Kenya has reached this country. The Middle East is already in ferment. Now Africa is also being engulfed in this chaos. The outbreaks are clearly anti-British and have the support of the native population, if the press reports indicate the truth. Reports reaching here disclose that a battalion of British troops was flown to Nairobi on October 20 to combat the insurgents. The Police Commissioner of Nairobi had stated that about a thousand Africans had been arrested. Another report said that 2,000 Africans were taken in for questioning. Unofficial sources in London said that a second and a third contingent of British troops would be flown from Britain to Kenya in support of the present strength. Air Charter companies already engaged in troopng contracts were said to be standing by. The British cruiser *Kenya* would arrive at Mombasa from Colombo in a short time. Above all, a state of emergency was declared throughout Kenya on the night of October 20 following which there was a wave of arrests in Kenya. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the 100,000 strong Kenya African Union and many other well-known Africans have been arrested. The newly appointed Governor of Kenya, Sir Evelyn Baring, declared on October 20, "We have reached an extremely serious position." Meanwhile the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, announced of his intention to visit Kenya in the last week of October. Two Labour M.P.s., Mr. Hale and Mr. Brockway would also visit Kenya in November at the invitation of the Kenya African Union.

The Mau Mau insurgents on their part burnt down the Nyeri Polo Club where the Duke of Edinburgh played polo during his visit early this year. Three hundred acres of grazing land belonging to two European farmers nearby were set on fire. Two pro-British Kikuyu chiefs have been killed.

The police blocked the exits from the forest reserves of the Kikuyu tribes, covering hundreds of square miles; and spread out among villages and dug deep into the forests with their dogs to trace the leaders of the insurgents.

The above scrappy information is suggestive of a very serious state of things. Had the movement been a superficial one, bereft of popular support, clearly such serious steps as declaration of a state of emergency would not have become necessary. Though

the Government stated that the situation was under control, subsequent developments point to the contrary.

Africa like Asia is passing through an upheaval. The freedom movement in the African Colonies is growing every day. The latest developments in Kenya are only one of the manifestations of this urge for freedom. The British colonial rule did not solve any single problem of the African people. The terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Kenya clearly confirm the above statements. A *PTI-Reuter* despatch states that the Commission "will examine the means of improving farming methods, preserving and improving the soil, development of industry, wages policy, conditions of employment in industry and commerce, mining and agriculture and problem of social security arising from the growth of urban populations."

In the present movement the Kikuyu tribe has been taking a prominent part. The Kikuyu tribe inhabits the vast area extending from the Kenya coast to Lake Victoria, Uganda and parts of Tanganyika. The Kikuyu Central Association—a political organization—was formed about thirty years ago to promote political consciousness among the native population. It was an anti-British and anti-feudal organization. The Kenya Government banned this organization with the outbreak of the last war. The origin of the Mau Mau can be traced to this Association. There is a secret society of the Kikuyu which is proscribed. The Mau Mau spread through the Kikuyu lands and into the Rift Valley. That the Mau Mau is very popular with the Kikuyu is borne out by the fact that Africans are not co-operating with the administration. The Mau Mau are not restricted within the Kikuyu tribe alone. The aims of Mau Mau are to seize political power by all means.

Of the three tribal chiefs who were loyal to the British, Chiefs Warahiu and Nderi have been murdered by the Kikuyu—the only survivor being Njeri of Forthall district. The way Nderi was killed is significant. About 500 Kikuyu men, women and children hacked him to pieces.

The situation in Kenya closely resembles that in Malaya. So long as exploitation will persist such unfortunate occurrences will happen—no matter how the colonies are ruled. Because imperialism breeds such disturbances.

Blind force may put down uprisings, but the progress and prosperity of the colony will be deeply affected. Uprisings of this type will recur again and again, with added force and momentum until the whole of colonial Africa becomes a festering mass of seething unrest. The drain on the Imperial Coffs of Britain will become unbearable. The only way is to come to an honourable understanding with the children of the soil, however lowly their status and standard of civilization.

Social and Economic Uplift for Kenya

On October 28, Sir Evelyn Baring, the Governor of Kenya, announced "a wide programme of economic and social development for Kenya."

As published in the local newspapers:

"Sir Evelyn's social and economic programme which the Kenya Government propose to carry out in the next twelve months include: (1) Expenditure of 6½ million sterling on the development and reconstruction, largely to be met by loan funds supplemented by grants. (2) The complete reconstruction of the great trunk road to Uganda via Eldoret, 160 miles north-west of Nairobi, and Tororo, another 60 miles further on just inside Uganda. (3) Expansion of the Mombasa water to supply extra 8 million gallons of water a day. (4) Expenditure of 328,000 sterling to continue general agricultural betterment in areas already settled to settle Africans in areas freed of the tsetse fly and the provision of water and roads in those areas. (5) The intensification of welfare activities such as community centres, schools and village halls for African forest squatters. (6) Construction of new hospitals. (7) A vigorous housing drive. (8) Possible construction of an oil refinery in Mombasa on which approaches have been made to the Government. (9) Oil exploration. (10) Possible construction of a new Nairobi airport at Embakasi to replace the present Eastleigh airfield."

Heavy Roller of Repression in Tunisia

Press reports reveal that high French authorities met in Tunis on October 28 in the 'Council of War' to draft stern measures to break the mounting resistance to French rule. Nothing could be known from the French Residency as to the decisions taken at a "morning-long conference that brought together the Commanding General of French troops, the Commanding General of Air, Director of all security services and the Inspector-General of civil control."

Meanwhile sporadic attacks on the French by the Tunisians are on the increase. These activities are designed to attract world attention to Tunisian Nationalist demands for home rule.

The Tunisian question is now before the U. N. General Assembly.

French Reverses in Indo-China

The war in Indo-China between the French and the government of Dr. Ho Chi Minh is now in its eighth year. Still the outcome is undecided. Recent developments do not present a bright picture for the French. In Malaya, Indo-China, Tunisia, Kenya, everywhere the pattern is the same. The ruling imperialist powers always try to create the impression that their regimes are being opposed by terrorist groups. But the progress of events indicates a different state of affairs. The happenings in Indo-China are clear proof of this. If it were mere cases of

subversion, then by now we would have had proofs of the reaction amongst the sober groups.

In the recent engagements between the French and the Viet-Minh, French troops were forced to abandon the strategic positions at Nghia Lo and since then an area of over 200 square miles around it. French airborne troops sent in support of the withdrawing forces had been trapped. Their position is not clear. The Viet-Minh aim, according to military observers, is to capture Son La, 122 miles from Hanoi, by an encircling movement. If successful, this would present a serious threat to the French Associated State of Laos, whose border is only 28 miles away.

The Communists sprang a surprise attack on the night of October 17 and backed their assault with heavy artillery fire. The appearance of these new and effective weapons had been a surprise to the French. For the first time in the whole Indo-China war, the Viet-Minh had used anti-aircraft guns against the French. The calibre and accuracy of the weapons were also remarkable. The Viet-Minh used the 75mm mountain guns and 120mm mortars, which pulverized the concrete walls of the fort at Nghia Lo. French sources ascribe the introduction of these new weapons to Chinese aid.

Goonda Raj in French Settlements in India

"Over 350 major cases of assault, arson and hooliganism are the dark record of the reign of *goondas* in French settlements in India since India became independent"—that is the purport of a statement issued by the External Affairs Ministry on October 26 evidently in reply to M. Pimlin, French Minister of Overseas Territory. The cases of 'hooliganism and terrorism' in the French settlements in India according to the statement, rendered futile any referendum to determine the future of the settlements.

"The French Minister had stated recently Sri Nehru's statements at Madras—that the French were using terrorist methods in their Indian possessions—were based on 'misinformation'."

The above report was published in the daily press of the 27th October. The statement referred to above discloses a very disquieting situation in the French settlements. The French Indian police were shielding the *goondas* and complaints made by the public against hooliganism only brought police displeasure on the complainant. Since 1947, 1,051 families, from Pondicherry alone, had to leave their hearths and homes and migrate to India. The political party in power had unleashed the *goonda* elements in order to strike terror in the minds of the people who desired union with India. The report of the neutral observers deputed by the French Government in March-April, 1951, is illuminating. It says:

"Amongst the means employed by the chiefs of the party in power are the groups of 'handymen,'

commonly designated by the name of *goondas* or rowdies recruited from the working classes and who, armed with sticks and clubs, attack political adversaries during elections or during meetings organized by them. It was thus that when the Communists were in power in 1947, the *goondas* worked for this party although it now seems that they worked for the "Socialist Party" in power. It appears furthermore that recourse is had to their services during periods which seemed to the observers to be perfectly normal and calm."

Hooliganism has become a recognised profession there. Apart from the plunder of looting the *goondas* got regular pay. The headquarters of the *goondas* were taverns and tea-stalls. Many of the incidents of rowdiness occurred in broad daylight. After breaking open the houses and shops of pro-merger people they often molested the womenfolk. Some of the *goondas* were quite well-known and there was no attempt on their part to hide their identity.

"The list of major incidents in the French Settlements—which is by no means comprehensive, since many incidents go unreported because of the people's fear of the police—makes unhappy reading, since it shows how the inspiring call of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity,' which resounds to the world from the glorious pages of French history, has become a mockery in these territories over which the French flag still flies. . . . No one expected, after the peaceful way in which the British gave up their mighty Indian Empire, that the French would hold fast to their little pockets in India. The entire area of French Settlements of Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe and Yanam is 195.50 square miles and the population about 3½ lakhs. . . ."

But the local authorities had resorted to a reign of terror to suppress the natural desire of the people that those territories should form an integral part of Free India. 1948, the year of elections, witnessed scenes of unprecedented hooliganism. On January 21, 1948, Thulaningham, Secretary, Rodier Mill Labour Union, was attacked by 12 "Socialist" *goondas* and his hand was broken. At about 9 p.m. on January 30, the veils of some Muslim women were pulled down and their escort beaten. A procession organised by the Students' Congress on September 25, was brutally broken up. During the elections, polling booths were manned by *goondas* of the "Socialist Party." The police also actively co-operated with the anti-merger Socialist Party. There were numerous instances of violence in polling booths. But the presidents of the booths took no steps against the offenders. In Mahe, the members of the pro-merger Mahajan Sabha were not given identity cards to vote in the elections. On October 21, 1948, they went in a procession to ask for the cards. The authorities in reply set the police on them. Mr. I. K. Kumaran, President of the Sabha, was beaten. This excited the mob which rushed in and burnt the

records. The police force surrendered. The elections were postponed. A French cruiser entered Mahe and the show of force by the French authorities struck such terror that 80 per cent of the population fled to India.

In 1949, the referendum in Chandernagore resulted in an overwhelming vote for merger with India. Orders were apparently issued to the *goondas* for special activities. On June 26, 1949,—on the celebration of Chandernagore Day—a procession of rowdies held a demonstration before the Indian Consulate-General and then went away beating up people who came in their way. Indian Union National Flags were pulled down.

1950 was a year of arson inasmuch as 125 houses of pro-merger supporters were burnt in Pondicherry alone. On June 19, houses of mill workers were burnt in Olugardi by the Socialist *goondas*. In 1951, 41 major incidents of assault occurred in Pondicherry alone. The rowdies had become so emboldened that stones were thrown into the Indian Consul-General's compound. On November 10, Mr. Gopalakrishnan, *Press Trust of India* correspondent, was caught by the neck by a rowdy, named Balu, while he was lunching in a hotel in Pondicherry. His life was threatened, if he continued to dispatch news of rowdiness in Pondicherry. Up to August 31, 1952, 22 major incidents were reported in Pondicherry. On August 29, Mr. Sellane Naicker, President of the Pondicherry merger committee, was shot at. A bullet pierced his thigh. He refused to enter the local hospital because he was not sure of the treatment he would get. He was treated in Madras. He even refused to lodge a complaint with the police, because that would serve no purpose at all. On September 26, a large gang of *goondas* assisted by the French police led by Inspector Chinnaswami Iyer were let loose on the villagers of Bahour. As a result about 50 families were forced to flee to Indian Union.

The French are closely copying British methods of the "Quit India" days. The colonial spirit dies hard. But it does die in the end, ingloriously, and leaves a lasting record of ill-will behind. The British Labour Party realized it and did much to induce us to forget. If the French prove obdurate they shall have to face the consequences.

Results of British Atomic Test

The details of the British atomic test on Monte Bellos islands during the first week of October were disclosed by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons on October 23.

The atomic bomb vaporized the 1,450-ton naval frigate, H.M.S. *Plym*. The temperature was far higher than one million degrees (fahrenheit) at the point of explosion. According to the statement of Mr. Churchill, "Thousands of tons of water and of mud and rock from the sea bottom were thrown many thousands of feet into the air, and a high tidal wave was caused. The

effects of blast and radio-active contamination extended over a wide area."

"No animals were used in the test and no lives were lost. Technical descriptions of the test would not be disclosed. But the weapon behaved exactly as expected and forecast in precise details. The British Prime Minister had no doubt that the explosion of the bomb would lead to closer Anglo-American co-operation and interchange of atomic information.

The purpose of the test was to investigate the effects of an atomic explosion in a harbour.

Further reports state that necessary preparations have been completed to model R.A.F. carrier planes for atom bombing. In the meanwhile British "atomic defence" experts are trying to evolve a certain and positive method of detecting the approach of atomic weapons to shores and harbours."

And thus proceeds atomic warfare one more step forward. Needless to say prospects for peace recede likewise, as human faith is displaced further by mistrust and fear. Where is the way out?

Atomic Benefits to Medicine

Another side to the scientific research on atom fission is shown in the following piece of news:

"Modern medical research is leading the world into a golden age of medicine," President Truman said speaking at the convention of the American Hospital Association.

The President said, "One of the most exciting developments in the history of medical research has been the use of radioactive isotopes." He added: "Our scientists tell me that the radioisotope, when used as a tracer, represents the most important tool for unravelling the life process since the invention of the microscope in the 17th century."

Stalemate in Korea

There is stalemate in the Korean situation for about more than a year, with occasional flare-ups. UN forces in Korea now face a Communist army of more than one million men; mainly Chinese, deployed in depth. In its report to the UN General Assembly, now in session, the Allied Command stated, "Final conclusion of an armistice under the terms of the present draft agreement now depends upon Communist acceptance of a solution to the prisoner of war question consistent with humanitarian principles." The UN Command is reported to be willing to return all prisoners excepting those who would violently resist repatriation. The Communists, however, have insisted on the return of all prisoners, by force, if necessary. The report states that an issue of principle has thus been posed on which the Unified Command cannot yield without disregard for the fundamental principles of human rights and individual freedom embodied in the Charter. The UN Command has offered numerous proposals for settling the question, but all these

proposals have been categorically rejected by the Communists. It is said that not a single constructive proposal for solution of the prisoner of war question has been put forward by the Communists. For months the Communists have not in fact been negotiating but have merely exploited the negotiation session for propaganda and preparation purposes.

The report adds that the Allied Command have not terminated the meetings. Meetings will be resumed as soon as the Communists are ready to negotiate in good faith.

The third winter of war in Korea is arriving, and truce talks have been indefinitely suspended at Panmunjon. Although eyes are now turned to UN session at New York in the hope that the Assembly will somehow be able to resolve the problem that has baffled the negotiators in the field, it should be remembered that there are clear limits to the Assembly's capacity to dictate a peace in Korea and if too much is expected from the Assembly, the result can only be disillusionment and recrimination. Adlai Stevenson has conclusively put it that there is no trick which can end the Korean war. The Korean war now seems to continue as a war of attrition, and with the U.S.A. pinned down in the Korean battlefield for time indefinite.

The "Uniting for Peace" resolutions passed by the U.N. Assembly after the outbreak of the Korean war, have to a certain extent been successful in preventing the complete paralysis of UNO by Soviet vetoes in the Security Council. When the member nations signed the Charter in 1945 they undertook to carry out the Council's decision in regard to the settlement of disputes, and to provide it with forces that would enable it to act against aggression. They have given no such pledges to the Assembly. The Assembly can now recommend to its members to take collective action in resisting aggression; but its right to issue authoritative orders for the settlement of a conflict is disputed by the Communist nations on the constitutional level as vigorously as the United Nations forces are opposed in the Korean battlefield.

To expect the Communists to bow to the terms offered at Panmunjon merely because the General Assembly endorses them is to ignore the whole record of Communist disrespect for decisions of the United Nations. In this respect it matters little whether a resolution on Korea is passed with a large majority or not. It is now more than two years since June 1950, when for the first time in history collective resistance to aggression seemed to become a living reality. To the disillusionment caused by fading hopes of a settlement, a mood of philosophic detachment or rather desperation is developing, of which the misleading phrase "cold peace" is a symbol.

On October 18, Russia put a seven-point "peace proposal" before the U.N. General Assembly, including end of the Korean war on Communist terms. Her delegate, M. Vyshinsky, Foreign Minister, rejected the U.N. proposal for a Korean settlement "as a flagrant violation of all rules of fairness and equity." Russia proposed:

1. The return of all Korean war prisoners "in accordance with international practice."
2. Withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea within two or three months.
3. Unification of Korea by the Koreans under the supervision of a commission composed of participants in the war and other States.
4. Reduction by one-third of Big Power armaments.
5. Unconditional ban on atomic weapons and the establishment of "strict international control" over this ban.
6. Adherence by all States to the Geneva protocol banning germ warfare.
7. Conclusion of peace pact among the five major Powers.

Establishment of the world peace is now an *ignis fatuus* which, while alluring the nations, eludes their grasp. The U.N.O. is now virtually reduced to a debating society where representatives of nations display their forensic skill and the development of world events indicate that it is going the way of its predecessor, the League of Nations.

Western Mistakes in Asia

In an article under the caption "How We're Losing the All-Asia War," Mr. Edward Hunter writes in the *New Leader* of August 11, 1952 that

"To the Communists, Asia is all one front—but they can win the Asia war only by our mistakes."

As an example of the mistakes the Western Powers are making in Asia, Mr. Hunter cites the weakness in the propagation of Western ideals and means in Asia, on the part of the democratic powers. Only a small number of American books goes to Asia. And even this number is dwindling. Exchange difficulties and the high price of the American books are some of the reasons. The result has been that even with the best intentions people find it difficult to buy and read American literature. The markets are virtually flooded by sexy and trashy books with a good sprinkling of political books which are mostly Communist or pro-Communist. The Asian peoples are anti-Communists, says the writer, "but all they read is convincingly written details of American aggression and imperialism, American atrocities and American germ-warfare. The only American publications quoted are the fellow-traveler and Red-tinted kind . . ."

The Communists are taking advantage of the hesitations and weaknesses of the Western Powers. They do it with much dexterity and with little respect for decency. The peoples of Asia are constantly being fed on the "disunity on the Western side, on the conflict and contradictions between the Western countries. The British are profusely quoted regarding their government's anxiety to recognize the 'Democratic People's Republic' of New China, and how Wall Street has Downing Street trapped, and won't let them be friends; and engage in the trade that England needs so critically . . . The English literally live on their

trade . . . This is the realm in which the Communists are winning . . . Actually, the Communists are operating on a gigantic bluff. But so long as they are able to make people believe the bluff, it is as effective as if it were the truth."

After remarking on the disillusionment of the Chinese peasant and labourer, the writer goes on to say about China :

"The Communist regime has also focussed sweetness and light on boys and girls of high school age, who constitute the recruits for the military services. The most impressionable, they are the easiest to stir with appeals to ideals. They are the ones to whom the hate-America propaganda is directed. . . ."

Their minds are inculcated with the idea that "the greatest patriotism any Chinese can show is to support Moscow."

"There are guerilla movements of varying extent in parts of China. There is a deep abiding hatred of the regime . . ." "But," says Mr. Hunter, "so long as Red-China can divert the attention of its people to the so-called 'foreign aggression,' . . . it has the excuse to engage in every sort of oppression and extortion, under the guise of defence. The pot has to be kept boiling." He writes that the Communists will be in power "for the far foreseeable future, unless freedom elements within receive help from the outside."

In conclusion, the writer says that in Asia, the Communists have two "ace-cards": "one that keeps the pot boiling, the other that offers surrender in the guise of peace."

"This reporter doesn't know what cards we hold. They better be good."

What the writer has missed, however, is the main handicap on the efforts of the U.S.A. In the East, as well as in the rest of the world, a man or a party is judged in the main by the associates. The U.S.A. for the present has shown most of its concern and devoted a great deal of its economic aid to a group of nations whose record in Asia is still one of the ruthless exploitation and utter degradation of Asiatic peoples through their colonial policies.

Britain has made a partial—and very half-hearted—atonement in India, due to force of circumstances. France is an unrepentant reprobate and the rest are little better if their opportunities be weighed against their misdeeds.

If the Americans realize the above fact then the solution would be nearer.

Anglo-Iranian Diplomatic Rupture

The strained relations between Persia and the United Kingdom reached its climax when on the night of October 16, Dr. Mossadig announced, over the Teheran Radio, Persia's decision to break off diplomatic relations with Britain. The decision was taken because Britain was unfriendly towards Persia. Dr. Mossadig, however, expressed his hope that

though diplomatic relations might be broken off on governmental levels, relations with the British people would still continue to be cordial. He accused Britain of blocking all attempts at arriving at an understanding. If British Government changed its attitude, the relationship would be resumed, he said.

Persia's note conveying this decision was officially handed over to Mr. Middleton, the British Charge d'Affairs in Teheran, on Wednesday, the 22nd October. The Persian Charge d'Affairs in London, Mr. Davallok called at the British Foreign Office on the same day and intimated that he was closing the Embassy. Similar arrangements were being made in Teheran by the British embassy to complete the evacuation by the last week of October.

Persia had asked Sweden to look after Iranian interests in Britain, Switzerland would act for Britain in Persia.

The British reaction to the announcement was that the chances of any settlement had receded by the rupture. Giving his reaction Mr. Eden said at a Rotarian lunch: "If people make preposterous proposals to us they must expect a firm rejection of them."

The American Ambassador to Persia Mr. Loy Henderson had a 45-minute talk with Dr. Mossadiq on October 18, the day following the announcement of the breakoff, and sought clarification from the Persian Government. Meanwhile a U. S. State Department spokesman denied Iranian newspaper reports that United States had threatened to cut off aid to Iran if diplomatic relations with Britain were severed.

Anglo-U.S. Rivalry in the Middle East

A dilemma faces U. S. A. after Dr. Mossadiq severed diplomatic relations with Great Britain in train of his threat to do so if Britain did not accept his terms of settlement of the Anglo-Iranian oil dispute which had been dragging on since March, 1951. Britain refused to accept Iran's demand that AIOC pay \$137,200,000 that would have been due in royalties if Iran had not tried nationalization.

Britain invoked U. S. support against Persia. President Truman supported Mr. Churchill. *Newsweek* sums up the reaction in the following words: "U.S. prestige has suffered considerably by this identification with Britain." The State Department would henceforward give Britain "less support than heretofore." In simple words this means that U.S.A. no longer finds it worth while to support Britain in the Middle East.

In this connection the following report published in the *Newsweek* is interesting to note: "One of the least known regions of the modern world lies in Southern Arabia—the 750-mile wide sea of sand called 'The Empty Quarter,' fertile and forbidden Yemen; the Hadhramant . . . and Trucial Oman, so-called because its Sheikhs signed a truce with the East India

Company promising 'perpetual abstention from plunder and piracy.'

"One tiny corner of this international no-man's land last week became the center of a diplomatic clash—so far kept secret—involving Britain, the US, and Saudi Arabia."

The fact in short is that Britain and King Ibn Saud concluded a standstill agreement before the Second World War, both of them agreeing not to send troops into Trucial Oman bordering the Persian Gulf. In September, when Ibn Saud's soldiers occupied Buraimi Oasis near Trucial Oman, Britain protested against that as violation of the standstill treaty. Ibn's reply was that as Buraimi was not specifically mentioned in the agreement it could not be invoked in that case. During the first week of October Britain threatened to send an expeditionary force from Iraq to dislodge the Arabians. Ibn Saud appealed to the United States for mediation. Britain refused to accept such mediation, though America was not unwilling to render it.

The sudden interest shown for this little known Oasis is accounted for by the fact that "oil is almost certain to exist in the region since it lies on the border of the recently discovered Qatar oilfields which were already producing some 3,000,000 tons a year. Diplomatic dispatches from Jidda indicate that the King has no intention of yielding and expects U. S. support."

Thus the British find themselves once more at cross purposes with the Americans in the Middle-East.

Plea for Removal of European Exchange Controls

Mr. Henry Hazlitt writes in the *Newsweek* that the central economic problem is not the balance-of-payments problem of Western Europe *vis-a-vis* the dollar area. The "dollar gap" has been there due to the existence of monetary inflation in Europe combined with exchange control. It is not due to any "excess of U.S. exports over its imports" which in its turn is ascribed to the barrier of American tariff. The barrier of U.S. tariff in practice is actually constantly declining. He writes:

"There seems to have been a tacit conspiracy among the bureaucrats of Europe and the United States in the last eight years that however we diagnose the disease, we must never call it by its real name—exchange control. We have created, for example, the needless and futile institution called the European Payments Union, simply because European governments will not permit the only real solution—free exchange rates with full currency convertibility."

"The 'balance of payments' problem," continues Mr. Hazlitt, "would evaporate overnight if Europe allowed its own exporters to keep the dollars they earned or sell them for the best price they could get."

"Free exchange rates would create an immense incentive, which they now lack, for European exporters. They would encourage American buyers, who could once more buy European goods at realistic prices. In the same way, either a higher dollar rate, or a halt in European inflation, would curb Europe's present abnormal demand for American imports."

In other words, Mr. Hazlitt advocates a further devaluation of the European currencies. The hope that devaluation could help solving a country's balance-of-payments problem has proved to be a mirage. The experience of the last three years is proof of that. Mr. Hazlitt's plan, carried into effect, would mean that U.S.A. will be able to get her raw materials cheaper than at present, while the European countries will have to pay more for their imports. The balance-of-payments problem or for that matter the "dollar gap" thus can not be solved following Mr. Hazlitt's suggestion of devaluation. The problem is a bit too deep-rooted to be solved with this recipe.

Soviet Party Congress

The 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the first since 1939—was held in the Kremlin during the first week of October. More than 2,000 delegates from the Soviet Union and visitors from different countries took part in the proceedings of the Congress. Sri A. K. Gopalan, M.P., represented the Communist Party of India.

The key to the new Communist world and home policy was given by M. Stalin in an article in the *Bolshevik* magazine for October 1. Defining the present international situation, Stalin wrote that the most important consequence of the second World War was the disintegration of the single all-embracing world market. Two parallel world markets were in existence competing with each other—the Socialist world market embracing U.S.S.R., China and the eastern European countries, commonly known as People's Democracies; and the capitalist world market embracing U.S.A., Britain, France and other imperialist countries. The Socialist world market was expanding whereas the capitalist world market was shrinking. He put the blame for this division of the single world market on the shoulders of the U.S.A., U.K. and France.

Secondly, the possibilities of war could not be ended so long as capitalism persisted. In the present international situation, contradiction between the capitalist States was far more acute than the contradiction between the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism. He said, "The Soviet Union will not attack the capitalist countries." He predicted that West Germany, Britain, France and Japan would break away from the U.S.A.

With reference to the internal developments within U.S.S.R., Stalin wrote that in order to build up communism in U.S.S.R. Society would need economic

and cultural re-education. In his opinion it was impossible to get an abundance of goods to cover all the needs of society while group ownership of property as at present on collective farms and the commercial distribution of commodities remain in force. There must be a gradual transition to make collective farm property national property with some central organisation handling the distribution of all public production in the society's interest. The working day would have to be reduced to five hours with double wages and there should be all-round technical, professional and artistic education to broaden people's choice of trades and professions.

Georgi Malenkov, Stalin's likeliest successor, in his report to the Congress charged the Government of the United States with breaking the peace of the world. He pointed to the formation of two camps on the international political field.

Stalin in his address to the party congress urged the non-Soviet Communists to support U.S.S.R. He did not, however, want that help to be one-sided. He said, "Our party cannot remain indebted to the fraternal parties, and it must in its turn render support to them and also to their peoples in their struggle for emancipation, and in their struggle for the preservation of peace. As we know, that is exactly what is doing." Explaining it further he said, "Those Communist, Democratic, and Workers' and Peasants' parties which have not yet come to power and are still working under the heel of bourgeois draconic laws are deserving of particular attention."

Other important decisions taken at the Congress were the setting up of a commission to revive the party programme, the constitution of a Presidium with Stalin as chairman, the adoption of the Five-year Plan and approving the report of the Central Auditing Commission.

Commenting on the Soviet Party Congress, the *Newsweek* remarks, "The Moscow Congress is the stage-setting for the elucidation of two fundamental Soviet policies. The first could be called the policy of permanent or semi-permanent cold war; the second, the policy of self-containment. These complementary policies mean the Russians hope the Soviet system can bear the strains of the cold war better than the Western systems can; meanwhile the U.S. policy of containment—fathered by George Kennan—will be met by developing the self-contained resources of the now immense Communist empire." The *Newsweek* diagnosis that "new Soviet tactics in waging the cold war" would lead to the organization of a counterpart of the Cominform in Asia and a reformation of the Cominform itself seems to be well-confirmed by Stalin's speech at the Soviet Congress to the effect that the Communist parties in the capitalist countries "are deserving of particular attention" regarding aid to be rendered them by the Soviet Communist Party; and his optimistic assurance to the audience that "there is

every reason to count upon the success and victory of our fraternal parties in the lands where capital holds sway." The Cominform, as constituted at present, includes in its ranks only two Communist parties of capitalist countries, France and Italy, and there is no member from Asia.

Russian Proposals for Peace

The war in Korea has flared up into a blaze about the end of the month. Together with that now come the following proposals for peace. There is nothing new in it.

"Russia proposed in the Political Committee the establishment of a special commission to study the peaceful settlement of the Korean issue.

"Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky proposed that this Commission should include all those concerned in the Korean conflict. He made the proposal in a long speech replying to the one made to the Political Committee last week by American Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, in which M. Vyshinsky said, there were 'gross distortions.' M. Vyshinsky made these two main points:

1. The General Assembly, deems it essential to establish a Commission for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question with the participation of the parties directly concerned and of other States, including such States as have not taken part in the Korean war.

2. To instruct this Commission to take measures without delay for the settlement of the Korean question in the spirit of the unification of Korea, such unification to be carried out by the Koreans themselves under the supervision of the above Commission.

"M. Vyshinsky retained his proposal till the end of a speech from a 72-page manuscript. He had given no hint that his proposal was to come.

"Earlier, he had praised the Polish omnibus resolution introduced in the opening days of the present session of the Assembly. This had called for an end of the Korean war on Communist terms and for various other measures such as a five-power peace pact, prohibition of atomic weapons and a one-third reduction of armed forces.

"M. Vyshinsky said the prisoner of war issues was the sole obstacle to settlement of the whole Korean question. He asserted that 'any objective analysis' of the prisoners issue would make it 'perfectly clear' that the Chinese Communists and the North Koreans were correct in their attitude. 'They have completely justified position which, if accepted would settle the Korean question immediately,' he said. They must, therefore, reject the American proposals as unsatisfactory."

"Co-determination : German Industry"

Under the above caption the *Newsweek* of October 13, writes:

"The most original and startling development in labor-management relations since the war has occurred in Germany. It is called Mitbestimmung—

ungerecht—a demand by labor to share equally with management in the direction of industry."

The term Mitbestimmungsrecht means the "right of co-determination." The concept is so intricate that German Unions, trying to explain it, use a translation prepared by an American. As now in effect in the coal and steel industries, it gives the workers through their unions—

- "1. The right to name five of the members of the standard eleven-man board of directors in each of the 40 coal companies and 29 iron and steel enterprises of West Germany. The five labor and five owner representatives then choose an eleventh 'neutral' member. In 10 of the 69 firms, a labor man has been elected chairman of the board.

- "2. The right to select the company labor supervisor. The three-man executive body, which provides day to day management of each firm, is made up of a labor, a technical, and a commercial supervisor.

"As extended to other and smaller industries last summer, co-determination gives labor something less than full 50-50 participation in the board. In plants employing 500 or more, labor gets a 30-per cent share; in smaller plants down to those with only five employees, the influence of labor is limited to the 'social' aspects of administration."

The chief labour gains from this are political security and an improved social status.

Workers do not get a share of the profits. Neither do they get a higher wage. "Pay in the steel industry, under co-determination for six years, has always lagged behind that of the giant Ford plant in Cologne." Nor have the working hours been shortened. The safety conditions in the coal and steel industries are, according to American official observers, in the Ruhr, "shockingly neglected." Productivity has not risen much. In theory the workers have the right to strike, but in practice there have been no strikes in coal and steel industries since co-determination began. The average workers has not materially benefited much. The "biggest gainers are the union men serving as labour supervisors in full-time management. Their pay is similar to that of the two company-appointed managers and ranges from \$476 to \$952 monthly. These are astronomical sums in Germany—up to eight or ten times what miners and steel workers receive. The companies pay the union-picked officials salaries, furnish them with automobiles, and, in some cases, housing. The financial lure of the job is great enough to pull men from important public posts."

American labour observers feel that under such circumstances union representatives cannot remain faithful to the local workers' interests and they do not. According to *Newsweek*, "A recent report issued by the U. S. High Commission, largely compiled from the writings of American labour specialists, states flatly that German union officials turned managers have become 'company-minded' . . . they develop a proprie-

tary interest in the operations of the steel companies, and they consider that any criticism of steel industry practice constitutes a reflection on their personal achievements."

The confirmation of this view is reflected in the owners' attitude. Initially they were against the 50-50 co-determination plan. Their present silence indicates satisfaction. Some privately concede "that it is working pretty well from their point of view."

If labour has gained anything from this co-determination, then that is to be counted in the terms of political security, improved social status and stability in the cost of living. The labour outlook on general economy has undergone a drastic change as a result of two grim waves of inflation. There is also the fear of depression in industry, if prices of consumer goods rise, as a result of sales-resistance due to soaring prices.

Co-determination has not affected production of the workers as is apparent from steel production figures. Basic steel production was 2,551,000 tons in 1946. Today it is running at the level of 15 to 16 million tons—a six-fold increase in six years.

After World War I there was also a similar move by German labour to increase the ratio of output to wages—in some cases by voluntary reduction of wages—in order that German goods might capture world markets.

Bus Collision Near Calcutta

A serious street accident, stated to be the worst of its kind in Calcutta area, took place at about 3-30 p.m. on Tuesday, the 28th October when two buses coming from opposite directions collided on the B. T. Road. It was reported that a Shambazar-Barrackpore bus was proceeding along B. T. Road keeping to its left when the other bus coming from Kamarhati from the opposite direction, presumably to overtake another passing vehicle, "crashed against the other bus completely toppling it to the roadside." The staff reporter of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* reported that "the impact was so tremendous that the toppled car was heavily damaged with its axle and wheels smashed and the driver's seat in the other bus was reduced to a mess of twisted iron rods." Eight persons were killed including a woman and over 60 people were injured, 15 seriously.

According to the same report, "The rescue work continued for hours together and even at 8-30 p.m. mangled bodies could be seen on the side of the road."

This incident again brings to light the extremely unsatisfactory situation obtaining in the city's transport service. The reckless driving on the part of bus drivers has been the subject of public criticism on numerous occasions. But the evil persists. There must be something fundamentally wrong with the control over public buses, otherwise how can one explain the recurring instances of street accidents taking place as a result of rash driving? Some steps are long overdue.

Mere notifications and gaudy signs do not mean anything. The traffic department has apparently no checks over bus traffic in the city excepting in some limited areas.

There are some busy traffic areas like Upper Circular Road and College and Cornwallis Streets, where the road seems to belong only to bus and lorry drivers. Private small car drivers have to go at a crawling pace to avoid being crushed by big buses and lorries. Foot traffic is also full of hazards.

On the 30th evening, only two days after the above incident there was again a collision, as the report given below narrates:

Six persons were injured in a collision between a bus of Shambazar-Barrackpore section and a lorry on October 30 on Barrackpore Trunk Road, only half a mile from the scene of serious bus accident of 28th October last. It is stated that the lorry coming from the opposite side ripped open the side of the bus. One of the bus passengers who was keeping his hands outside was seriously injured. The driver of the lorry fled immediately after the incident. He was however arrested.

Perhaps Dr. Roy considers it impossible for his police to control traffic on the surface, and hence we have been regaled with the following piece of news:

"Dr. Roy, who spent about three weeks in the U.S.A. after an eye operation in Vienna, is on his way to India. He said that while in the U.S.A. he arranged to get an expert for West Bengal to advise the Government on plans to improve transport facilities. In this connection he mentioned that the Director of Transport, New York, would visit Calcutta in December to study the possibilities of constructing an underground railway in Calcutta."

Expansion of Steel Production

The long deferred plans for the setting up of new steel production plants and the expansion of existing plants, seem to be under way at last. But, as usual, much of the actual decisions have been carried on *sub rosa* and the negotiations are likewise going to be done the old way. The public only comes to know, as in the following press release, that its credit has been further pledged up to so many more crores, and that some little known persons have been given charge of the moneys so obtained, to be spent at their will and discretion, accounts and apologia to be manufactured later, for the expenditure of all available cash and non-production, or very partial production of results within the fixed period of time.

"A Government of India delegation, consisting of three senior officers of the Secretariat will be leaving for the United States by the end of October for discussions with the World Bank on the loan assistance that the Bank may provide for the expansion of steel production in India."

"India's iron and steel expansion programme includes proposals both for the private and public sector. It covers the expansion of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., the Steel Corporation of Bengal and the Indian Iron and Steel Company Ltd., at a cost of about Rs. 60 crores and a new steel plant at a cost of about Rs. 80 crores.

"The steel plant is proposed to be set up by the Government of India over a period of six years from the date of commencement. The expenditure projected up to 1955-56 is Rs. 30 crores of which Rs. 15 crores will be provided by the Government and the remainder is to be secured through participation of indigenous and external capital. The estimated capacity of this project will be about 800,000 tons of pig iron while the steel capacity will be of a minimum order of 3,50,000 tons with further additions, if necessary, in the light of the availability of pig iron supplies from the expanded capacity in the private sector in the next few years. By 1955-56 this project, it is expected, will be producing about 3,50,000 tons of pig iron. The completion of this project by 1958 as well as the project for expansion in the private sector are expected to raise the availability of pig iron and steel from domestic sources by about 100 per cent.

"In the private sector, the additional capital needed for expansion will be raised through three sources, namely, (a) such assistance from the World Bank as may be available, (b) loans from the Government of India and (c) resources available to the steel companies out of their reserves.

"The proposed steel plant visualises participation of both indigenous and external capital in addition to such money as may be provided by the Government of India. In this connection the offer from the Japanese Government to participate in the establishment of a joint Indo-Japanese company for steel production in India is before the Government of India. It is understood that a delegation from the Japanese Government would proceed to the United States to discuss with the Indian delegation details in connection with the above proposal. The Indian delegation will also take the opportunity of its presence in the U.S.A. to ascertain the possibility of investment of private American capital for iron and steel production in India."

The Refugee Influx

Since the passport system has come into force, the influx of refugees has slackened very considerably. But there is as yet considerable uneasiness on this side of the border, regarding the condition of the Hindus still in East Pakistan. Needless to say there is some basis for the lack of confidence amongst them, although it might not be so acutely apparent as it was two years ago. The following report goes to support our views:

"Mr. C. C. Biswas, Central Minister for Minority

Affairs, returned to Calcutta after visiting with Pakistan's Minority Minister, Mr. Azizuddin Ahmad, Dacca and the Headquarters of the East Bengal districts of Barisal, Khulna and Jessore from where there has recently been a heavy exodus of Hindus.

Giving his impressions of the tour in an interview, Mr. Biswas remarked that he could not say that he had had time enough to make a full study of the condition of the minorities at the places he visited. However, he had an opportunity of meeting representatives of both communities at those towns. Unfortunately, the views expressed by members of one community were different from those expressed by representatives of the other. While the minorities spoke about their sense of insecurity and fear, the Muslims gave the idea that everything was all right in East Bengal and that the minorities had no reason to feel nervous or labour under a sense of discrimination. The question was not whether there was any reason for the minorities to feel insecure, but whether there did exist such a feeling among them.

It was the duty of the authorities, added Mr. Biswas, to find out whether, in fact, there was such feeling among the minorities and, if so, to take steps to remove it. Mere verbal assurances that the minorities enjoyed complete equality of citizenship or a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property, and personal honour were not enough. These assurances should be implemented and the minorities made to feel that they enjoyed such rights.

Referring to the passport system, he said that difficulties were being felt on either side, and all that he and, Mr. Ahmad could do was to give an assurance that the difficulties observed in the working of the system would receive the attention of both Governments.

Mr. Ahmad, who arrived in Calcutta with Mr. Biswas, said that conditions were peaceful throughout East Bengal. During his tour with Mr. Biswas of Barisal, Khulna, and Jessore, he did not see any concentration at any place of intending migrants to India.

Referring to the recent exodus of Hindus from East Bengal, he said that landless labourers and poor cultivators who were suffering from economic distress thought that by crossing the border they would get doles. Many others had left East Bengal, he said, on the misapprehension that the passport scheme was designed to restrict travel and not to regulate it."

Meanwhile we have agitation for sanctions from our opposition politicians.

Speeches urging the Government of India to impose economic sanctions against Pakistan were made at a meeting organized by several political organizations other than the Congress and the Communist parties at Wellington Square, Calcutta. Dr. S. C. Banerjee, president of the West Bengal branch of the Praja Socialist Party, was in the chair.

GANDHISM AND COMMUNISM ✓

By S. N. AGARWAL, M. P.

A general impression seems to be gradually gaining ground that there is, after all, not much difference between Gandhism and Communism. The two ideologies are taken to be "twin-brothers" with a slight difference in their technique and methodology. It is argued that the border line between violence and non-violence is also very vague and thin because Gandhiji himself had observed that violence was better than cowardice. Even a few Gandhian workers appear to subscribe to the plausible equation that Gandhism is Communism minus violence and plus God. At a time when Communism is seriously engaged in a struggle against the Gandhian concepts of non-violent socialism and democracy, I regard this confusion between the two ideological streams as most unfortunate and even hazardous.

In his recent publication entitled *Gandhi and Marx*, Shri K. G. Mashruwala, the well-known Gandhian thinker and Editor of the *Harijan*, has taken pains to refute emphatically the misconception that Gandhism is Communism stripped of violence.

"Gandhism and Communism," observes Shri Mashruwala, "are as distinct from each other as green from red, though we know that to the colour-blind even green and red might appear alike."

Acharya Vinoba Bhave in the course of his valuable introduction to the booklet, remarks that

"The two ideologies are irreconcilable; the difference between them are fundamental" and "they are deadly opposed to each other." He goes to the length of stating in unequivocal terms that "ultimately it will be Gandhism with which Communism will have its trial of strength."

Richard Gregg, the noted American writer, in his latest brochure *Which Way Lies Hope?* points out in a scientific manner how Communism is essentially based on the philosophy of "dialectical materialism," on the system of "thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis" and on the basic concept that Matter is of the essence, while Mind is only a "bye-product" of Matter. Gandhian philosophy on the contrary is founded on the supremacy of the Spirit over Matter. Mahatma Gandhi also regarded Bolshevism as "the necessary result of modern materialistic civilisation" and stated: "In so far as it is based on the violence and denial of God, it repels me."

The fact of the matter is that although there is seeming similarity between the ultimate objectives of Gandhism and Communism, i.e., the establishment of a classless society, the two modes of thought are diametrically opposed to each other; they are poles asunder. The first basic difference between the two ideologies is spiritual. As has already been pointed out earlier, Gandhiji did not subscribe to the belief of Western thinkers that multiplication of wants was an indication and yardstick of a higher standard of living.

"We notice," said Gandhiji "that the mind is

a restless bird; the more it gets, the more it wants and still remains unsatisfied."

He, therefore, detested this "mad race after money and material goods" and laid great stress on a higher "standard of life" which depended on the cultivation of moral and spiritual values and on an unwavering faith in God. The Communists, on the other hand, regard religion and philosophy as the "opium of the poor." "The first word of religion," said Engels, "is a lie." Lenin regarded it as "one of the aspects of spiritual oppression." This attitude is in keeping with the belief of the Communists that "Consciousness is a derivative of Matter" and that the driving forces which determine the course of history are "not the thoughts and wills of men, but changes of climates, discoveries of raw materials, and the inventions of new technical processes." The foundation of Capitalism is also material well-being and accumulation of wealth. There is, thus, more basic similarity between Capitalism and Communism than between Gandhism and Communism.

The second fundamental difference between Gandhian thought and Communistic reasoning is the relative emphasis on the means and the ends. According to the Marxian thinkers, "the end justifies the means;" while to Gandhiji "the means were everything." To him the means and ends were like a seed and a tree. "As the means, so the end." While Mahatma Gandhi insisted on Truth and Non-violence for the achievement of a just and equitable socio-economic order, Lenin thought it necessary "to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of truth." "Even though Russia has many achievements to her credit," wrote Gandhiji in 1942, "her work will not endure unless her methods are clean." Gandhiji was convinced that "permanent good can never be the outcome of untruth and violence." As regards the Soviet experiment he observed:

"From what I know of Bolshevism it not only does not preclude the use of force, but freely sanctions it for the expropriation of private property and maintain the collective state ownership of the same. And if that is so, I have no hesitation in saying that the Bolshevik regime in its present form cannot last for long."

That is why he regarded Communism of the Russian type as "repugnant to India." Writing in the *Harijan* in 1946 Gandhiji made the following statement in reply to a question: "The Communists seem to have made trouble-shooting their profession. I have friends among them. Some of them are like sons to me. But it seems they do not make any distinction between fair and foul, truth and falsehood. They deny the charge. But their reported acts seem to sustain it. Moreover, they seem to take their instructions from Russia, whom they regard as their spiritual home

rather than India. I cannot countenance this dependence on a outside power."

During his Telengana walking-tour, Acharya Vinoba Bhave also tried his best to plead with the Communist friends the necessity of abjuring violence and "underground" methods. He interviewed them in jails and offered his co-operation in their land-redistribution mission, provided they renounced violence for the fulfilment of their aims. Shri Dange, the Communist leader, wrote to Vinobaji later without squarely facing the essential issue of violence and non-violence. In reply to Shri Dange, Acharya Vinoba was obliged to remark that "it is imperative for Communist Party in India to change its present policy without the least hesitation." "Therein lies the good of the poor masses as also of Communism." During his 'Bhoomi-Dan' tour in U. P. as well, Vinoba openly invited the Communists to abjure their violent technique and join him in the common cause of land re-distribution. But the Communist friends have consistently refused to make any such commitment. This is quite natural because the whole theory of Marxism is opposed to non-violence and the purity of the means.

Communism breeds on hatred and class war. "You cannot conquer the enemy," remarks Stalin, "without learning to hate him with all the power of your soul." Gandhism presupposes the "essential goodness of human nature" and maintains that lasting results can be achieved only through love and non-violence.

There is one more essential difference between Gandhism and Communism which must not be lost sight of. Gandhi was a born democrat because to him democracy was the essence of non-violence. "Democracy and violence," observed the Mahatma, "can ill go together." Mahatma Gandhi valued democracy from the standpoint of the harmonious development of the personality of the individuals consistent with social well-being. Without the existence of democracy and individual liberty, it was impossible to achieve the "Ram Rajya" of Gandhiji's conception. But to the Communists, democracy is "a bourgeois conception which the revolutionary proletariat must overthrow." (Lenin). Trotsky endorsed his Chief's opinion by saying :

"Democracy is a wretched and worthless masquerade. We repudiate it in the name of the proletariat. Three times hopeless is the idea of coming to power through democracy."

In his book *The State and Revolution* Lenin makes it quite clear that the Communists seek "an opportunity to crush, to smash to bits, to wipe off the face of the earth the bourgeois state machinery, even its republican variety."

It is not possible here to exhaust all the points of difference between Gandhism and Communism. But the last topic that I would like to deal with is the problem of centralisation and decentralisation. As is well known, Mahatma Gandhi believed in decentralised democracy and localised industrial organisation in

small units. He maintained that centralisation inevitably led to violence and totalitarianism. That is why Gandhiji was against large-scale industrialisation and a highly centralised political administration. Communism, per contra, advocates the "dictatorship of the proletariat" through a totalitarian State with concentrated power and administration. In the field of agriculture the Communists encourage collectivisation because it is easier to exercise control on peasants when they are organised into larger units. It is claimed the ultimate aim of Marxism is a classless society in which the State would 'wither away.' But as Professor Aldous Huxley observes in his *Ends and Means*, "Such a highly centralised dictatorial state may be smashed by war or overturned by revolution from below ; there is not the smallest reason to suppose that it will 'wither away'."

"The study of history," writes Professor Joad, "suggests that dictatorship from their very nature become, as they grow older, not less but more extreme ; not less but more sensitive to and impatient of criticism."

Gandhiji, therefore, advocated the establishment of Village Panchayats with maximum economic self-sufficiency and decentralised political power. "That State will be the best," declares Gandhiji, "which is governed the least."

It is quite evident, therefore, that the basic principles of Gandhism and Communism are vitality dissimilar although there is apparent similarity in their economic objectives. During his period of detention in the Aga Khan Palace during the 1942 "Open Rebellion" Gandhiji had the opportunity of studying Communist literature in details. He read *Das Capital* and went through the other writings of Marx as also of Engels, Lenin and Stalin. He read some books about the Reds in China too, and at the end of it was convinced more than ever that "Communism of his conception" was the only thing that could bring relief to suffering humanity.

"It is my implicit belief," observed Gandhiji, "that India will not be able to imbibe Communism and that Lenin's cult will not take root in this soil."

Somebody asked him: "But the Indian Communists want Communism of the Stalin type and want to use your name for that purpose." Gandhiji replied emphatically : "They won't succeed !" These were the prophetic words of the great Master. But now that he is no more in our midst, a heavy responsibility has developed on all of us. I have no manner of doubt that in the shape of things to come Gandhian Philosophy of Life has immense potentialities of growth and development for re-creating a new World Order. As time passes by, it will become more and more evident that the real rival of Communism is not Capitalism but Gandhism. Let there be no confusion between the two distinct ideologies. It is futile to imagine that Communism could be crushed by the armed might of

the State. As Bevan states in his *In Place of Fear* the real enemy is not Communism but Hunger and Poverty. These can be liquidated on a lasting basis only through the Gandhian principles and programme of a decentralised and non-violent socio-economic

order. So far we in India have worshipped Gandhiji but not Gandhism. It is now high time we studied Gandhian thought scientifically and in all seriousness in order to plan for the survival of democracy in India and the world.

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PROBLEMS OF INDIAN DEMOCRACY ✓

By PROF. M. ABEL, M.A.

INDIAN national movement after a long period of struggle and immense sacrifices has culminated in the establishment of sovereign nation-state with a democratic constitution. On January 26, 1950, when the new Republic was inaugurated, the extreme unctious was sung to the old regime and Indian democracy was baptized. The largest electorate in the world was enfranchised on that day. That electorate exercised its franchise in a marvellous manner during the first general elections, the greatest experiment in democracy, in this country. In short, the seedling of Indian democracy, which is a peculiar hybrid product, the result of a synthesis of European liberalism with the dynamic philosophy of the man who re-discovered the long-forgotten strings of eastern genius, is planted.

It would be rash indeed to assume that a nation-state and a democratic constitution ensure an environment which would be congenial for the growth of democracy. Notwithstanding its potentialities for the future, there are many sinister forces and enervating influences which may rob Indian democracy of its potential dynamism. It has to contend with mighty hostile forces. It has to penetrate and force its way down through the rocky strata of prevailing antiquated social customs and irrational and worthless traditional practices. It has to sprout up from beneath through many encrusted layers of indifference and stolidity. It is up against the very structure of society which is solidified by age, sanctified by usage and impregably buttressed by the public sentiment of the people. It is indeed a David before the frowning array of many a Goliath. Therefore, it is very essential, if we want to safeguard democracy, that we should know the problems of Indian democracy.

(The constitution has only prepared the soil and planted the seedling of democracy. If this delicate plant is to survive and thrive, it must be watered and manured by mutual goodwill, voluntary agreement and spontaneous co-operation among various sections of the community. The success of parliamentary democracy in England is chiefly due to the fact, that, by a gradual and progressive process of development and evolution, English people have been integrated and moulded into a national community and they have so well acclimatized themselves to the require-

ments of social conformity and constitutional traditions and conventions that co-operation has become almost a habit with them. As one writer has remarked: "England's social conformity is the spontaneous achievement of individuals. . . The individual has been socialised in such a measure that in all essential manifestations he spontaneously reacts to society and the interests maintaining it. . . The Englishman's dictator is installed in his heart. Authority does not need to put him in leading strings because it can depend on his using his freedom only to the extent that society can bear." If democracy is to be a flambeau instead of a frankenstein, people must be willing to co-operate with the accepted and constituted authority. Unfortunately such a state of affairs is not obtained in India at present because of regional, religious, linguistic and communal differences. The absence of such a spontaneous integration necessitates the forcing of people into an artificial physical strait-jacket which is inimical to democracy. It will also precipitate the government to make dangerous inroads on the civil liberties of the citizens. As A. D. Lindsay remarks ✓

"If you cannot rely on people having a general understanding so that they respond spontaneously, you have got to move them towards unity by force or mass Psychology or a mixture between the two."

Therefore, the future of Indian democracy depends to a certain extent on how far agreement and co-operation will become the Psychoses of the people.)

(Lack of a sense of common sharing in and working common political institutions seriously hampers the progress of democracy in India. The Government of the day must inspire and enthuse the citizens to co-operate in the working of the democratic institutions. It could do so only if it could place before the people, what Professor Laski called, "a great common end of life" acceptable to a vast majority of the people. After the achievement of national independence, the ruling party has lost its national character and has become bankrupt of a common ideal of life which could kindle the imagination of all classes of society and evoke in them a sense of unity and oneness which would spur them to march forward to an accepted goal. The common man, struggling incessantly from dawn to dusk for a scanty and

especially poor meal and living in a small mud-hovel in a crowded village amidst the festering environment of dung-hills and stinking stagnant pools, does not feel that he is free and has a share in the working of the government. A large number of educated middle class young men hardly see any possibility of realising their hopes and aspirations. Frustration is writ large upon all sections of the community. A large number of disappointed and frustrated enlightened neurotics of the middle class and disgruntled labourers were chiefly instrumental in causing the break-down of the Weimar German Republic. Therefore if the Government cannot inspire various classes of the community to co-operate in the working of the democratic institutions, the environment which facilitated the advent of Robespierre in France, Lenin in Russia and Hitler in Germany may come to prevail sooner or later, and India may become the inner-citadel of anti-democratic forces.

Democracy aims to make the citizens feel that the government is his, that it belongs to him and he to it. Such an identification of the individual citizen with the government can be achieved only when the individual strongly feels that he has a say in the public affairs and he is really at the wheel and managing the governmental machinery. For that governmental authority and responsibility must percolate down to the people at large. Decentralisation of Government, devolution of authority and localisation of institutions are necessary. But ill-considered action along those lines may lead to local anarchy and under-government. Therefore, Indian democracy has to solve this problem of reconciling the maximum of local government with the minimum of Central authority. It has to trim its sails very dexterously and deftly between the breezes from totalitarian rigid centralism and anarchical loose localism. It is doubtful whether it would be able to do that under the wooden unimaginative guidance of the Congress.

Indian democracy has to prosper against a background of historic traditional political indifference and ignorance, and civic unconsciousness. Dynasties came to power and perished, empires rose and vanished, yet the common man was happily ignorant of all the changes. This may be due to the love of Indians for a peaceful and detached life from the mundane affairs and their fatalistic view of life. But such an attitude is very fatal to the growth of democracy. Till now rural India is not at all conscious of the kaleidoscopic changes that are often taking place in the political arena. It is a tragedy that even the predominant political party, the Indian National Congress which claims to have penetrated into the villages, has failed to create political consciousness among the workers and peasants. So much so there is a pernicious political vacuum in rural parts. Naturally, in such an expansive national Sahara,

violent storms are liable to break out, especially when so many aberrated individuals and groups are rushing into it to capture power. Political indifference and ignorance, and civic unconsciousness of the people are royal roads to dictatorships. Therefore, if democracy is to withstand such tempestuous influences, light and knowledge must be diffused throughout rural India. Legislative and parliament members and all other responsible persons instead of being pre-occupied with power-politics and job-seeking, should go to villages as often as possible and educate the masses in democratic principles and liberal values of life. Besides, the problem is to evolve a system of education which would impart to people training in democratic citizenship. Moreover even illiterate people who do not lack common sense, can be awakened to the incessant movements of shifting currents in the whirlpool of public life, if there are active political parties with a definite and dynamic social philosophy and programme for the social and economic uplift and political enlightenment of the masses.

A sound political party system is necessary for the successful working of the democracy. But the party system as it obtains in India today, is a serious menace to democracy. Indian party system does not help to dispel gloom and grease the wheels of democracy, but adds confusion to ignorance and obstructs the march of democratic constitution, as it was almost the case in Madras soon after the elections. The numerous political parties which cannot co-operate and unite, lead either to multi-party chaos, or mono-party dictatorships of either the right or the left. Therefore, the immediate problem is to establish a sound party system in which the Damocles' sword of alternative Government of an opposition party is always hanging over the ruling party. In this connection, the merger of the Socialist and Praja Parties is quite welcome.

Idealization of the Nation-State is another threat to democracy in India. The Indian National movement has created a sense of national community which can be very easily made, by self-interested and power-hungry demagogues, to form a basis for national dictatorships. This can be illustrated by the position which the Congress Party occupies today in Indian politics. The Congress claims to rule the country by virtue of its being the representative of the real spirit and genius of the nation. Therefore, it wants to rule the country with the aid of Preventive Detention Bills and justify them on the ground that the nation must be united. The result would be that all those who impair 'national unity' by refusing to accept the views of the Congress would be branded as a traitors and outsiders. Congressmen over-emphasise national feelings and national traditions to the extent of jingoism, in the belief that by this means they can create a state of emotional

excitement in which criticism can be easily stifled, public opinion can be by-passed and the press can be muzzled, and enthusiasm for their regime can be stimulated. Recent pronouncements of Pandit Nehru and Sri K. N. Katju on the floor of the Parliament in connection with the Preventive Detention Amendment Bill are replete with invocations to this new god of Nation-State. This is a totalitarian type of nationalism and anti-democratic in spirit. This idealization of Nation-State becomes far more dangerous, and makes the path of dictatorships shorter and smoother, especially when the community is politically ignorant but has national consciousness, when people are prone to hero-worship and psychologically disposed to accept authority as ordained by Providence.

Raj-Pramukhs, the fabulous privy purses of the Princes and differences between princely states and provinces, constitute another threat to Indian democracy. These represent the old order of things and provide rallying centres for anti-democratic forces. Queen Elizabeth sanctioned the execution of her cousin, Queen Mary of Scots, not out of any malice or personal jealousy, but to remove a potential danger to the newly established Church of England. Cromwell was not merely blood-thirsty, he was forced to the cruel necessity of executing Charles I. French Revolutionaries guillotined Louis XVI to put an end to the institution of absolute monarchy. In all these cases the personalities, together with the old institutions which they represented, perished like Phalaris shut in the belly of his own red-heated brazen-bull. The princely order in India represented reactionary forces in the past. It is observed that after the introduction of new democratic regimes in the states, the princely order has lost its fangs. But as long as this institution remains, a nucleus for reactionary forces exists, political integration of the country remains incomplete and progress of democracy will be thwarted. The princely order itself must be able to read the writing on the wall and acquiesce in its liquidation.

By far the most powerful adversary of Indian democracy is the extreme disequilibrium of the internal economy of the country. Indian economy has degenerated to the point where it can no longer maintain the teeming millions even at the bare minimum of subsistence or even provide moderate levels of employment. It is progressively creating an increasing segment of society, which, with no allegiance to the Indian State, looks with hope to Red dawn over the Himalayas, where Soviet Communism has fused with an old and distinguished tradition of Chinese imperialism, to create a new dynamism, which has given exhibition of its potency in Tibet and Korea. While such a vitiating influence exists, it is impossible to hope for that unanimity of national endeavour on which alone a truly dynamic democracy can

flourish. The primary task of Indian democracy, therefore, is to solve the dangerous contradictions between the political democracy of numbers and economic aristocracy of privilege.

Caste-system and its darling child, untouchability, are the hideous and malignant carbuncles in our body-politic. The edict of caste has consigned the first principle of democracy, the social equality of all men, to obscurity. Under its patronage social tyranny has prospered through a very long and dark period of our national history. Tyranny in any form is the negation of democracy. Caste has got an iron grip on the free expansion of our energies and capacities. Even now caste-system is still predominant in rural parts with all its undiminished rigidity and oppressive severity. Untouchability is rampant and segregation of certain communities still continues. No doubt, the constitution, by declaring untouchability illegal and punishable under law, aims to remove the dead-weight of caste and demolish the social barriers erected between man and man. But after all the constitution must be worked by men. As Professor Laski observes :

"It is the proud spirit of citizens, less than the letter of the law, that is their most real safeguard."

There is every possibility of the constitutional provisions for the eradication of untouchability and caste remaining only doctrinal and theoretical rights chiefly because of two reasons. Firstly, for many centuries the diabolic system of caste has grounded several millions of human beings to the utmost inhuman and abominable social status and has reduced them into living corpses. Therefore, they have lost their self-confidence and moral courage. No wonder then that such social derelicts would not be courageous enough to avail themselves of the fundamental rights granted and guaranteed to them by the constitution. Secondly, because of their sentimental attachment to this traditional social system, the village caste-Hindus find it difficult to come down and move freely with untouchables, and have free intercourse with them.

Therefore, unless there is an inward conversion of heart in the people who have to give effect to these constitutional provisions, the eradication of untouchability and caste is inconceivable. There must be a new evaluation of man as man, based upon the sanctity of his personality, which could shatter the false and sentimental standards and sunder the bonds of caste. Such a psychological revolution can be effected only by recapturing the creative energy and genius of the nineteenth century renaissance movement of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Reason must revolt against irrational customs and traditional practices. The situation requires men like Gandhiji who could go about with a crusading zeal exhorting the downtrodden people to be self-confident and self-reliant.

If such men are not found, abolition of untouchability will remain a conceptual toy in the hands of demagogues to be rattled before the people to win their votes. As long as caste and untouchability exist social cohesion would be a far-off thing. In the absence of social cohesion, the democratic bonds of the community would be very tenuous indeed!

The peaceful and successful way in which the first general elections have been conducted seems to

have enchanted many a statesman. But let them not lose sight of the legible hieroglyphic writing of the elections. From the foregoing analysis it is obvious that there are certain forces that bode ill for the progress of Indian democracy. Beneath the unruffled surface there are monstrous sulphuric flames which may burn up the paper vault of the democratic constitution and engulf the entire nation in a wild conflagration.

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AGRICULTURAL PROLETARIAT Its Present Conditions and Future Prospects

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

II

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS OF RURAL LABOUR

The foregoing description of the conditions of living and working of the agricultural labourers has made it clear that their position is worst and it deserves serious attention of those who are interested in the uplift of rural workers. The difficulties to ameliorate the conditions of rural labour are many. They are both foreign and indigenous. Capitalists and industrialists, landlords and cultivators, rulers and the ruled have all had some kind of vested interest in it. Further, the farmers are obviously against any measures aimed at bringing any enlightenment to the masses whom they exploit. In such hostile atmosphere and after the day's hard work it is also difficult for the labourer to equip himself to learn the three 'R's'. The age-old intellectual lethargy of the illiterate too plays its part in blocking the way to progress. Another difficulty is that the country is unable to plan the economic life of the people. The existence of the minority groups who do not take to manual labour and community problems have all intensified the situation. These difficulties will only disappear, if a proper plan for national life is drawn taking all its phases into consideration.

The problem of rural labour is no doubt a difficult one but by a careful study a determined effort should be made to educate the labourer so that he could think for himself, read for himself and act for himself. To be frank the problem of rural labour deserves the immediate attention of all. All services, institutions, establishments and other accessories essential to the growth, nourishment, education and training of rural labour should be operated at public cost. Parental care and affection, and an atmosphere of family life are considered to be a very important factor in the normal, mental and physical make-up of the labourer. Marriage should be rationalised. There should be redistribution of population with readjustment to make agriculture with all its subsidiaries to support more than half the population. Out of the balance of the

rural labour about 25 per cent should be maintained by industries and commerce, about 10 to 15 per cent by social utility services. All these should be radically organised and planned.

REGULATION OF HOURS OF WORK

The question of fixing hours of work for the agricultural labourer in India has often been raised, but no serious attempts have been made to give it a practical shape. In Europe, where arable farming is associated with stock-raising and there is distribution of employment over the whole year for a permanent staff, it has been practicable to limit hours of employment. In such countries like England and Germany, which have developed industrialized farming, hours of work may be fixed with ease on account of the somewhat permanent nature of employment. But so uniform a distribution of employment is unknown in Indian farming where hours of labour are unequally divided among different seasons, and where both in the sowing and the harvesting seasons the labourers must work long hours on account of the nature of their work and special difficulties of Indian agriculture.

It cannot be denied that in India casual labourers have to work for very long hours and under very trying conditions because they are neither protected by legislation nor by organised bodies, such as the English Labourers' Union or the Polish and Swedish Collective Agreements Societies, which have met with striking success in securing better terms for their members. But the statutory regulation hours of labour would seem to depend purely on the question whether a capitalised system of agriculture has given rise to a class of land workers who have succeeded in attaining some degree of organization among themselves. Several countries like Italy, Spain, Germany, Czechoslovakia have already passed regulations concerning the hours of work in agriculture on the basis of National Legislation; and considering the gravity of the agrarian situation in India, where labour is disorganised and

1. R. K. Mukerjee : *Land Problems of India*.

weak, the exodus from the country to the town is creating much mischief and unrest in urban areas and agricultural unemployment is constantly increasing, a national policy in this direction is not only opportune but imperative.

Therefore, an effective scheme of National Labour Legislation for the regulation of hours of work on the field should be based on the peculiar conditions of agriculture and the circumstances of the country. The following suggestions may be made in this connection :

1. Prof. Ranga has remarked that the hours of work may be allowed to vary from time to time and from place to place, but care should be taken that the maximum number of hours does not exceed 12 hours for males, and 10 hours for females on any one day and 56 hours in any week, and special scales of pay are prescribed for overtime payment over and above 8 hours. In this connection the practice of fixing the total number of hours per annum may also be considered as provided in the Collective Agreements in Sweden, 10 hours a day and the maximum total of 2,700 hours per annum ; in Germany a maximum of 2,900 hours per annum ; and in Czechoslovakia, 2,618 hours to not-exceeding 3,000 hours per annum.² In India, however, it is difficult to fix the number of hours by week or by month on account of the temporary nature of employment. For different parts of India, a daily maximum of 10 hours, not counting the interval for meals, and a yearly total of 3,622 hours may with advantage be laid down.

2. This fixation of working hours should apply to all agricultural businesses which employ hired help, and to all classes of wage-earning labourers, casual or permanent, whether doing piece-work or employed by day.

3. Work should not be done at a stretch. There should be a gap of at least 1 hour between the morning and afternoon working hours during the winter and the rainy season, but this gap should be of at least four hours during the summer.

4. It is also necessary to fix the minimum duration of work during the winter and the maximum duration during the summer, *e.g.*, in Australia, the Farm and Forest Workers' Association lays down that the agricultural workers shall work 8 hours a day during the three winter months and ten hours a day during the rest of the year, while during the three harvest months the hours per day are increased to 11 with extra pay for the additional hour. Similarly, in Poland, Collective Agreements have fixed the hours of work in agriculture as follows :

A daily maximum of 11½ hours for the months of June and July, a daily minimum of 6½ hours for the months of December and January, an annual average of 9 hours and 20 minutes per day.

In India, the seasonal adjustment of hours of work may also be made in the following way :

Duration of hours during summer 10, 11 during the monsoon and 9 during the winter months.

5. Overtime work should not be allowed to finish the task ; but for a greater amount of work a fresh contingent should be employed.

6. Night work should by no means be allowed in the case of women and children. Even in the case of adult male labourers, they should be allowed to work at night on these conditions :

(1) That during the summer, on account of heat, when the day work is much more trying than night work, the worker should be given the choice of work at night, to complete the day's unfinished work, provided the ten-hour limit is not exceeded.

(2) That adequate protection is given against possibilities of overtime work, and ample facilities provided for work in dark and rainy nights.

7. Measures to control the application of agricultural labour protection should proceed by legislative enactment. All employers should be required to maintain a Workers' Register, showing the terms of employment and conditions and nature of work. The violation of labour employment laws should be severely punished, either by heavy fines or withdrawal of permission to employ hired help.

IMPROVEMENT IN THE CONDITIONS OF WORK

Sweating with its triple evil of long hours of work, insanitary conditions and low wages, is common in agriculture. It is a common sight to see the agricultural workers working in dirty mud and water during the rainy season, or in the scorching heat of the summer digging the ground and thatching houses, or working in the fields in the early hours of winter when they are exposed to very strong, cold, biting winds. Children and women working under similar unhealthy conditions suffer considerably from a host of diseases like itches, ring-worm, and other skin diseases. During summer sunstroke is very common and during winter the exposure of the children is a sure herald of quick death. It is therefore necessary that not only the working conditions are made healthy but adequate protection should be given by way of insurance against illness, accident and unemployment.

In India, night work during the summer, specially on moonlit nights, is recommended to avoid the trying weather of the day, provided a compensatory rest period during the day is effectively secured. In order to improve the working conditions of the labourers it is necessary to give consideration to the following measures :

(1) Only male adult workers should work during the rainy season when liability to disease is high and conditions of work difficult.

(2) Women and children should be prohibited from heavy work under unhealthy conditions.

(3) Out-door work during the months of May and June should be prohibited.

(4) Women with four months' pregnancy or more should stop all manual labour.

² International Labour Conference, Third Session, 1921, Report II, p. 29, p. 44.

(5) In the event of illness or accident due to the nature of the work, the employer should pay at last one-third of the wages during the period of disability.

(6) A periodical physical fitness examination should be held by a qualified doctor employed by the Rural Development Department or the Rural Labour Commissioner, and the weaklings and physically unfit should be withheld from employment in hard labour.

(7) The nature and amount of work and the conditions under which it is performed, should be under the special care of the Labour Officer.

FIXATION OF MINIMUM WAGE IS NECESSARY

The wages paid to workers in agriculture are too low to maintain them in a state of efficiency and to enable to reproduce and rear a sufficient number of offspring to take their place. Hence, as a matter of simple protection to the national life both present and future, all agricultural workers should be given, through appropriate legal measures, a remuneration sufficient not only to replace and maintain but also to develop their productive power. The workers, therefore, need the minimum living wage. The estimate of the living wage has to be calculated by social judgement and therefore the labourer ought to have the means of living comfortably and decently.³ Antoine held that

"Not only there ought to be an objective equivalence between the labour performed and the wage received, but the labourer has a claim to Family Living Wage from consideration of social welfare."⁴

At present there is a unanimity of opinion that the agriculturists should get a decent livelihood. This implies not only the objective but also the subjective needs which play an important part in modern life on account of the fast-changing habits and customs. "A decent livelihood, or a Living Wage, must conform in a reasonable degree to the conventional standard of life that prevails in any community or group."⁵ Devas suggested that all workers should be guaranteed the means of physical existence; practical possibility of marriage; separate homes; insurance against sickness, and old age; and some access to the treasures of literature, art and culture.⁶ Gompers defined a Living Wage as a "wage which, when expended in the most economical manner, shall be sufficient to maintain an average-sized family in a manner consistent with whatever the contemporary local civilization recognises as indispensable to physical and mental health, or as required by the rational self-respect of human beings." Thus it will be seen that the Living Wage,⁷ the basis of the Minimum Wage, not only consider the labourer's industrial efficiency, but also his social obligations towards his family, his community, and the State, e.g., in the U.S.S.R., the worker is paid wages

in accordance with the amount and quality of his individual labour, but in addition there exist a number of other forms of distribution of wealth, in which the collective nature of labour comes to the forefront. These include Workers' Welfare Funds, Social Insurance, Funds for Technical Training, Construction of Houses, Public Services, and other socialised forms of wages.⁸

In case of India Dr. Lorenzo has calculated the Living Wage to be Rs. 216 for a family of two adults and three non-working dependents, i.e., 3½ adults.⁹

The Minimum Wage Law should apply to women and children also in agriculture. Those women who are forced to provide their own sustenance have a right to what is a living wage for them. Since they have no other means of living than their own labour, the compensation therefore should be sufficient to enable them to live decently. Again women doing the same work with the same degree of efficiency as men, in occupations where both sexes are employed, have a right to same remuneration as their male fellow-workers. The Soviet Union does not maintain the system of unequal pay for men and women doing similar work.¹⁰ "Distributive justice requires that equally competent workers be rewarded equally."¹¹ Fairbanks held that

"Unless we hold that an increase in the proportion of women workers is undesirable, we must admit that social welfare would be advanced by the payment of uniform wages to both sexes for equally efficient labour."¹²

Children of either sex who have reached the age of work, but who cannot perform the work of adults, have a right to a decent livelihood, because their wages constitute their sole source of maintenance. In the Soviet Union all employed youths over 16 years receive the same wage as adults performing the same work in agriculture, while young workers are trained without any cost to themselves and receive pay while learning. This is a unique achievement of the U.S.S.R. where children are trained and their productive powers developed instead of being exploited and exhausted as in the capitalistic countries. It should also be noted that in India, women and children are not employed on a permanent basis during the whole of the working year. Women are obliged to devote their attention to household duties while the children may attend school. Therefore, in their case a minimum wage per hour (one anna for women and six pies for child workers) is recommended. This system would be beneficial to the employers and the employees.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN LABOURERS

The wretched working conditions under which the women labourers have to work in the fields call for

7. Ryan : *Op. Cit.*, p. 98.

8. I. A. Kravet : *Labour in Soviet Planned Economy*, pp. 400-404.

9. Lorenzo : *Op. Cit.*, p. 168.

10. Kravet : *Op. Cit.*, p. 422.

11. Ryan : *Op. Cit.*, p. 76.

12. Fairbanks : *Introduction to Sociology*, p. 148.

3. J. A. Ryan : *A Living Wage*, p. 63.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

6. Devas : *Political Economy*, p. 498.

immediate legislation to safeguard their interests. The legislative measures should apply only to regular wage-earners in agriculture, and no difference should be made between agricultural undertakings employing female labour in groups. The International Labour Conference recommends that

"Measures should be taken to ensure to women earners employed in agricultural undertakings protection before and after child-birth similar to that provided by the International Draft Convention adopted by the International Labour Conference at Washington for women employed in Industry and Commerce, and that such measures should include the right to a period of absence from work before and after child-birth, and to a grant of benefit during the said periods, provided either out of public funds or by means of a system of insurance."¹³

Some countries like Finland, Great Britain, and Switzerland have already got general insurance schemes which include Maternity Insurance. A series of laws has established measures for the protection of women workers in agriculture in Soviet Russia and granted them special privileged conditions. This has greatly improved their cultural level and living conditions. During pregnancy and child-birth, women are allowed time off with full pay for a period of 8 weeks before and 8 weeks after child-birth. The U.S.S.R. spends huge amounts on Socialized Restaurants, Children's Nurseries, Sanitoria, Kindergartens and Hygiene Institutes, which relieve women of a large part of their domestic burdens.¹⁴

In India, owing to the breaking up of the rigidity of customs and traditions, the employment of women labourers in all forms of agricultural occupations, and the employment almost entirely of married women, the need for the prohibition of the employment of women before and after confinement appear to be imperative. In India, the protective measures adopted should be extended to those women workers who are employed on a farm permanently; women workers who are not members of the farmers' family; women workers employed individually or in groups, casual unspecified labourers, dairy maids and domestic servants :

1. In view of the poverty of the masses work should be stopped two months before and at least one month after child-birth.

2. An allowance of half an hour twice a day should be made, in addition to meal time, for the purpose of nursing the baby, for the second and third months after child-birth.

3. Child Welfare and Maternity Centres should be increased and Health Visitors to work in conjunction with the rural Labour Inspector should be provided.

4. Necessary State aid should be provided to the independent workers' funds during maternity period as well as free attendance by a qualified doctor or certified midwife.

PROTECTION OF CHILD WORKERS IN AGRICULTURE

In India, the direct legislation regarding agricultural employment of children is very difficult because though in factories the labour legislation is made possible by the organisation and extension of a Factory Inspection Department, the conditions in agriculture are so diverse that inspection over vast areas becomes very costly and inefficient. It is therefore necessary that here reliance should be placed on the indirect application of other laws as have been introduced in the U.S.A. and other European countries, such as compulsory school attendance laws. In the U.S.A., in 27 out of 48 States, employment of children during school hours in any gainful occupation is definitely forbidden. This applies to children under 16 years for 8 months in the year unless they have completed the eighth grade of the elementary school. In Canada, the Adolescent School Attendance Act fixes the minimum age of employment in agriculture between 14 and 16 years. The Czechoslovakia Act of 1919 prohibits the general employment of children under 12 years of age. In Denmark, school attendance is compulsory up to the age of 14. In Great Britain, boys below the age of 10 are prohibited to work in agriculture.

But it is unfortunate to find that in India, however, no such measures have yet been taken. The compulsory attendance and age limit for schooling has failed miserably. It is high time that action should be taken now to protect child labour in agriculture from ruthless exploitation. The necessary provision should be sought along the following lines :

1. Educational Laws should be so framed that they may demand a certain period of attendance on the part of the children, failing which penalties should be imposed on those responsible for the breach of these laws.

2. Child employment during school hours should be totally prohibited. It would be very good if the rural schools are closed down during the sowing and harvesting periods, when a shortage of labour in the fields is experienced. Besides this, it would be really beneficial if an effective method of ensuring the working of Educational Laws is fixed to a minimum period of, say, 8 months in the year, below which school instruction should not be reduced.

3. Child labour should be prohibited from employment in dangerous tasks involving the operation of complex machinery, requiring hard manual labour, and other injurious and hard tasks.

4. The child labourer should be given a day's holiday during the week.

It must be noted that indirect legislation, however elaborate, can hardly be effective without positive legislative measures. Provisions have therefore to be made to handle a care-free population such as we find in this country. Therefore, the first step in this direction would be to strengthen the Educational Laws in regard to Compulsory Education in rural areas.

13. International Labour Conference, Third Session, Report II.
14. Kraval : *Op. Cit.*, pp. 420-23.

ORGANISATION OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Another measure urgently required to ameliorate the condition of agricultural workers would be the organization of vocational and technical education. Vocational agricultural education is necessary not only in the interest of the agricultural worker but in that of the entire nation, because such education will have a special importance in securing better conditions of livelihood to agricultural workers of all classes, preventing unemployment, increasing production, checking the rural exodus, and helping the landless proletariat to become independent cultivators. Some measures towards ruralizing schools, imparting basic education, and introducing special technical courses for agricultural workers have been initiated by various Congress Governments in India. At present there is the need of general mass education and technical agricultural education—the former to produce better citizens, and the latter to improve the earning capacity of rural workers. It is particularly desirable that all elementary instruction in rural districts should be directed to the formation of an agrarian consciousness in the children, who would then, when they grew up, infallibly seek that technical agricultural instruction to which at present the masses of the rural population do not attach sufficient importance even where great facilities are offered them. This can be done by opening Agricultural Apprenticeship Centres, Rural Continuation Schools, Night Clubs, and Summer Camps for rural children. Great importance should also be attached to the organization of schools of Domestic Science and Household Management for village girls.

DEVELOPMENT IN THE AMENITIES OF RURAL LIFE

There is also the need for developing the amenities of rural life. We should not only introduce agencies for the promotion of organized recreation, but try to bring order and beauty into rural life. The countryside must be made beautiful and attractive both by the preservation of natural beauty and the development of rural architecture. The disparity between the town and the country can be reduced by providing the rural masses with facilities for æsthetic and cultural development. In India, the dire economic struggle through which practically all rural people have to pass, has developed a philosophy of life which considers remunerative work alone as righteous. This "work-attitude" has considerably slowed up the introduction of organized recreation into rural life, and has caused rural exodus and rural degeneration. The monotony and distraction of rural life can be broken by a systematic promotion of social welfare and economic prosperity of the agricultural population by the organization of Village Akhras (physical culture institutes), Community Field Days and Festivals, Dramatic Societies (*Natak Mandalis*), and Village Bagichis (Clubs), and also by holding inter-village competitions in wrestling, music and sports. This should be supplemented by

occasional talks from eminent villagers and town-folk on matters concerning rural life and labour. There should also be well-equipped rural libraries; and night schools run by philanthropic individuals or private institutions should receive Government aid and encouragement. These facilities will enable the country-folk to participate in the amenities of urban life. This will require not only the planning of practical programmes but also the co-ordination of agencies of propaganda and social control, such as Panchayats, Village Social Welfare Leagues, Kisan Sahas, Praja Mandals, the Radio and the Rural Stage.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIAL CLINICS

Finally, there is the all-important need for establishing Social Clinics and launching a programme of National Self-Direction. Social Control, whether in the form of taboo, custom or law, or by an enlightened public opinion, is necessary to regulate the conduct of members in society. But in order to make control effective the symptoms of each social evil have to be studied by experts. Each nation, therefore, should make it a point to establish Social Clinics to facilitate experiment and research in social problems, and employ the services of technicians in the solution of these problems, otherwise it will be difficult to follow successfully the programme of National Self-Direction. Population Control is the first and most pressing of all social questions in India. The growing disparity between food and mouths, and the consequent lowering down of the general standard of living, most urgently demand social reform.

Thus it may be said that the position of the agriculturists in India could never be ameliorated by pseudo-economic measures which could end only the vicious circle, but could be improved only by teaching them how to limit the size of their families. Owing to lack of knowledge of birth-control, or self-control, or due to ill-occupied leisure, many classes of agricultural workers, specially those on the lowest rung of the social ladder, are breeding like rabbits and rats, ultimately increasing the nation's social liabilities. There is, therefore, not only the need for an effective control of marriages but also of the inculcation of eugenic ideas upon the people in order to maintain a relative proportion between the well-born and the ill-born.¹⁵ In population, India does not require numbers so much as quality. In order to improve the physical and intellectual standards of the country, engenic should become an orthodox religious tenet of our future life. But allied to the question of population control are the problems of child welfare and nutrition. Rural children are neglected not only in the pre-school period but perhaps even more seriously during the school period. The dire poverty of the masses compels them to subsist on an ill-balanced and inadequate diet

15. Gandhi, M. K.: *Self-Restraint versus Self-Indulgence*; the British Committee on the Ethics of Birth Control, and the *Balance of Births and Deaths*, by Kuczyński, Vol. I, pp. 40-43.

which undermines, in the critical period of growth, the health and efficiency of the growing generation. The problem of rational dietetic and nutrition should at once draw the attention of our economists and sociologists so that some reliable data may be available for constructing our future programme. The establishment of Social Clinics will not only provide better opportunities for aspiring members to cultivate their habits and discipline their conduct under proper auspices and healthy social environment, but will guide the guardians of the Social Mind and facilitate the progress of National Self-Direction.

PROVISION OF SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

In the interest of improvement of the social and economic condition of agricultural workers, it is urgently necessary that they should enjoy the benefit of Social Insurance. Agricultural workers should be placed on the same footing as industrial workers and should receive adequate protection against sickness and invalidity, and have provision for old age.

It is no exaggeration to say that the five giants referred to by Sir William Beveridge, *viz.*, Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness, hold under their grip the lives of large masses of rural people. A simultaneous attack on these five giants should be launched, for, all are inter-connected and act in a vicious circle. The three-fold approach, *viz.*, (i) constructive community services; (ii) subsidized consumption services and (iii) social security measures, I believe, postulates such an attack. Constructive community service, such as free compulsory education up to a certain standard, public health and medical services and subsidized consumption services, such as housing, free supply of milk, etc., together aim at destroying the last four giants. Social security seeks to attack the first one. Constructive community services are 'national' in scope in so far as they aim at the improvement of the 'mental' and 'environmental hygiene' of all residents in villages. As such foremost priority should be given to the 'national' services.

Notwithstanding the first two types of protection, want and need makes itself felt during the periods of disability, caused by sickness, accident, old age and unemployment. Inability to earn wages during these periods drives them into debt or destruction which cannot be prevented without collective assistance. Two kinds of assistance are necessary, *viz.*, (a) medical assistance and (b) compensation for wage loss. The double-deck system of insurance and assistance comprehensively called "Social Security" seeks to provide these two kinds of assistance. Insurance is regarded as generally inapplicable to agricultural labourers owing to their heterogeneous composition and formidable difficulties in fixing and collecting contributions. Referring to conditions in India, Prof. Adarkar opines, "In all probability social assistance will have to be the main method of approach in the case of agricultural masses."¹⁶ The report of the Bhore Committee also

supports this conclusion with particular reference to medical services in rural areas.¹⁷

Sickness in rural areas is at present heavy but of a preventable kind. Hence it is suggested that Health Insurance should be adopted in India; with the improvement of environmental health services the high incidence of diseases is bound to fall down. Under improved conditions, their open-air occupation coupled with reasonable hours of work would minimize the cost of assistance where sickness cases occur; it should be cured; and cash-benefit or more preferably benefit in kind, such as provision of necessities to the beneficiary and the members of his family, should be assured.

Rural medical assistance should give the first preference to maintaining the health of mothers and children below 10 years. Assistance should be in the form of skilled medical aid and maintenance benefit. Confinement and delivery in properly equipped institutions would secure the former. The Bhore Committee recommends a dispensary with two beds for maternity cases, one woman doctor, four public health nurses, four mid-wives and four trained *daïs* in a primary unit serving a population of about 10,000 to 20,000.¹⁸ This is a reasonable proportion to start with and should be implemented. They have also recommended the gradual extension of compulsory abstinence from work for a period of six weeks before and six weeks after confinement to all women gainfully employed outside their homes, as over-work affects a woman's health both during pregnancy and in the post-natal period.¹⁹ Maintenance benefit, too, is of vital importance as the frequent women, nursing mothers and growing children require a more generous and nourishing diet than the general population; and health services for these two sections of population, however, elaborate and efficient, will fail to produce satisfactory results unless simultaneous measures are taken to improve their nutrition.²⁰ For women and children of low income groups this can be secured through subsidized consumption services, such as supply of milk and other valuable additions to diet either free of cost or at nominal prices. Compensation for wage loss for working class women should be provided preferably by supply of necessities through multi-purpose societies in the villages, the cost being borne by the assistance authorities.

Unemployment among the rural labour should be, as far as possible, checked by starting rural subsidiary occupations. The Royal Commission on Agriculture and more recently the Famine Commission recognised,

16. Adarkar : *Planning of Social Security in India*, p. 10.

17. *Report of the Health Development and Survey Committee*, p. 5.

18. *Report : Op. Cit.*, p. 7, p. 27.

19. *Report : Op. Cit.*, p. 28.

20. *Ibid*, p. 28.

inter alia, the development of cottage and agro-industries with the aid of cheap electric power.²¹

Social assistance promises to secure the much needed protection for the agricultural labourer. Nominal contributions from even the low-income groups should be raised through multi-purpose societies, in which membership should be made compulsory. The State should follow the principle of payment according to "capacity" and "benefit according to need." Further voluntary organisations should act as "watch-dogs" on State social services, so as to prevent their incursions into individual enterprise and infringement of individual liberty. In this connection, the organisation of Rural Community Councils corresponding to the Urban Community Councils of England, may be considered. Their task will be to secure co-operation as fully as possible, to review steadily the social needs and social provision of the area and to enhance the welfare of the inhabitants. Their business is not so much to carry on social services themselves as to see that they are carried on.

CONCLUSION

In short, our planning for rural labour should "involve measures for conserving our soil resources for diversion of land to sound uses, for the shifting of

population from one part of the country to the other, for adequate training and education of the masses, for the organisation of some form of collectivism and socialised democracy, which will make bread and shelter as freely accessible to every one as water and use of roads now in civilized countries."²²

The above proposals would require an army of workers for fruition. Ambitious plans can only mature if there are proper persons to carry them out. A Board or a Committee shall have to be set up to formulate schemes and put them into practice. Beginning shall have to be made sooner or later. Difficulties would arise in initial stages and doubting Thomases would shake their heads but if plans are pushed on with an iron will and determination they would undoubtedly succeed. The barriers of conservatism would be broken and a new and bright chapter would open in the hitherto luckless history of rural labour. The working class now backward and lagging behind would shake off its misery. With robust national policies and men to work them, let our rural labourer have better schools for his children, better shops and hospitals, better transport facilities and supplies of running water, gas and electricity in his home.

(Concluded)

21. Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture, p. 566 and Report of Famine Enquiry Commission (1945), p. 312.

22. Wadia and Merchant: *Our Economic Problems*, p. 107.

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THE NEW ECONOMICS AND FULL EMPLOYMENT ✓

By ARUN COOMAR GHOSH

In this article an attempt has been made to present a brief and popular exposition of the theory of employment as propounded by the late Lord J. M. Keynes in his famous book *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. All technicalities and complicated formulae have been avoided so that the theory may be readily intelligible to the uninformed reader.

The core of the Keynesian theory of employment stresses the fact that the capitalist society suffers from falling consumption and declining investment, and to stop the rot of unemployment we have to take appropriate monetary and fiscal measures to stimulate consumption and investment.

Economists from the time of Adam Smith have pointed out various causes of unemployment; for example, technological advancement and invention of labour-saving machineries, existence of frictions which hinder the free mobility of labour from one industry or trade to another, and cyclical factors, such as harvest cycles which account for the periodicity of booms and depression. But the credit goes to late Lord Keynes for focussing our attention on the fundamental cause of unemployment which is the lack of adequate spending.

In any society, whether capitalistic or socialistic, total employment depends on the volume of spending by the

community. One may spend his income on consumption or investment goods, or he may spend part of his income and save the rest. One man's expenditure is another man's income, and spending more on consumption goods means increased sale for the retailer; the retailer in his turn gives more orders to the wholesaler which leads to greater production and increased employment. The other avenue of spending is investment. Keynes defines investment in a special sense, namely, purchase of plants and machinery, construction of building factory, etc. Thus the total expenditure on consumption and investment determine the volume of employment.

Again, total spending by the community and its total income are the two sides of the same equation. The money that we spend whether on consumption or on investment goes to some body's pocket, and adds to his income, and hence total income of the community is determined by its total expenditure. According to Keynes, it is the deficiency of adequate spending which ensures an effective demand for goods and services that accounts for declining national income and reduced employment.

Like investment Keynes defines saving in a special sense. A man saves when he accumulates his idle balances. This means sterilization of purchasing power

and the hoarded money is put into the cold storage. Had the amount now saved been spent on consumption or investment it would have augmented some body's income, and contributed towards greater income and employment. Thus saving when it is not converted into investment through the instrumentality of banks and financial institutions acts as a suction pump in absorbing purchasing power from the market, and produces a deflationary effect on income and employment.

Keynes found that a striking inequality in the distribution of wealth in the capitalist society accounts for the low consumption function, and is one of the main causes of the periodical slumps and depression. The well-to-do class have much more income than they can consume which forces them to save the major portion of their income, whereas the poorer class suffer from chronic under-consumption because of their inadequate income. Hence, Keynes suggested that the sterile surplus purchasing power in the hands of the rich could be profitably canalised in creating better income and employment by transferring it to the hands of the poor by means of steep progressive taxation on the rich, subsidising sale of foodstuffs to the poor, old age pension, etc. Investment, on the other hand, produces the contrary effect in creating greater employment and income by injection of purchasing power into the market. Any amount of investment always leads to primary employment, and secondary employment. The former is the direct effect of investment which results in a greater demand for goods and service, and produces a chain effect leading to some additional employment at every stage in the process so that the cumulative effect of the whole process is a volume of employment which is a multiple of the primary employment created by the initial investment. This principle has been described by Keynes as the Multiplier. The central thesis in the Keynesian analysis is that saving is equal to investment.

This follows from the proposition that total income is equal to total spending. If Y stands for total income, and C , I and S respectively for consumption, investment and saving we have the simple equation :

$$\begin{array}{lcl} Y = C + I & & S = I \\ S = Y - C & & \end{array}$$

The total amount spent by the community comprises expenditure on consumption and investment, and the total income of the community is nothing but this expenditure flowing in the shape of income to those employed either in consumption or investment business. Now the total income of the community is composed of two elements, consumption and saving. Hence, $S = Y - C$ which establishes the identity between S & I . Leaving aside the mathematical equation let us see how an increase in investment leads automatically to an increase in saving. Keynes here introduces a new concept which he has dubbed as propensity to consume, i.e., the percentage of income that people usually spend on consumption at a given level of income. It is a fundamental truth that as income increases, the consumption

curve also rises, but some portion of the new income is saved. The men who get employment as a result of the new investment save a certain portion of their income. The remaining portion of their income they spend on consumption or investment which leads to some additional hands being employed. These men also save a portion of their income and spend the rest. In this way the process goes on *ad infinitum*, the total amount saved being equal to the investment. Thus saving is brought into equality with investment through the latter stimulating effect on income and employment.

It follows from the above that to maintain income and employment at the optimum level in a community, Government should take steps to keep the community spending on consumption and investment on a sufficiently high keel to ensure an effective demand for goods and services. A combined fiscal and monetary policy is required to secure the above objective of full employment. During depression when community spending is at a low level sufficient tax relief to the rich and the poor, as also an easy money policy and lowering the bank rate will stimulate consumption and investment. If the depression has reached the rock-bottom level, and lowering the rate of interest does not prove to be a sufficient incentive to induce the business class to invest more the State should embark on a policy of deficit financing and start public works to stop the deflationary gap. The reverse policy should be adopted during a period of boom when the excess demand for goods and services spills over in higher prices leading to an inflationary spiral. Imposition of heavier taxes on the rich, levy of regressive taxes on the poor which directly impinge on consumption, such as sales tax, etc., raising the bank rate and absorption of purchasing power through sale of Government securities, and a policy of surplus budgeting to retrench Government expenditure and discourage private spending should be followed to stop the inflationary gap. Both the extremes of inflation and deflation are to be avoided, and the Aristotelian golden mean should be followed to secure an optimum output, income and employment.

The Keynesian economics has been criticised by many writers as depression economics. The implication of this criticism is that Keynes prescribed an effective remedy to fight depression, but his remedy does not prove equally helpful in fighting the malaise of inflation. This, however, is an unjust criticism. In his book *How to Pay for the War* Keynes has suggested the scheme of compulsory saving to fight inflation. Under this scheme the individual will be compelled during the period of boom to deposit a portion of his income with Government to be realised by deduction from his pay. Interest will be allowed on the balance which will be repaid during the succeeding depression. The advantage of the scheme lies in the fact that it will serve to mop up or sterilize the surplus purchasing power in the hands of the community which results in an excess demand for goods and services leading to over-employment and inflation.

LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

At the marriage in Cana of Galilee—when because supplies had run out the miraculous wine was produced—the bridegroom was reproached for having kept the good wine until the end. I thought of this the other day when I attended a public meeting on the subject of 'The Coming World Government.' At this meeting the three best speakers came at the beginning. And, had they remained to the end, they must have feared that all the good they had tried to do, all the ideas they had planted, had been blown away in the ensuing gusts of heady, mob-stirring rhetoric. Certainly, where public meetings are concerned the good wine should be kept until the end. (And rhetoricians kept out altogether. . .)

The three speakers who deserved a better fate were Mr. Peter Ustinov, Mr. Walter Elliot and an Indian M. P. whose name, unfortunately, I was unable to hear. Mr. Ustinov is a distinguished playwright and Mr. Walter Elliot that rare thing, an idealist who tries to get down to brass tacks. If Mr. Eden is to be the next Tory Prime Minister, I wish he would choose Mr. Elliot for his Foreign Secretary. Perhaps readers in India will recognize their M. P. from this description: he has been in politics for forty-five years and is a follower of Gandhi and Nehru.

An artist like Peter Ustinov is well fitted to open such a subject as that of World Government. Indeed Mr. Walter Elliot declared that his play, *The Love of Four Colonels*, is really the problems of a Committee of World Governments. (If this is so, then a world government is not far off. As the poet Robert Browning remarked, God has a way of 'whispering in the ear' of artists). Ustinov's speech was concerned with the malady of the age and the reason for it. As he sees it, the balance between tangible and intangible elements has been upset. The tangibles, such things as Science and Medicine, have shot ahead so fast that they are out of harmony with the intangibles, such as the Arts and Religion. The result is stagnation of the immortal soul. We must counter, he said, 'the giddy gifts of science.'

Mr. Walter Elliot's speech was all the more impressive because it must, most of it, have been impromptu. It was a reply, or rather a sympathetic qualification, to the Ustinov thesis. He believes that world government has come into being already and instantiated Radio. The great thing, to his mind, is to get on with the job of co-operation. 'Co-operation is the aim. We must co-operate with someone. Let us first co-operate with those near us, work first with each other, then widen our circle.' He instanced India's co-operation with Great Britain as an example of a line along which we ought to go. Another line he suggested was that we might go without things in order to help undeveloped areas.

It will be noted that this is the empirical approach. Surely the only hopeful one—and one which will create a better climate as we go along. ('Means become ends' is always worth remembering). But heady rhetoricians think otherwise. There was an American speaker at this meeting who howled and hurled conditions at us. He wanted enforceable disarmament, compulsory international jurisdiction, a world tribunal to decide such issues as those which are now tearing South Africans apart. (As if South Africa, who has over-ruled her own constitution, would take heed of any outside tribunal. . .). He roused the audience to vigorous and excited applause. But was he lusting after world government or lusting after world power? G. K. Chesterton was once asked at a dinner party if he could define the difference between power and authority. He replied: 'If a hippopotamus were to come round the door, it would certainly have power but I would be the first to assure it that it had no authority.' I think world government, *imposed* upon the peoples, is a hippopotamus coming round the door.

Though I am lingering on this point it is a very important one and worth stressing again—and once more in the words of Mr. Walter Elliot, 'There is danger in erecting a world government lest we erect a world tyranny. . . We must make a community of ideals, a community of spirit. We are ruled not by what is written down but by the spirit in which we approach it.'

The Indian M. P. had a quiet voice and I could not catch all that he said. But he was certainly on the side of the intangibles. Perhaps because co-operation with India had been mentioned, he was very kind in the things he said about us. India, we heard with thankfulness, does not bear any bitterness towards England but sympathy and understanding. He said he felt we had lost the peace after both wars and are no longer a first-class power; but our greatest gift to the world in any case is our literature. The political virtue he gave us was the ability to un-learn past things and learn new things. Well, if we have passed as a great power, great powers by now should be on their way out. (Russia, like the frog in the fable, cannot blow herself up to such gigantic proportions without bursting in the end). Our state is not exceptional. France has passed as a great power—Austria went long ago—and the new fashion in Europe is to enter instead into combinations.

Co-operation is beginning on all sides: for defence, for tariffs, for large-scale industrial production as in the Schumann Plan. England has a link with many of these schemes and she is also linked with other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Early this month more than eighty-five delegates from no less than forty-eight Parliaments met in Ottawa for the

1952 Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. We are, it is becoming clearer every day, in a key position for experimenting in the great art of international co-operation. If only our politicians felt free to harp on the string—instead of the everlasting gap in our balance of payments.

But when Parliament resumes we are sure to hear plenty more about our financial plight. The Revenue is showing signs of shrinking and the Chancellor, who in the Spring introduced a most imaginative Budget, must in his summer holidays have been trying to think again. Returns coming in are badly letting him down.

Death duties, which have been in force now for a number of years, have broken up large estates. Many of these have had to be sold off in lots to enable the duties to be paid. Heavy taxation too—by income tax and sur-tax—has compelled many people to live partly on the sale of capital in order to supplement their income. But such a state of affairs cannot go on indefinitely and there comes a time, and before very long, when the law of diminishing returns comes into play.

It looks as if this time is approaching in Great Britain to-day. Death duties are levied on the estate left by individuals. But more and more of the heavy tax-payers are handing over the bulk of their estates, during their life-time, to Limited Companies or to Trusts (which do not die and consequently are not liable for death duties). Nor is this all. Those who do inherit estates burdened with heavy death duties—and find that the income is thereby greatly diminished—are not the only losers. The yearly tax yield thereafter on the greatly diminished estate will compare very badly with what was yielded before. So, in the long run, the exchequer loses too.

That this law of diminishing returns is asserting itself is suggested by figures which the Government has just made public. They show that in the first twenty-four weeks of this year there was a deficit in the revenue of no less than £303 millions—the biggest deficit ever shown in a like period. And this deficit is not due to increased expenditure but chiefly to a falling revenue. The death duties were estimated to fall by £5 millions on last year's figures but in the six months they fell in fact by £23 millions. Stamp duties also were down by £6 millions for the six months against an estimated fall of £4 millions for the full year. Such figures are an eloquent comment on our heavy burden of taxation and point their own moral.

But if high taxation is eating into large fortunes until there will soon be none left, at least the old privileged classes are making the most of what they still have while they have it! Their lovely houses may be gone or going. (Some of these with suitable irony, as happened at Coleshill the other day, get themselves burned out when they are left tenantless). But these same classes, seeing their capital raided, have decided

to raid it too—and are selling out their investments in order to maintain their sons at Eton! The demand for an Eton education, we learn from the *Spectator*, is 'brisker than it has ever been.' Parents enter their children at birth—some even before birth—but 'however quick off the mark a parent is, his chances of getting a guaranteed vacancy can seldom have been slenderer than they are at the moment.' It is an entertaining bit of news. The other day Lord Boyd Orr thundered that the common people of the world are on the march and nothing can stop them. Well, the 'common people' in England, anyway, will have a number of men in their midst whose traditions will be wildly out of date. Their school began in the first half of the fifteenth century. . . And what nonsense it is to particularise 'the common people.' The sons of real kings and the sons of football pool kings alike go to Eton.

By the time this reaches India the long summer break in Europe will be over. Parliaments will be re-assembling and in Russia members of the Communist Party will meet in Congress—the first time for thirteen years. Russia evidently is cooking up a new policy but in the meantime the Western Powers have been getting together and getting, too, a clearer idea of the part which Britain has to play in the promotion of the general well-being. Britain is growing in influence and this is largely due to the energy and initiative of the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden. The nations of Western Europe are weaving webs of alliances. They are forming themselves into groups and the principal group, known as Little Europe, and consisting of six nations—France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg—appears in no less than three separate guises. It is all a little confusing, especially to the British man in the street, since we are pledged to this group in one of its aspects but not in either of the others. Its first guise is the Schumann Plan which we declined to join when the Labour Government was in power. The Labour Government would have no truck with it because it would not commit our nationalised steel industry to a non-socialist group overseas. (One can see their point of view but it seems a pity. The Schumann Plan Assembly has sovereign powers and is described as 'the first international parliament with sovereign powers to be formed in Europe.' Britain, the mother of Parliaments and the father of the Industrial Revolution, should have had a hand in this, the first European Parliament and a coal and steel one at that).

Little Europe's second guise is as the European Defence Community. It is here that Britain comes in. In May last Mr. Eden gave to the members of the group a pledge of immediate and automatic aid should any one of them become the victim of aggression.

The third guise is that of a European Federation. And it is with this aspect that Mr. Eden has just brought off his first diplomatic triumph. He was not

at all satisfied that the six-nation group should go their own way regardless of Britain—and of the other free nations of Europe. He proposed therefore that this European Federation should be linked with Britain through the Council of Europe (which is a sixteen-nation group and to which Britain belongs.)

Little Europe in its Schumann aspect—it is, all very Gilbertian!—was not enthusiastic. Mr. Jean Monnet, the French President of the Schumann Plan Assembly, opined:

"Britain had a chance to join the community last year and stood aside. The members of the community may therefore now prefer to stand aside from Britain." And he added ominously: "If the creation of a single Continental market for coal and steel brings down prices, the Continental nations think they may be able to stand aside from Britain."

To digress for a moment, our people seem to be quite blind to the danger that the Schumann Pool may take away our markets, especially should rearmament come to an end. Far from fearing foreign competition they are recklessly increasing the pace. For instance, the Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, great users of steel, have been threatening to cut down production by banning overtime and piecework—unless their wage claims are conceded. Every day sees some fresh demand for higher wages until the time must come when no one will be able to afford our wares.

But to return to the French President of the Schumann Plan. He is barking up the wrong tree: Britain is not the problem but Germany. France should not cold-shoulder Britain because she will need all the support she can get to counter the over-weening ambitions of Germany. German M. P.'s make no secret of their hope that they may use the Plan to further a policy of German domination of the Continent. A correspondent in the *Daily Mail* reveals how Germany has already made herself cop-dog at Strasbourg:

"The German language seems to be more in evidence in the offices and corridors of the Schumann Assembly than any of the other three other languages, French, Dutch, and Italian. . . Important notices are translated first in German and then in the three other languages. German always seems to top the list."

It is indeed remarkable how swiftly Germany, maimed though she is in her Eastern provinces, is making her recovery. Her name is for ever in the news: We read that she is building tankers, cargo ships and ocean liners and is already back to one-third of her pre-war fleet; that the egregious Schacht has been called in by Persia to advise her in her financial difficulties; that she is appointing Ambassadors all over the Middle East. Mr. Harold Nicolson has just returned from visiting them.

"Day and night," he writes, "in the cities where I stayed, there came the sound of hammering; the

whole of Germany appeared to be engaged, in sunlight and by arc-light, in repairing the ravages of war."

It is a terrifying picture. People with such energies as these will not indefinitely put up with the situation in their Eastern territory. Unless agreement with Russia can be reached—and the enslaved provinces restored to Germany—Europe is certainly headed towards another war. Suppose Germany succeeds in her (familiar) aim of attempting to dismember Europe. Will she not then feel tempted to try conclusions with Russia?

Reflections like these make one hope and pray that we may somehow find a way of ending the impasse with Russia. Everyone, except Germany and Russia, is sick of nations who want to dominate or enslave other peoples. But we are also getting very sick of the spectacle of the Western Powers standing pat on their proposals and the Russians standing pat on theirs with never a hope that the twain shall meet. What is the use of exchanging Notes on the dilemma—that we want free elections throughout Germany so that the Four Powers can negotiate a Peace Treaty with an All-German Government, whilst the Russians want first of all to set up the All-German Government? Why can't we try to compromise and take the wind out of Russia's sails? It looks indeed as if we have missed one opportunity already. The *Spectator* tells us that a move in a new direction recently came out of Eastern Germany. A delegation from 'the People's Chamber of East Germany' made a seemingly most useful proposition. It managed to combine both the Western and Russian points of view. It suggested that 'A Four-Power meeting on a draft treaty, negotiations on German unification, and an investigation into the conditions for holding elections throughout Germany should all begin simultaneously.' On the face of it this seems at the worst a harmless and at the best a most hopeful suggestion. But we are told that the East German delegation was not well received in Bonn, and 'it is most unlikely that its proposals would be any better received in London or Washington or Paris.' Simple people can only wonder *why*. . . It seems strange, too, that such a suggestion should not be aired in the United Nations.

Not until individuals and nations realise that the brotherhood of humanity is a fact—and act accordingly—will we get out of the rut that we are in at present. The golden rule is still as real and true and practical as it was from the beginning. Nations as well as individuals must realise that the best, the only policy for the recovery of the world, is to do to others as you would that they should do to you. That alone can save the world from chaos and wars to end wars.

Westminster, London, 29th September, 1952.



Citizens of Nairobi evinced great interest in photographs and paintings on Indian architecture and historic documents, displayed recently in the Air India International Show Windows in Nairobi



Community Project officers going round Nilokheri—a township for displaced persons where they have gathered for a four-week long training course on Community Projects



W. A. Harriman, Director of the U.S. Mutual Security Administration, is seen at the Indian pavilion at the recent World Trade Week Exhibition in Washington with Mrs. H. A. Sujan, and her son who acted as his guides at the pavilion



Miss Derika Diez of Bombay describes an artistic piece of brass-ware, exhibited at the recent World Trade Fair in San Francisco, to two local visitors

THE MULTI-PURPOSE RIVER-VALLEY PROJECTS IN INDIA

By M. P. BHOWMICK,

Formerly of Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

II

C. SOIL EROSION, ITS CONTROL AND LAND RECLAMATION

Before we go into details a brief note on certain facts fundamental to the problem of erosion is essential for a proper understanding of the subject. By soil is meant the uppermost weathered and disintegrated layer of the earth's crust whose depth varies from 6 to 12 inches depending upon the geology of the locality. This thin layer of soil resting on the rocky core is responsible for all plant growth and soil erosion is the loosening of the soil from the bed and its transportation from one place to another.

Under natural undisturbed conditions there is an equilibrium between the climate of a place (notably rainfall and temperature) and the cover of vegetation that protects the soil. Even then there is erosion, but it is such a slow process that it is compensated for by the formation of soil under natural weathering processes. Such erosion is called geological erosion and proceeds in a natural undisturbed environment, but is of minor importance when its effect on agricultural lands is considered. The story takes an altogether different course when the vegetation cover is removed and the land is ploughed. Erosion then proceeds at a much faster rate, and this latter type is the point in our discussion.

Wind and water are the two agencies that cause erosion. There is much in common between them, inasmuch as the amount of soil material removed depends upon the velocity of the agency. But erosion due to water is much more serious and extensive compared with the former. However, since wind-erosion is out of the scope of the present paper, all our discussions will be exclusively confined to water erosion.

Of the two fundamental types of water erosion, in the case of sheet erosion movement of run-off water and eroded soil takes place in sheets, approximately the same amount of soil being removed from each place. If this moving mass, gaining progressively sufficient velocity, if comes across any depression, a gully forms where the mixture of soil and water collects at a high speed. The run-off water carrying the surface soil flows down the gully with even increased velocity. If the velocity of the run-off water is doubled, its energy is increased four times and its cutting action on the soil is correspondingly increased, capacity of carrying suspension soil being increased 64 times. The gullies tend to deepen and widen with every rainfall. They cut up agricultural lands into small fragments rendering cultivation impracticable. If there is no depression, the sheet flow usually tends to collect in rills which later on develops into gullies. Gully, as the very name

suggests, is the more spectacular type but erosion in sheets is the more dangerous and insidious type, creeping on unnoticed. While fields are prepared for planting, any trained eye can detect on almost any hillside in humid regions the telltale lightness of colour that bespeaks a near approach to subsoil and complete exhaustion.

Then there is a third type known as Bank erosion, very commonly observed with our Indian rivers, affecting not only sand banks and shoals in the bed but also the margins. It may continue in one locality for many months and hundreds of acres of cultivable land including villages may be cut away and wholly disappear. It is estimated that along that part of the Mississippi river from Cairo III to Donaldsonville, La, a midstream distance of 885 miles and 921 miles following the caving banks, the annual land loss due to caving banks is 1,003,593 cubic yards. This works out to a total volume amounting to 10 square miles 86 feet deep. An idea of the devastating influence of erosion in stream banks in lessening the extent of useful land may be gathered from the following information regarding the acreage under 'Cho' beds at three successive settlements in the Hoshiarpur district in the Punjab.

Year	Acres of Cho land
1852	48,206
1884	80,057
1897	94,326

Rain as it precipitates on the surface of the ground is disposed in three ways, viz., (1) by direct run-off into rivers, streams, lakes and thence to the sea, (2) by percolation into the ground, (3) by direct evaporation into the atmosphere or through plant transpiration. Increased velocity of run-off water reacts with the land in the following manner:

- The cutting power or corrosive power increases with the square of the velocity;
- The size of the particle that can be carried increases with the sixth power of the velocity;
- The weight of material transported increases with the fifth power of the velocity.

From the results of experiments conducted in the Sholapur Dry Farming Research Station, it is seen that about 20 per cent of the total rainfall is lost by run-off which erodes away 35 tons of soil per acre per annum in the Bombay-Deccan tracts. In other words, 1/6" of soil is lost per annum by erosion of 1 inch of soil in six years. In light soils where the depth of the soil does not exceed 6 inches the entire soil will

be lost by erosion in about 36 years leaving the hard "muram" subsoil bare and unfit for any crop. Geologically, it takes thousands of years for nature to convert rock into soil 1 foot deep, fit for cultivation, but it is completely eroded and lost in about 50 to 100 years. Experiments carried out in the Punjab in the Siwaliks on small catchments of 25 acres go to prove that good soil conservation methods have resulted in reducing percentage of run-off. It is estimated that in the scarcity areas of Madras and Hyderabad (Deccan) 10 to 30 per cent of the total annual rainfall is lost as run-off on account of lack of proper anti-erosion and rainfall conservation methods.⁷

To get an idea of the relation of soil-cover with velocity of run-off and erosion we give below the results of the experiments which were conducted by Sholapur Agricultural Research Station in the Bombay Presidency, the plots selected being 1/80th of an acre in extent with a slope of 1 in 85 with different types of soil-cover ranging from very thick vegetation to bare soil. The soil is ordinary Deccan black cotton soil 9 to 18 inches deep obtained from disintegration of Deccan trap.

TABLE III
Year 1934-39, average rainfall in inches
per year=25.96

	Run-off percentage	Soil lost in tons/acre	No. of years reqd. to erode top 8" of cultivable soil
Plot 1	3.44	0.215	4146.00
Plot 2	15.50	27.05	32.92
Plot 3	18.34	39.02	22.84
Plot 4	16.61	57.55	15.48
Plot 5	7.22	20.71	43.01
Plot 6	13.48	37.12	24.01
Plot 7	16.08	52.30	17.04
Plot 8	16.7	40.71	21.90

Soil erosion not only removes essential part of the soil needed for vegetation growth but exhausts the lands at a much more alarming rate and to this end some typical data are referred which bring out clearly the extent of havoc it inflicts to land.

TABLE IV
Mechanical Analysis of Silt Collected in
1937-38 at Hagari

Head of analysis	Run-off silt	Soil 1st foot layer
1. Clay	56.8	44.9
2. Silt	26.9	17.1
3. Fine Sand	8.5	15.7
4. Coarse Sand	1.4	17.5
Chemical Analysis of the same		
Loss on Ignition	7.140	3.120
Insoluble matter	63.950	75.490
Iron and Alumina (R203)	20.950	13.190
Lime (Cao)	3.830	3.450
Magnesia (Mgo)	1.520	0.920
Potash (K2O)	1.280	0.290
Phosphoric acid (P2O5)	0.041	0.054
Nitrogen	0.043	0.024

7. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India, p. 79.

The figures in the above table show that the silt washed off the land consists of about 84 per cent of the fine fractions, viz., clay and silt, while the soil contains only 62 per cent. The difference is due to the fact that during the course of the washes the coarse particles settle quicker while the fine particles get lost. The Nitrogen content of silt was 0.043 per cent while that of the soil was only 0.024 per cent.

The amount of potash thus washed away was about four times than that contained in the parent soil. In short, the silt which is washed off is much richer in plant food than the original soil. The organic matters present in the soil sustain maximum loss; the loss on ignition of the silt being nearly double that of the original soil. A healthy soil is the first requisite for the production of a healthy crop. Loss in the soil fertility causes not only low yield but also a crop which is both unhealthy and prone to disease. Soil erosion therefore not only diminishes agricultural lands quantitatively, but the irrecoverable loss in terms of fertility inflicted upon them restricts the quality of the yield too. "An examination of crop yields over a period of 40 years indicates that Indian soil has reached an almost static condition at a very low level of fertility in which the cropping losses are just recouped by natural processes," resulting in an overall appalling low productivity to which the aftermath effects of soil erosion *inter alia* contribute in no small measure.

In the eighth annual message to the Congress, Theodore Roosevelt very rightly remarked, "When soil is gone, men must go and the process does not take long," and while in all advanced countries of the world vigorous and extensive measures have been and are still being taken to combat with this menace which is threatening the very existence of human civilization, it is most unfortunate that it has been looked at with cheerful indifference in our country hitherto and the mischief was allowed to proceed unabated. In any scheme of intensive and increased agricultural production all efforts will end in moonshine if this great enemy of cultivation is not fully curbed down immediately since if preventive measures are not adopted timely, the process gathers tremendous momentum and soon gets almost out of any conceivable control. In view of the intricacy of the problem and its intimate relation with the national well-being, it must be considered as a national problem and remedial measures be taken on a extensive scale.

It was expected that in framing the draft outline of the first five-year plan for the development of country's resources the Union Government had all the relevant data before them which is obviously a pre-requisite in such endeavours and though from the very brief discussion under the headline of "Soil Conservation" it appears they could assess the urgency of the situation, the statement that it was "difficult to estimate quantitatively the loss caused to Indian agri-

culture from the effect of various types of soil erosion⁸ will be received with surprise by the thinking minds. It may be mentioned that in places where agriculture is considered vital in the nation's economy such estimates were prepared long before. As a matter of fact, such estimates are very necessary to have a clear view of the situation and in laying out any schemes of control. It does not appear to have been realised that a problem fully recognized is a problem half-solved. The importance of such comprehensive estimates could be best illustrated by quoting an example.

In 1936, the U.S. Bureau of Chemistry and Soils published the following data of the erosion inventory in the U.S.⁹:

Thirty-five to fifty million acres of cultivated land totally ruined and abandoned in 1935 as compared with ten million acres in 1910.

Partial to complete stripping of top soil on 100,000,000 to 125,000,000 acres of remaining cultivated land.

Five hundred and thirteen million tons of suspended silt annually transported to river mouths, in addition to vast quantities of soil and sand from uplands that never reach the open seas but spread out and lodge on rich bottom lands and choke culverts, public streams and reservoirs.

Two hundred and seventy million tons of dissolved matter containing 63,000,000 tons of plant food materials removed from the fields and pastures of the United States and delivered to the oceans every year. This represents a rate of fertility exhaustion 21 times greater than that required to produce a crop of corn. And so the story goes on. Estimates by a distinguished Committee of the National Resources Board (now known as Water Planning Committee of the National Resources Board) place the tangible money loss suffered by citizens of the United States on account of erosion at \$400,000,000 annually. In the judgment of the committee this justifies a federal expenditure of \$20,000,000 a year for erosion control and prevention.¹⁰

It will be seen from the brief resume delineated above that the problem of erosion and its control is *ipso facto* a problem of regulation of water flow.

Among the methods in operation in the regulation of rivers and streams, the more usual procedures are: growing vegetation on mountain slopes, stepping and traversing of slope, damming and sluicing, rectification and rough canalisation, regrading, training, etc.

The huge dams of our river valley projects will therefore render very useful assistance in fighting against this menace. Once the flow of the rivers is

regulated and the progress of the riverine mischief incumbent upon banks and neighbouring areas is checked then arrangements like afforestation on the steeper slopes, permanent pasturing of less steep areas, use of terraces, contour cropping, diverse ditches, soil catching devices, plugging of gullies and the like could be started as a preliminary to reclaiming of eroded lands.¹¹

D. STORAGE OF FOOD-STUFFS

Not a very insignificant part of our food-stuffs are lost due to bad storage,* and there is no difference of opinion of the necessity of improving upon the existing methods and devices of storage. Cold storage and storage under controlled atmosphere is destined to play a very important role in protecting the more perishable types of food-stuffs. Cheap and bulk electricity which will be available in the country-side from all the hydro-electric projects will render invaluable assistance to this end. As the author has already dealt this point in details in two of his previous papers, only a passing reference is made at this instance.

II. CHEAPER POWER

While the layman-impression that hydro-electric projects are endowed with considerable magical characteristics should be categorically discouraged, it is equally, if not more, rational to expect that where water-power can be produced there are obvious possibilities of supplying it at a cheap rate. Earlier we have emphasised that for community-interest it is vital to develop our hydro-electric resources, it will now be shown that this serves the consumer-interest decisively well.

That hydro-power permits of being supplied at a cheap rate, is sometimes disputed by putting forward fuel as a competitor. It is urged generally that the cost of developing a hydro-electric scheme is greater than that of the simple erection of a thermal power station. Of course, it has to be carefully examined whether in any particular instance it is more economical to carry fuel to the market and generate power there, or to generate hydro-power where the opportunity exists and convey it to where the power is needed. Undoubtedly long-distance transmission is uneconomical, and even

11. For more details the following paper may please be referred to: "Soil Erosion and Its Control"—N. P. Bhounick (under preparation).

* The first and the recent meeting, in Delhi, of the new Food-grains Storage Sectional Committee, made some very startling disclosures. It has been estimated that rats, insects and damp in godowns, and animals in fields, damage or destroy two and a half million tons of grain a year—nearly half the country's deficit (judged by imports) and more than 5 per cent of total production. According to another source, if plant pests also are taken into account, India's granaries are annually deprived of 9 m. tons. The Famine Inquiry Commission of 1945 conceded that in normal times "a considerable quantity" of grain was lost while stored preparatory to sale. It had "little doubt" however, that with the handling of big quantities by official agencies, largely unfamiliar with merchandizing of grain, losses "are on a much larger scale."

8. Soil Conservation—The First Five-year Plan—A Draft Outline—Government of India, p. 131.

9. "Soil Erosion a National Menace"—U. S. Dept. Agr. Cir. 33.

10. Report of the Mississippi Valley Committee of the P. W. Administration, October 1.

in the hydro-electric zone, it would be necessary to move cautiously until a proper grid comes to be established. But there are other considerations to be taken account of as well.

TABLE V.
Cost/KW Thermal Stations (Approximately)

Name of undertaking	Year of working	Installed capacity (KW)	Total capital expenditure	Cost/KW
Calcutta	29th	274750	139654813	508
Dacca	10th	3000	2171710	724
Dishergarh	22nd	16000	6070720	379
Gourepore	22nd	27000	5253599	195
Sibpore	28th	7500	2541734	339
Choudwar (Orissa)	1st	3000	2300000	767

TABLE VI
Cost/KW Hydel Schemes (Approximately)

Hydel Scheme	Capital Cost/KW Installed (Rs.)	Year of Installation
Pykara	781	1933
Nettur	746	1937
Papanasam	987	1943
Mandi	1507	1933
U. P. Ganges Canal	1255	1913
Tata Power	691	1927
Tata Hydro	631	
Andhra Valley	787	1922
Mysore (Jog)	1021	1947
Travancore	1525	1940

Firstly, even though there may be ample supplies of coal at the moment, the coal deposits will gradually get exhausted so that it will be necessary to dig mines deeper and deeper entailing ever-increasing costs. To quote an example, Sir Henry Self, Deputy Chairman (administration) of the British Electric Authority, gives us some very interesting data regarding electricity: cost generated from coal in 1950 in Great Britain. Coal consumption of British Electric Authority which amounted to 28 million tons, accounted for 65 per cent of the total cost of generation. This percentage had steadily risen from a figure of 54 per cent in 1933. Furthermore, the coal freight rates had risen since 1944-45 from 155 per cent of the present figure to 180 per cent and now accounted for over 15 per cent of the cost of generation. By sharp contrast, with Hydro, the cost of power is likely to fall as the output from the undertaking increases, and to this end Canada provides an incontrovertible answer. In that great dominion over the last forty years commodity price (and therefore the cost of living index) has been subject to wide fluctuations, mostly in an upward direction while the trend of over-all cost of electricity, as well as that of domestic electricity supply has been consistently downward. In Quebec, the per kwhr cost of 0.36 cent is the lowest of all regions of the American Continent.

Secondly, against a life potential of thirty years for steam plants the hydro-electric undertakings can be assessed a life of at least a century.

Thirdly, from the view-point of security, taking coal itself, very often on economic grounds steam

stations are installed at the important market centres than building a large power station at or near the coal fields and transmitting power from there. Obviously such a station provides very easy and laudable target for aerial bombing. Experience in the last war has shown that interconnected major generating stations provide the greatest security because—

(a) A high voltage line is the most difficult thing to destroy by an aerial offensive.

(b) Hydro-generating stations situated in remote corners present an equally small target from the air and are very difficult to hit.

(c) In the unlikely case of a high voltage line (even in the very high voltages) being damaged by aerial bombing, repairs can be executed in a matter of hours.

In Italy, where electricity supply is dependent mainly on hydro-power the very intensive aerial offensive during the last war failed to damage the supply to any material extent.

Precisely, as a general proposition, an electrical transmission line being a sensitive piece of apparatus is liable to many an interruption causing inconvenience while somewhat disastrous consequences may occur when too great reliance is placed on fuel power service, owing to the duration of interruption being lower.

A class of economists often argues: "To the extent that the financial resources of the community in the form of investment in electrical plants can yield better dividends, if the plants are located in a region where the elasticity of response in the form of increased industrial and other demand for power is the greatest, then it would be wise economic policy to concentrate resources in constructing electrical plants in such a region in preference to others."¹² While this may have a lot of force from a purely economical point of view, it has also to be recognized that a balanced development of national resources is an equally important factor even though the financial prospects in the immediate future may not be as good as in another region. In the past, the growth of electricity in the country has been top-sided and mal-adjusted. In point of fact, the steam power stations in the five cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Kanpur, Ahmedabad and Madras within themselves aggregate 694,950 kw representing 49.3 per cent of the total installed capacity in the public utilities in India. What is now established to be a loss in the case of industrial centres (notably in Bombay) can equally be quoted by people in other areas as hidden losses due to the absence of any development at all.

Having stated broadly the sets of rival conditions that are said to make or mar a hydro-electric project, the matter will now be examined a little more closely

12. *Economics of Electricity Planning with Special Reference to the Electricity Cut in Bombay*: C. N. Vakil and I. R. Brahmamanda, School of Economics and Sociology, University of Bombay.

from the technical angle. The controversy is ultimately based on average results which have so far come to be realized. At present the average load-factor of the thermal plants in India is 32 per cent whilst that of hydro-electric plants is only 20 per cent. To the need for long transmission lines comes to be added the question of the load-factor of the plant; and these disadvantages which obtain in the industrial conditions are reflected in the results. The remedy lies in a fuller use being made: as the load-factor rises the advantage of hydro-electric power increases, and for a well-sustained load water-power will invariably prove cheaper. The cost of transmission lines no doubt operates detrimentally by increasing the prime cost and decreasing the energy available for sale. But electrical transmission makes it possible now to have factories 250 miles or more from the power station, and one would hesitate to say that the limit of high pressure has been reached. Electricity, as observed by Steinmetz, is expensive because it is not widely used, and it is not widely used because it is expensive.

It is argued that with a Hydro-power scheme there is no flexibility, as there is with fuel-consuming installations. But, to a large extent, the elasticity of a thermal plant can be counter-balanced by fluctuation in supply of water; and in this connection it will be observed that the proposal is to make the power channel of larger size in order to take the peak load. Our projects depend mainly upon storage of water; and there is always sufficient regulating storage to deal, if necessary, with every possible hour to hour variation in the demand up to any peak load, so long as the total energy developed is not exceeded. It is true that in the initial stages the peak is usually flashy and may be as high as two or three times the average load. But as power comes to be more widely used, the conditions will improve, and it does not seem economical to allow for more than 50 per cent increase. When owing to want of development, the load factor is low, the peak will also be low; and to allow for an inordinately large fluctuation would involve with it much outlay on the generation plant at the same time.

But thanks to the developments of Fuel and Hydro combination plant which has utilized the potentialities of both and simultaneously could have discarded the undesirable irksome obligations. In such combines the water-power stations are operated as base-load plants, and generate as much of the power as can be utilized by the system served with a load-factor of, say, 60 per cent or over; and the steam plants are operated at a very low load-factor so as to save fuel. During seasons of low discharge and in years of deficient supply, the position is reversed: the water-power stations serve the requirements of the upper part of the load-curve, the steam parts carrying the basic portion of it. In general terms it can be stated that the more uniform load is carried by water-power plants for about 83 per cent of the time, and

by steam plants 15 per cent of the time. In regard to the average energy generated, the ratio of that by water-power to that by fuel-power would generally be in the region of 4.1. This is sometimes expressed by saying that water-power looks after energy (measured in Kilowatt hours), and steam is to look after the load measured in Kilowatts. The stations are operated from the Load Despatching Office according to a pre-determined plan adapted to the anticipated load-demands and conditions.

The effect of this arrangement in reducing the cost of power is apparent. Power cannot be sold at a uniform price independent of the load-factor. There is always a certain peak and a certain income; divide the income by the peak and we have a flat rate. In water-power plant there is practically no variable factor; in steam plant there is a variable factor: the cost of fuel. Carrying the peak by steam makes it possible for higher price to be obtained for water-power and yet results in a lower total cost of power than when the whole load is carried by steam.

Besides, the steam station also performs the following duties which also influence immensely the economic performance of the combination system:

(a) It is often utilized for power factor correction and voltage regulation on the main transmission lines.

(b) It is also sometimes requisitioned in converting the secondary into primary power.

(c) For gradual building up of the demand a steam station may have to be erected in the early stages of the works, so as to be in operation as an independent plant for several months before the Hydro-electric station is put into service.

III. INCREASED WATER TRANSPORT

The importance of facilities of transport in a vast country like India can scarcely be exaggerated. It needs little imagination to appreciate the essentiality of a well-kept and evenly-planned system of transport for a country's economic and cultural progress. Perhaps nothing else thwarted India's agriculture, commerce and industry than her meagre and ill-balanced transport system.

Probably it is not always realised that development of waterways is equally important from the national point of view as it is with railways, roads and air-ways.

In the past, most of our trade used to be carried by sea. The British Governor-General in 1880 reporting in London said, "The port of Calcutta contains 10,000 tons of shipping built in India of a description calculated for the conveyance of cargoes to England." Sir William Digby in his *Prosperous British India* wrote that the teakwood vessels of Bombay are greatly superior to the 'Oaken' walls of old England. A pamphlet issued by Central Water and Power Commission early last year¹³ (then CWINC) traces the

¹³ India's Water Transport—Central Water-power Irrigation and Navigation Commission, Government of India, 1951.

history of India's waterways through several centuries to the years 1876-77 when there were 178,627 country cargo boats registered at Calcutta, 124,357 at Hooghly and 61,571 at Patna. The extension of the railways, with their speed and added security, tended to obscure the undeniable fact that, except for goods whose value depended on speedy movement, transport by river was still much cheaper. Railways and river transport are no longer competitors, for each is suited to different types of cargo. The Traffic Survey Committee has already stated that there is no reason why a large part of the food-grains "imported through the port of Calcutta and allocated by the Government of India to Uttar Pradesh, should not be moved by water transport since that transport is all Government owned." This would mean that about 75,000 tons of grain could be diverted to water-traffic. The pamphlet quotes the opinion of Mr. Otto Popper, an ECAFE navigation expert, that India's waterways "if systematically organised and exploited could become equal partners with her railways." He also suggested that country-boats could be grouped into co-operative units and he recommended the use of tugs for towing fleets of boats at considerably greater speed. In this manner, he said, river freight rates could be brought down to about half an anna per mile, compared with two annas by the railways.

For large-scale industries to succeed and to keep the on-flow of production, it is not only necessary for such industries to be located close to the area producing the requisite raw materials, cheap power and cheap water but there must be proper transport facilities. A system of waterways properly developed and well-co-ordinated will be a major step in our aim of rapid industrialisation.

Irrigation projects up-river in the past have greatly reduced the flow of water and curtailed the navigable length of waterways. Navigation in many stretches is impossible during dry weather. The multi-purpose dams will release water all the year round for irrigation and for generation of power, and will thus make the canals navigable. To quote a few examples, it is estimated that Hirakud Dam in Orissa will make the Mahanadi navigable for 300 miles down to the sea and will connect regional rich mineral tracts in the course which could not have been penetrated and exploited. The Kakrapara Project in Bombay provides for navigation from the sea near Surat up to the reservoir of the dam at Kakrapara and 50 miles further inland. Similarly, the Damodar Valley Project in Bihar and West Bengal makes provision for the construction of a navigation canal linking the lower Raniganj coal-fields with the Hooghly river.

(To be continued)

CRISIS IN PAKISTAN AND INDIA

By PROF. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

MR. MICHAEL JAMES, special correspondent of *The New York Times* in Karachi, in his despatch entitled "U. S. to Get Report on Karachi" published in the issue of May 31, 1952, of the *Times*, intimates that the present government of Pakistan is facing grave crisis in three things: (1) Political Instability, (2) Failure of International Policies, and (3) Grave Economic Crisis. Ambassador Bowles and Ambassador Warren from Karachi have come to Washington to discuss Indo-Pakistani issues.

It is needless to go into details about party squabbles among Pakistani leaders in Western and Eastern Pakistan. But the fact is that general unrest prevails among the people; and there is constant rumor of impending change of government.

Pakistani politicians expected that through British aid (military as well as diplomatic) and by a threat of a *jihad* against India they would be able to annex Kashmir which they failed to conquer by defeating Indian defenders. It was their hope that in U. N. they will receive enough support to oust India from her present stand in Kashmir. Here they have so far failed.

To be sure that the Pan-Islamic programme of Pakistan is a menace to all nations, specially India. Religious toleration is one thing and religious fanaticism used as a *political weapon* is another thing. India should make it clear beyond doubt to Moslem allies of Pakistan within Indian territory (old Moslem

League members, advocates of partition of India, now partners of Mr. Nehru's Congress party and in the Indian Parliament, and others) that India will not tolerate political Pan-Islamist menace within India and near her borders.

Pakistan poses, under British guidance, to be the leader of the Moslem world. Britain used the Arabs against Turkey and encouraged the Sheriff of Mecca to challenge Turkey's Pan-Islamic leadership. Then Britain thought Egypt and all the Arab League members will act as her tools in the Middle Eastern politics. But this policy has failed; specially because she wants to detach the Sudan from Egypt as she did partition India and created Pakistan to weaken India in every way. Turkey and Persia have no use of Pan-Islam under Pakistan's leadership, because they do not trust the present rulers of Pakistan—the Knights of Karachi—tools of Britain in the Middle East.

Pakistan is now using the Tunisian issue to demonstrate that she speaks for the Moslem world. However Pakistan is using the Tunisian issue to secure British-French-American support on Kashmir question. Pakistan may have miscalculated the situation. There is Anglo-French solidarity on the colonial issues in Africa and Asia. Britain supports France in Tunis because she expects French support on the Egyptian questions. Britain supports France in Indo-China, because France supports Britain in Malaya. Under

difficult situations in the Far East, the Middle East and Europe the United States government need support of France and Britain, thus none should expect that the United States, to please Tunis or Pakistan, would act in such a manner that Anglo-American-French solidarity be broken up. America favors self-government in Tunisia; but she will be very careful in supporting any course of action which will weaken Anglo-French-American collaboration. Pakistan tries to use the Tunisian issue to secure Anglo-French-American support in solving the Kashmir issue in her favor.

The United States should be clearly told by the Government of India that under no circumstances, she will relinquish Kashmir, because the recent election indicates that 90 per cent of the people of India will not allow Kashmir from being detached from India. Unless this is done, the United States Government may be induced by Britain and Pakistan to follow anti-Indian policy on Kashmir.

In my interview with many responsible Indians, I have come to the conclusion that the "plebiscite idea" regarding Kashmir was the policy of Lord Mountbatten, one of the architects of partition, and it was he who induced Mr. Nehru to place Kashmir question before U. N. Sardar Patel who solved Hyderabad question by taking a firm stand would have driven out Pakistani forces out of Kashmir, but Mr. Nehru opposed it. In any case, Kashmir is the integral part of India. It is now the duty of the Indian Parliament to demonstrate its stand on Kashmir issue by adopting a resolution to the effect, that not an inch of Indian soil—Kashmir is Indian—can be alienated by any Indian Government without the sanction of the people. The Parliament should inform Sheikh Abdullah in unambiguous terms that *Kashmir is Indian and will remain Indian*.

Unless this is done, Indo-American relations, due to American misconception of the real position of India on Kashmir issue, may deteriorate.

The nature of economic crisis in Pakistan has been described by Mr. James in the following sentences:

"Pakistan's economy, which had been a bright spot in Asia has recently suffered a double blow. The able Finance Minister, Mohamad Ali, is hospitalised in Dacca, East Pakistan, suffering from what is reported to be serious circulatory ailment. There is doubt in Karachi circles that he will be able to take up his duties again for a long time, if at all.

"At the same time Pakistan is finding it extremely difficult to sell her raw materials on a glutted market. Her principal export of jute is hardly moving, long staple cotton slowly and short staple cotton not at all. Economic experts believe Pakistan will probably need considerable aid from the United States, something that has not been necessary before."

It is America's business if she wishes to give

"considerable aid" to Pakistan. But India should inform America that military aid to Pakistan, which refuses to sign a non-aggression pact with India, may be used against India, and therefore be prejudicial to Indian interest.

When Pakistan was on the verge of economic collapse, she was aided by India; and now *Pakistan must settle her debts which amounts to several hundred million dollars*. Indians who had to leave their homes in Eastern and Western Pakistan left property worth several billion dollars. The refugee property issue must be settled. It is well-known that Hindu minority in Pakistan are denied elementary human rights and this persecution of Hindus must stop.

Time has come for India to settle all Indo-Pakistan issues on reciprocal basis and not by pursuing a false policy of appeasement, indicating supposed Indian weakness.

A State passing through a crisis, tries to divert popular attention from the actual situation to some other problem. Only a year or so ago when East Pakistan was faced with a grave economic crisis an anti-Hindu outbreak was created to divert the wrath of the people against the government to the Hindus. More than a million Hindus from East Bengal migrated to West Bengal and created political and economic difficulties for India. India should be on guard: Pakistan to avoid a political crisis may create an Anti-Hindu program (as the Tsarist Russia in its difficulties used to start anti-Jewish pogrom).

To be sure India must co-operate with America; but on the basis of reciprocity. If America supports Pakistan against India's vital interests then she cannot expect Indian co-operation. The British and their tools in the Moslem League, to weaken India, partitioned India before it agreed to give Independence to India. Partition of India has not been for the best interest of the peoples of India, Asia and for the cause of world peace. Thus it should not be perpetuated.

It is interesting to note that Soviet Russia as well as American and other Powers which tentatively agreed to partition Germany at Potsdam are now for a *United Germany* as an ally. In Germany, all political parties are for a *United Germany*. I predicted some four years ago that ultimately partitioned Germany would become one and become the most vital factor in world politics.

I also predict now, as I opposed partition on August 15, 1947, that truly Indian statesmen will work for a *United India, ending partition*, in which democracy will prevail and minority communities will enjoy equal rights. Those who believe in this should speak out in the Parliament so that the world will know the true sentiment of people's representatives in India.

New York City, June 2, 1952.

KASHMIR ONCE MORE

Tail Wagging the Dog

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"... 'umble we are, 'umble we have been, 'umble we shall ever be."

—CHARLES DICKENS : *David Copperfield*.

IN his celebrated essay on Clive, Macaulay, lamenting the monumental ignorance of his countrymen in regard to Indian history, wrote these memorable words :

"Every school-boy knows who imprisoned Montezuma and who strangled Atahualpa. But we doubt whether one in ten, even among British gentlemen of highly cultivated minds, can tell who won the battle of Buxar, who perpetrated the massacre of Patna, whether Suraj Dowlah ruled in Oude or in Travancore, or whether Holkar was a Hindoo or a Mussalman."

I am sure that if the great historian had been alive today he would not have levelled a similar accusation against his compatriots, so far, at any rate, as the Kashmir question is concerned. During the last five years we have all been hearing about practically nothing else but this question. To adapt the words that Emerson used about Burns's poetry :

"The wind whispers it, the birds whistle it, the corn, barley, and bulrushes hoarsely rustle it, nay, the music boxes at Geneva are framed and toothed to play it ; the hand-organs of the Savoyards in all cities repeat it, and the chimes of bells ring it in the spires."

BEING BLINDED BY EXCESS OF LIGHT

Was it not Hamlet who complained that all occasions did conspire against him? Similarly all occasions appear to have conspired to bring the Kashmir problem to the forefront of public discussion. I have no doubt that in Iceland they talk about it around the camp-fires and that in Patagonia it defrays the general conversation. When Greek meets Greek the tug-of-war that inevitably ensues is probably about the tribal invasion and the Maharajah's accession. Opinion may not be less sharply divided in the "curtained" countries. Everywhere, it is clear, it keeps children from play and old men from the chimney-corner. There is, unquestionably, a real danger that in this mass stampede for knowledge, for illumination, about our northern State we may be blinded by excess of light and that, to vary the metaphor, we may, in the dust of the attacks delivered over it, lose sight of the real body of Patroclus. It is a subject, indeed, on which what Coleridge so happily called "the shaping spirit of imagination" can find full scope for self-expression—even to the extent of giving—

"... to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name."

SHEER PERVERSITY

It is a subject also where the confusion that already exists in such super-abundance can be still worse confounded. But, more than all, thanks to our beloved Panditji, it has never ceased to hit the headlines from that ill-fated moment when, out of sheer perversity, as it were, he entrusted it to the tender mercies of the United Nations' Organisation. Had this been done by any other person than our Premier-cum-Rashtrapati hell's foundations would have quivered and he would, long ere now, have been safely put behind prison-bars or else securely placed in a padded-cell. But our Panditji is a law unto himself, wherefore it follows that he may do whatever he pleases : he may, for instance, toy with the destinies of our thrice-hallowed country to the top of his bent without any misgiving in his mind that a hair of his head will be touched. For it has been told in Gath and bruited about in the streets of Askalon that in the vast spaces that enclose Hindusthan there is not *another* individual who can be relied upon to lead us to the Pisgah-heights of a self-respecting independence. It is presumed (without, be it noted, sufficient evidence to cover a three-penny piece) that the Pandit we know is better than a Shriyut we do not know ; so the slogan has gone forth—better bear the Prime Minister we have than fly to one about whom our nescience, for the present, at any rate, is supreme, is absolute.

THE SLOUGH OF DESPOND

That is why, among other things, that running sore in our body-politic (Kashmir) still continues to be a running sore instead of being "put paid to" once and for all. That is why we still continue to be bogged down in a veritable Slough of Despond—emergence from which is well-nigh impossible unless there is a thorough overhaul of the policies and programmes of our new *Ma Baps*. For this devout consummation, however we may have to wait till the Greek Kalends. It is easy, as our disillusioned countrymen may have found out by this time, to place a Congress Government in power : it is not so easy to pull it down from its lofty pedestal. Repenting at leisure for what we

have done in haste is all that remains for us to do. "Some glory in their birth, some in their state." What, in the post-partition era, has been left for us (those modern orphans of the storm) to glory in is—not to put too fine a point upon it—a shameless retreat from glory itself, be it in Ceylon, be it in South Africa, be it in Pakistan, and (now) be it in Kashmir—a State, let us strive to remember, that is supposed to have "acceded" to India! The cup of our humiliation is full to overflowing. From the time of partition it has been the same story: the story not of victory but of defeat, not of "Up Guards and at 'em!" but of a planned, a premeditated, withdrawal to prepared positions. It can be definitely said of our country after the memorable August 15, 1947: "Not here, O Apollo!" Nor has it ever been claimed on behalf of our valiant rulers that their consistent and persistent and insistent retreats have been of the variety known as "strategic." They have been just—honest-to-goodness retreats, neither more nor less: routs, not rearguard actions.

LAST, NOT LEAST

I wrote in my June article on Kashmir in these columns that, with the Sheikh Saheb in his present obliging mood, that might not be my last article on the subject. My prediction is now fulfilling itself. Since then India's Prime Minister has had one more achievement to his credit—namely, that of signing on the dotted line furnished by his Kashmir confrere. Of late, it might have been noticed, the latter has been rather fighting shy of shedding the light of his presence in New Delhi. Formerly—that is, before his visit to Paris at the beginning of this year, his *annus mirabilis*—he could be seen anywhere in India but not in the famous Valley. The papers used to be full of his activities in Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and even in such far-flung outposts of our "secular democracy" as Cochin and Travancore: his own State, however, saw the least of him. But, of course, other times, other manners! *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis*. That Paris visit was the turning-point in the relations between our northern State and ourselves: it added not one cubit but *several* cubits to the Sheikh's political stature. He would sit tight on his peacock throne—or whatever is its equivalent in the Srinagar Secretariat—and would send his minions to New Delhi for top-level confabulations. Only at the last moment, so to speak, did he condescend to step down from his eerie "built in the cedar's top": even Hitler, it may be recollected, had to come down from Berlin to Munich to attend a certain historic conference! "Men are we," and some such descent from high principles now and then from the mighty ones of the earth is inevitable. The Sheikh came to Delhi, he saw, and he conquered—that is, if there was anything left to be conquered after the protracted negotiations between his minions and our own leaders of an earlier date. His very presence in their midst seemed to have struck

terror in the Indian camp and they surrendered abjectly. The delegation's return to Srinagar naturally partook of the nature of a triumphal procession and everyone must have sung all the way:

"I have drunk deep of joy,
And I will taste no other wine tonight."

Thus the Delhi Agreement, as it has been described, is the last, though by no means the least, of our ruling party's ignominious surrenders to clamant communalism: *for it is once more on the communal front that the surrender has been made!* The Kashmir issue is a purely communal issue though some, like our Communist friends, affect to think otherwise. I shall deal with these friends by and by. For the present I must hark back to that triumphal procession of the Kashmiri delegation referred to above.

THE AFTERMATH

One is never thoroughly satisfied in this world, there always being a fly in the ointment, a caterpillar in the salad. That fly, or that caterpillar, in the Kashmir leaders' case is the fact that though they had been able to secure almost everything they wanted from our side there were still left a point or two that, in their considered opinion, required further clarification: *further clarification in this context obviously meaning further loopholes for concessions*. The word "clarification" when used by the Muslims—Indian, Pakistani, or Kashmiri—invariably covers a multitude of concessions: else it is not used at all. To "clarify" for the behoof of Muslims is very nearly on a level with conjugating an Armenian verb, as narrated in Borrow's *Lavengro*: it is full of ominous possibilities as the heroine of the novel discovered—as usual too late.

"And have I said all these things?" said Belle. 'Yes,' said I. 'You have said them in Armenian.' 'I would have said them in no language that I understood,' said Belle. 'And it was very wrong of you to take advantage of my ignorance and make me say such things!'

So, let me take leave to observe, is it very wrong of Muslims to take advantage of our much-misunderstood "secularism" and to exert unceasing pressure upon us to grant them concessions that, *had we but known Armenian, so to speak*, would assuredly not have been granted them.

SECOND THOUGHTS

Back in Srinagar not a few members of the delegation started wondering whether they could not have made a better bargain with us if they had stuck to their guns more resolutely; and Heaven knows how resolutely they stuck to their guns while they were here! It is a mark of your astute politician, however, to feign discontent even as Falstaff was given to "shamming dead" on the battle-field. So we have had

a spate of utterances from these gentlemen indicating that further discussions, at stratospheric level, are in the offing and that issues that one had imagined were settled finally would be reopened at their sweet will and pleasure. The Kashmiri leaders have given ample proof that, in the matter of intransigence, there is little to choose between them and the true-blue Pakistanis. They have, as any impartial student of affairs will readily concede, gained all along the line in their *pourparlers* with their opposite numbers in New Delhi: yet they have not stopped grumbling that more might have been gained by them if they had played their cards consummately! The tragedy of it is that they will, if the past is any index of the future, succeed in extracting the last ounce of advantage out of their association with us without (let us make no mistake about it!) giving us anything in return—saving and excepting a paper “accession” that will remain a standing joke in history!

— NOT A FAR CRY

It is not (worse luck!) a matter merely of asking for more. “The sounding cataract haunted me like a passion,” confessed Wordsworth. We know by now that the desire to stretch out their itching palms for bigger and better favours similarly haunts the Muslim brotherhood. To demand concessions, and more concessions, and yet more concessions is a sort of second nature with them; and as regards this there is, as I have hinted above, precious little to choose between those Muslims who are supposed to be our friends and those who are supposed to be our enemies. There is a price for everything and the price for Muslim friendship is: boons! If these are not forthcoming our Muslim friend will not hesitate to become a foe overnight and our Muslim foe to become a bitterer foe still. From separate electorates to a separate *lebensraum* is, no doubt, a far cry. *But it has been accomplished!* It has been accomplished by the blessings of the British in the first instance and by the betrayal of the Hindus by the Congress *junta* in the second. The British have at last left our shores. But they continue to cast longing, lingering looks behind: their proteges can confidently draw on their loving co-operation whenever they fall a prey to the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune.

THE DIABLERIE

Even if that had not been the case the moral support that our own Government has been consistently giving them would still have tilted the scales in their favour. That tilting of the scales is going on merrily at the moment: else Kashmir would not have been “cocking a snook” at us as it has recently been doing. It is now indistinguishable from a kind of *chota* Pakistan. The tactics that Sheikh Abdullah and his band of able lieutenants have been adopting towards the parent country are in no essentials dissimilar to those

that the erstwhile Muslim Leaguers adopted towards the same for the nefarious purpose of creating Pakistan. Those tactics are gradually becoming familiar to us. It is not merely a question, as I have already indicated, of their asking for more. It is a question also of their asking for it in that brazen, in that supercilious, manner of theirs that has become such a distinctive feature of their campaigning. There is, apparently, nothing that the pastmasters in the art of bluff and bluster and braggadocio can teach them. That is where the *diablerie* of our Kashmiri friends comes in: they have the effrontery to dictate terms to us the while they are supposed to be sending their hat around. Here is a unique example of the piper, not the payer, calling the tune! But, then, with the Congress *Raj* in power in India they can afford to get away with it.

THE SHEIKH ADMINISTERS A SNUB

I have recorded, in its proper place, the fact that the Sheikh has, in recent months, been evincing a noticeable disinclination to come to Delhi. In the pre-Paris visit days he would be in Delhi at the slightest provocation or none. That Paris visit obviously wrought a sea-change in him, turning him into something bashful and strange. This sudden coyness, however, was not born of modesty: rather was it the offspring of *hauteur*. George Meredith once wrote a novel entitled *One of Our Conquerors*. There is no doubt that after his return from “Gay Paree” our Sheikh Saheb has been regarding himself as one of that heroic fraternity. On the Indian side the Prime Minister would be there and the Deputy Prime Minister and not a few of their Cabinet colleagues. But on the Kashmir side the “Shēr” would be conspicuous by his absence. He is, presumably, too big a man to hobnob with such common rabble as the Indian Prime Minister and his eminent colleagues! It is quite true that, as I have mentioned, he did come down from his eerie at the very last moment. But by that time all the grace had gone out of the act. Our beloved Panditji took the snub in a becomingly philosophic spirit, “with calm of mind, all passion spent.” Probably he even heaved a profound sigh of relief that the Sheikh either did not, or could not, see his way to being “among those present” for such a considerable period, experience having taught him that he is no match for the Shers and Quaidis and Nawabzadas of this world. Still the snub *was* there and we can but hope that it registered: for at the hectic pace at which the Pandit has of late been going a snub of that character had long been overdue. Now that it has been administered it should impel him to sit up and take notice of what is happening in his own inner circle, in his own *sanctum sanctorum*, though, of course, we shall do well not to bank too much on the occurrence of that far-off divine event. “Secularism” breeds a kind of insensitiveness in the human heart and brain and thus enables its votaries to cultivate the big, broad, flexible outlook in

face of the snubs and kicks that they not infrequently receive from their sworn friends and coadjutors, the Muslims. After all, into each life some rain must fall.

"The Gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
Make instruments to plague us."

When all was over bar the shouting the Sheikh Saheb came to Delhi—and returned to Srinagar laden with his magnificent trophy: to wit, the Delhi Agreement. It takes its place along with the "June 3 Plan" and the "Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact" in a Pantheon reserved for Pandit Nehru's most ignominious surrenders to clamant communalism: *Si monumentum quæris, circumspice*! The list, it is only fair to admit, is not yet an entire and perfect chrysolite. But Pandit Nehru's Premiership has still (we confidently expect) a long way to go, and many more monuments of that description will, I am certain, be added to it before "close of day."

OUR COMMUNIST FRIENDS

I referred, in passing, in an earlier paragraph to our Communist friends and their characteristic reaction to this Delhi Agreement. I am not a Communist, though, at the same time, I am not an anti-Communist, either. Between world-Communism and myself there is a lot in common—especially after the so-called "Western democracies' " unprecedented intransigence in Korea in the plausible name of upholding freedom of will and of conscience. Incidentally, what the financial commentator of the *New York Times* has written recently in his paper cuts the ground from under the feet of Uncle Sam:

"If it hadn't been for the Korean affair which has given business and employment a shot in the arm this bubble of prosperity would be bursting now."

Nor was the issue of *Collier's* describing in gloating terms "War in 1952" published in a Communistic country! I have nothing but withering contempt for those who, having been solemnly invited to China on a "Good-will Mission," come back to blacken the Red regime there in the "democratic" press. I can, therefore, claim that my hands are clean in the matter of world-Communism. But, unfortunately, there is an offshoot of that remarkable emanation of the human mind going about under the alias of "Indian Communism" which deserves the loathing of every right-thinking person. The Indian Communists are neither fish, flesh, nor good red-herring. They suffer from that modern ailment known as a split-personality. They are like the heroine in Congreve's comedy to whom lovers were like curl-papers: she made them as fast as she pleased and then, if she pleased, she made more. Ever since the second global war began the Indian Communists have been changing their minds as fast as that celebrated character was wont to change her lovers. It is evident that principles cling to them, in Falstaff's

memorable phrase, "lightly, like an old lady's loose gown."

THEIR ALLIANCE WITH THE LEAGUERS

Their worst action to-date was their ignoble alliance with those hot-gospellers of communalism, the Muslim Leaguers, in their vehement agitation for the creation of an entirely "separate homeland" for themselves out of one of India's ribs. By so doing they were as much guilty of stabbing the country in the back as those hot-gospellers aforementioned. In fact, their action was the more culpable because, the vast majority of them being Hindus, the usual defence of a burning passion for Islam was denied them. That reprehensible alignment of theirs with those arch-reactionary forces was just an act of disgusting, not enlightened, self-interest. That first, fine, careless rapture, however, soon passed: reason returned to its throne. This, let me suggest, was by no means the only instance of their gyring and gimbling in the wabe. A certain conspicuous lack of mental pabulum has always been theirs. George Meredith (to quote him again) uttered a penetrating criticism of his fire-eating contemporary, Swinburne, when he wrote: "I don't see any *internal centre* from which springs anything that he does." Neither, as it happens, do we see any "internal centre" from which springs anything that the Indian Communists do: the means rarely count with them and, as for the ends, it is doubtful whether they themselves are ever fully cognisant of them. No one, therefore, takes either their alliances or their alienations seriously: the wind blows where it listeth, and so do these.

THE ECONOMIC BEE IN THEIR BONNETS

They have, however, what I may call an economic bee in their bonnets: they are fatally prone to see everything in the heavens above, the earth below, and the waters underneath the earth through an economic lens of their own making. I have no wish to under-rate the importance of economics in any human projects; but, surely, describing the Indo-Kashmir dispute as nothing but an economic one in its essentials is to throw both sense and sensibility to the winds. Economics may be playing about haphazardly in the interstices of the dispute; but at its base it is, assuredly, *communalism that rules the roost*. At all material points it is reminiscent of the earlier Indo-Pakistani controversy and I earnestly plead with my countrymen not to make any mistake about it. It does not follow that, because the land-reforms initiated—or instigated—by Sheikh Abdullah will ultimately benefit the peasants, the issue is mainly economical. Let us cast our memories back to the hectic "Joint Cabinet" days of 1946 and strive to recollect the diabolical budget that the late lamented Nawabzada, as the Finance Minister, presented on the floor of the then Constituent Assembly: thence started our economic troubles that have continued unabated to this hour.

ISSUE COMMUNAL, NOT ECONOMIC

The Nawabzada's sinister budget was, *superficially*, aimed at the capitalists. He became on the instant, the pet of those who are always "agin" these gentry: even some of "the more cultivated portion among the ignorant"—as Stevenson puts it—were unstinted in his adulation. For some time everything went merry as a marriage bell. Sense, however, began to dawn later in their minds; the momentary intoxication having subsided. But by then the damage had become irreparable! *The vast majority of the capitalists were Hindu*; and it was these at whom the astute Liaquat Ali aimed his barked dart. *The issue was then seen to be more communal than economic, though, to be sure, it bore a false veneer of economics.* The Kashmir land-reforms, I venture to suggest, present a similarly deceitful exterior.

MONARCHY

Let us look for a moment at the decision to abolish the monarchical system there. The monarchical system cries out to be abolished everywhere, *not merely in Kashmir*. Most of all does it cry out to be abolished in Hyderabad. But, apparently, what is sauce for the Kashmir goose is not sauce for the Hyderabad gander. If it is not it is *only* because in the one case the hereditary ruler is a Hindu and in the other he is a Muslim. The people of Kashmir, says the "Sher," desire that the Maharaja should go, and the Maharaja goes forthwith. The people of Hyderabad have never been, as far as I know, less anxious that the Nizam should abdicate. But the Nizam, with the active connivance of our "secular" Government installed at New Delhi, still sits cosily in his palace; *and that, too, be it remembered, after openly instigating an armed rebellion against the said Government!* The discrepancy—the glaring discrepancy—in the treatment meted out to the two hereditary monarchs by our rulers can be accounted for only by taking into consideration the real nature of the Congress regime. *The Congress regime is blatantly pro-Muslim and anti-Hindu.* So, under its aegis, Muslim agitation succeeds while its Hindu counterpart fails! That is the Law and most of the Prophets.

STOP THAT TALK

I have been at considerable pains to indicate that what we hear from the Communist side about the Indo-Kashmir dispute being, *au fond*, economic in origin is sheer nonsense: the root of the trouble, I insist, is communal. The Latins had a saying: *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*: "Fear the Greeks even when they bear gifts in their hands." Similarly should we suspect the Muslims even when they coo to us like any sucking-dove that the point under discussion is purely economic. *It is never as innocent as all that!* However cunningly they may put a palisade of plausibility round it we may safely conclude that the

desired end has a communal taint, not an economic tinge. Our Communist friends should not waste their time and energy in eternally stressing the economic aspect of Muslim agitations: nor should they have such scant respect for the common man's intelligence. Kashmiri Muslims are no fools even if the Indian Communists—the leaders no less than the rank and file—are. The latter had once been equally ferociously pro-Pakistani. But, nevertheless, second thoughts, as we have seen, supervened. Are they going to make us believe that history will not repeat itself? If so they are but deceiving themselves. The way they elected to cast their votes on the Government's side during the debate on Kashmir in the House of the People points a moral and adorns a tale: they came out in their true colours then, exhibiting an atrociously callous disregard of public opinion.

DR. SHYAMA PRASAD

Public opinion on the subject may be gauged from this significant "human documentary": namely, that on the morning of that historic debate there was an unending queue of visitors—*not*, be it noted, for the purpose of listlessly listening to the twice-told tales of the Congress and the Communist members, but for the purpose of listening, *with rapt attention*, to Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee lashing against the ill-advised proponents of the Agreement. Dr. Shyama Prasad's turn to speak did not come until, if I may say so, the glimmering landscape faded on the sight and all the air a solemn stillness held; but not one visitor left the gallery until he sat down, exhausted, after one of the most brilliant orations that it has fallen to my lot to hear, whether inside or outside Parliament. As one of those visitors I can vouch for the fact that we literally hung on his lips. That oration was "his Corunna, his Heights of Abraham," as Thackeray said of Hood's greatest poem, "The Bridge of Sighs": it slung to its mark as fatally as David's stone. The Government's case was torn to shreds: there was no Government's case at all at the end of the peroration. If arguments counted the Agreement would now be a dead letter. But, alas, they do not count. Dr. Shyama Prasad himself once appealed to the benches opposite to defeat the Opposition by arguments, not by brute majorities. That appeal has, as usual, fallen on deaf ears.

THE GREAT BETRAYAL

The visitors flocked to the galleries only to listen to his speech; and when it concluded departed *in a body*. Not one remained to hear the Prime Minister's halting and stereotyped reply. Public opinion was (and is) rampagously against the Agreement. But in the House, the Government commands a comfortable majority; and, as though that were not enough, the Communists panted and perspired to swell those numbers perceptibly. Thus the Government carried the

day; but it most certainly did not carry the country with it. The country was ranged as a solid phalanx behind the opponents of the Agreement. But, then, as everyone knows, the Government has long since ceased to represent the country. I am here more concerned that the *Communists' alliance with the Government on the issue was a scandalous betrayal of the people.* The Communists, however, did not stop there: appetite notoriously growing by what it feeds on they took the Government to task for not going far enough to placate the Sheikh Saheb. That was "the sorrow's crown of sorrow." And that showed the Communists in a revealing light: it showed them to be opportunists to their fingertips. They belong to that confraternity which loves to hunt with the hounds and to run with the hares. Never did they sink so low as when they lent their full moral support to "the powers-that-be."

IS IT AN AGREEMENT?

If words have any meanings—and they do not have in the Congress vocabulary—the Instrument that the Government of India signed a couple of months ago in New Delhi on the dotted line furnished by Sheikh Abdullah cannot be called an "Agreement." "Agreement" postulates a kind of "give and take," and in this Agreement that species of bilateral transaction is nowhere apparent. It would not have been apparent even if we had been able to examine it through the immortal Sam Weller's celebrated "pair o' patent double million magnifyin' gas microscopes of hextra power." Our Congress leaders, it has been proved again and again, are not adepts at bargaining. That is the first thing to be noted in this connection. The second is that their ideology cramps their style to no small extent. It is a defeatist ideology at the best. One cannot warm both hands before its fire—if fire, indeed, it can be supposed to be. "Secularism" or no "secularism" the Muslims—friend or foe—demand their pound of flesh, or what they deem to be their pound of flesh; and they demand it, let us remind ourselves, as Muslims. *They* are not hampered by any outmoded considerations of "secularism": they would not recognise "secularism" if it were presented to them on a platter with water-cress around it. They are not "secularists" (God bless them!). They are just rank communalists, campaigners for their creed, and that has stood them in good stead all these centuries. Being communal is *their* brand of "secularism" because it is the only norm that they can understand. That is why they are hard put to it to make head or tail of *our* brand of the same. Being unashamed communalists themselves they cannot appreciate the fact that, here and there in this world so wide, people can be found who are *really* (and not merely in name) "secular."

THE MISTAKE

The mistake the Congress (whether in power or out) has consistently made is to imagine that their ideal has caught the imagination of the Muslims to the same, or to nearly the same, extent as it has caught theirs. That is why it has paid them no dividends so far. All that they have been able to achieve with its assistance is to tone down their own patriotism without, simultaneously, subtracting a jot or tittle from the patriotism of their more aggressive friends. That is the reason for the paradox we find today in our country: the paradox of the Hindus having contrived to become less Hindu-minded—while the Muslims—even after partition—manage to remain as staunchly Muslim-minded as ever before. Nor are the latter afraid of being branded as communal: communalism is their "doxy" and they are prepared to swear by it even though the heavens may threaten to fall. They are not mealy-mouthed. *We*, on the other hand, have had to sacrifice a lot on the altar of our slogans. The Muslims—Indian, Pakistani, and Kashmiri alike—have taught us any number of bitter lessons, but we continue to be slavish before those (misguided) slogans. Like the Bourbons Congressmen neither learn anything nor forget anything. So, as long as their slogans persist in their pristine purity, they cannot afford to be intrepid bargainers. That explains why these instruments that they are periodically in the habit of signing with the Muslim parties cannot, without our laying ourselves open to the charge of committing terminological inexactitudes, be strictly labelled "Agreements." They are just one-sided documents giving, as they do, everything our *vis-a-vis* cares to ask for. We describe them as "Agreements" merely to satisfy our vanity: we get practically no consolation out of them (not, perhaps, having sought any in the first instance), whereas the other fellow carries all before him like the man who bore 'mid ice and snow, the banner with the strange device, "Excelsior." We have had the worst of it in all these transactions, our latest defeat being in that transaction known as the "Delhi Agreement" entered into between the Kashmir Government and the Indian Government—that is, between a satellite and a sovereign. Needless to say, the satellite (being Muslim) won all along the line and the sovereign (being Hindu) lost equally magnificently throughout the protracted negotiations. I shall endeavour to show in broad outline in what follows that profit-and-loss account.

BEING "SECULAR" WITH A DIFFERENCE

On the issue of monarchy, as I have pointed out earlier, it has been a total loss for us. I have never been a monarchist and my withers would have been unwrung—if all the monarchs still left in our beloved Motherland, and especially the Nizam of Hyderabad,

had similarly been put on the shelf. I would have been happy as a lark then : as it is, I am thoroughly miserable. As a Hindu I mourn for the Maharaja of Kashmir: Being a Hindu he has been offered by our "secularists" as the first sacrifice on the altar of that Moloch—rampant communalism. The predominant Muslim population of Kashmir, it would seem, cannot bear the sight of a Hindu Maharaja ; and the Sheikh loses no opportunity of telling the world that he is the arch-apostle of "secularism" before whom the others (including, I am afraid, our distinguished Prime Minister) have to hide their diminished heads in shame. I had been fondly hoping that if one were truly "secular" one would, without any expense of spirit in a waste of effort, cease to think in terms of "Hindu" or "Muslim," all being equally human in one's eyes. But, apparently, "secularism" takes different people differently, and when the Muslims catch it they become "secular" with a difference : that is to say, they become "secular" without losing an iota of their communalism. For instance, when they are in a majority they cannot, if it is only to save their souls, forget for a moment their being in a majority, the corollary naturally following that they expect, as a matter of "divine right," some special consideration for that fortunate circumstance. By this means they contrive to remain communal the while getting a substantial pat on the back for their vaunted "secularism." Hyderabad has managed to be "secular" with a Muslim potentate : it passes one's comprehension why Kashmir cannot perform the same adroit feat while retaining its "secularity."

CONSTITUTIONAL PROPRIETY

There is, again, the question of constitutional propriety. Legal experts have raised serious doubts about nearly all matters relating to the Delhi Agreement. They have reminded those who were responsible for it that there is a definite legislative abridgement of the power of this Parliament to liquidate the rulers. *A fortiori* the State legislatures suffer even more from this disability. The Instruments of Accession of the rulers contain certain guarantees and assurances. By this Agreement Sheikh Abdullah has been given powers to ride roughshod over them. Does that come within the four corners of constitutionalism ? If not, why was the Agreement signed on behalf of the Central Government ?

To this, of course, Pandit Nehru has a ready answer. It is really astonishing how nimbly his brain works when it is a question of rushing to the succour of those distressed damsels, his Muslim friends. Like the gentle, parfait knight that he is he rose from his

seat in Parliament on June 26 and read an uplifting homily to the members on his familiar themes of vision and broadmindedness. This was what he said :

"If we seek to gain their (the Kashmir people's) good-will we should act accordingly ; we have to be men of vision and there has to be a broad-minded acceptance of facts in order to bring about a real integration. The real integration comes of the mind and the heart, not of some clause which you may impose on other people."

So our Constitution goes to the wall ! It is all right when the Muslims are willing to abide by it, but when they are not so willing it has to be scrapped in the name of "vision" and of "broadmindedness." The Muslims have, from the days of the British, thrived on favouritism : let them continue so to thrive under the successor Government as well ! That is the theme-song of Panditji's utterances on the subject. He is a very Rupert of debate and he demolishes the arguments of his opponents by chanting these worn-out *mantras* to the edification of his sheepish followers. After this, of course, it is futile to cross tongues or pens or swords with him. When he says the Constitution is not sacrosanct we have no basis of arguing with him : there is no common ground between us. The Agreement becomes intelligible at last : the Kashmir people's will is the final arbiter ! And since by far the vast majority of them are Muslims it is their will that is the arbiter ! And their leader being Sheikh Abdullah his will is the arbiter !

MAHOMED AND THE MOUNTAIN

So there can be a Republic within a Republic ; so there can be a State flag along with the Union flag ; so can its Fundamental Rights be different from those of the Indian citizens ; so can it have an *elected* President (when the Constitution permits *only* the Union President to be elected) ; so can it eliminate the Supreme Court's jurisdiction ; so, in short, can it do any blessed thing it chooses to : all within the framework of that super-Constitution, "vision and broad-mindedness" !

Still a certain amount of up-service has to be paid to the Constitution. That is why the necessary amendments are being sought to be incorporated in it to conform to the inroads made upon it. This is the modern version of : "If the mountain does not come to Mahomed, Mahomed must go to the mountain !" If Kashmir is not willing to abide by our Constitution, our Constitution must abide by Kashmir—that is, by Sheikh Abdullah—that is, by the Muslims there !

This is the Delhi Agreement in a nutshell !



THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD AND THE LAKE OF PALMS

By D. V. RAMA RAO, M.A., LL.B.

OLIVER Goldsmith, the author of the famous book, *The Vicar Of Wakefield*, was not only a literary genius but in many ways a remarkable person. His writings reveal that he was a poet, playwright and novelist besides being a thinker, philosopher and lover of mankind. He was a man of humble means but that on no account would seem to have prevented his life from being full of rich and joyous experience. Although his writings are full of practical wisdom he, however, seemed to have little profited by it in his own life and career. Was it not said of him that no man was more foolish when he had not a pen in his hand or none wiser than when he had? But such was the innate nobility of his soul that no wordly discomfort or disappointment could damp his good cheer and high spirits. "Let not his frailties be remembered," Johnson, his friend and benefactor, was reported to have said on Goldsmith's death, "he was a great man."

Goldsmith's great and enduring contribution to English and, indeed, world literature is amply recognised today, and of all the rich and diverse heritage he left us, *The Vicar Of Wakefield* is the most widely read and admired. It is a simple and unostentatious chronicle of the fortunes and vicissitudes of the family of Dr. Primrose, the wise vicar of Wakefield. There is a simple charm rising to grandeur in the portraiture and delineation of the character of Dr. Primrose, the central figure of the novel. Dr Primrose does not strike one as an austere idealist, nor as a profound philosopher but as an essentially warm-hearted, earnest and practical follower of the precepts of the Christian faith. He is full of practical wisdom and is a most attractive and likeable person which is certainly more than profound philosophers and austere idealists can generally lay claim to. He has his little weaknesses and even vanities too; but they only tend to increase the charm of his personality by making him seem more human. There is something childlike about his vanity regarding his forensic abilities and his uncompromising attitude in defence of monogamy which was almost a fad with the Vicar. Albeit these little frailties, the good Dr. Primrose maintains all along a thoroughly balanced, healthy and ethically sound view of life. No doubt, at moments of great trials and tribulations his indomitable fortitude seems to falter but how quickly he regains his composure, equanimity and above all his undeviating faith—the source of all spiritual solace! Both as a loving husband and father and as a dutiful shepherd of the parish entrusted to his care what an exemplary life he leads!

It may be noted that the good Dr. Primrose has a fine sense of humour; the whole narration, indeed,

abounds in a fund of excellent good humour. No doubt, Deborah, the simple guileless wife of the vicar, the eccentric but good-natured Burchell and that endearing rogue, Jenkinson and many others add variety and humour and provide interesting types of character but the simple dignity of the vicar by far towers above them all.

It is said that for long that of the English Bible alone exceeded the sale of this book; such has been its popularity. What is the secret of its wide appeal and immense popularity? It is, perhaps the deep humanity and breadth of comprehension the author possessed and which he in so able and interesting a manner brought forth in the life's voyage of Dr. Primrose and his family. It is a book that belongs to all ages and all climes; such are its qualities of universal appeal. That also explains why it is translated into so many languages. It is no exaggeration to say that it is one of the few books that can be read by both young and old with equal benefit and delight. It is an irony that Goldsmith, the great and good Irishman and author of this famous book, was so poorly rewarded for his noble work during his lifetime. But, perhaps, it was as well, considering his general imprudence and the little value he set by worldy riches and rewards.

The character of Dr. Primrose appears to be not only a contrast to the somewhat weak-willed and unpractical one of Goldsmith but also in many ways to be a good reflection of the bright side of Goldsmith's character.

The life of the author of *The Lake Of Palms* offers a striking contrast to that of the author of *The Vicar Of Wakefield*. Goldsmith belonged to the eighteenth century while Romesh Chandra Dutt belonged to the later part of nineteenth century. Romesh Chandra was in every way a favourite child of Dame Fortune. Coming of a well-to-do and illustrious family he was one of the earliest Indians to go to England in pursuit of higher studies. After a brilliant academic career he had a still more brilliant public career. He reached the highest administrative post an Indian could aspire for in those days, namely, Revenue Commissioner; published several books which have been since translated into several Indian languages; rose to be one of the distinguished, if not the foremost, authorities on British-Indian economy and, finally, achieved the highest national honour open to an Indian in those days by becoming the President of the Indian National Congress. Few persons, and much less authors, can boast of such laurels. Indeed,

even after retirement, so highly his great abilities and administrative experience were prized, that he was offered the Dewanship of Baroda, one of the premier states in India. It is, indeed, a wonder how so busily engaged a person could have found time to write such excellent and scholarly books as he did; which only shows the inexhaustible energy and strength of character he possessed. Like Goldsmith he too may be described as a philosopher, writer and friend of humanity. But while Goldsmith was more of a poet-philosopher, Romesh Chandra Dutt was essentially a scholar-statesman. Then, too, while Goldsmith was wise only with pen in hand, Romesh Chandra was ever an impressive and inspiring force pen or no pen in hand. Although Romesh Chandra's works on diverse subjects, such as political economy, social and religious reform, drama and fiction have all contributed to his success as a reputed author, yet, it is *The Lake Of Palms* which was originally written in Bengali by the author under the title *Samsar* that has proved to be, perhaps, his most popular work and has been translated too into several Indian languages. It cannot, however, be compared to *The Vicar Of Wakefield* in worldwide popularity, but few Indian novels have been so widely read and made such a deep impression as *The Lake Of Palms*.

The transparent earnestness and deep humanity that the author so ably reflects in the pages of this novel contribute to its reputation as a work of enduring value. Unlike *The Vicar Of Wakefield* it deals with the trials and final triumphs of three families; that of Bindu sisters, Kali and Uma. Although the main interest centres round the theme of the romantic attachment which finally matures into love and devotion between Bindu's sister Sudha and Sarat Chandra, the silent chastening influence that pervades through the lives of all is that of Bindu who personifies in herself the practical wisdom and the simple virtuousness of the good Indian wife. Her charm is irresistible; wherever she is all the good things that the time-honoured but the simple word "home" brings to one's mind seem to grow around Bindu. Whenever anyone beset with doubt or in need of sympathy goes to her, be it her husband to consult about Court matters, Sarat regarding his duty to himself, his beloved Sudha or to his mother, or cousin Uma in her tragic struggles against a cruel fate, Bindu never fails them. Such is the confidence she inspires, such is the innate sympathetic nature she possesses that every one in distress and adversity instinctively turn to her. It is no exaggeration to say that in the delineation of the character of Bindu,

Romesh Chandra has paid the highest tribute to Indian womanhood.

Books like *The Vicar Of Wakefield* and *The Lake Of Palms* not only enrich the readers' minds but also widen their sympathies. If a great book may be described as one that elevates the reader's mind as well as chastens his heart—then both of these may be described as great. In this age of disproportionate cynicism such books carry an additional significance. In an age that cares more for intellectual flourishes than for emotional balance, books that have a properly balanced intellectual as well as emotional appeal require to be particularly valued. Viewed from this aspect they may serve as useful models for the present-day writers.

It is interesting to note that while Goldsmith's immortal work abounds in plenty of delightful episodes and humour, Romesh Chandra's illustrious novel is almost devoid of this element and some of the characters too tend to be a bit over-sentimental. It may also be noted that in spite of the fact that Romesh Chandra's book covers the lives of three families, the scope and range of its appeal is less than that of *The Vicar of Wakefield* which seems to touch "Life" at more points than that of *The Lake of Palms*. The reason, perhaps, is to be found in this: Romesh Chandra's chief object was evidently to present a realistic picture of the middle class life in Bengal of the later nineteenth century and at the same time to plead the cause of the young hapless Hindu widow. And he does it, in such a consummate way as to evoke the widest sympathy and the least opposition, whereas in *The Vicar Of Wakefield* Goldsmith not only paints the delightful picture of the Wakefield family but presents a practical ethical concept and philosophy of life about family duties, duty to God, on religion, prison reform, forms of government and even on economy. Whatever the sources of inspiration that prompted Goldsmith in writing *The Vicar Of Wakefield*, it is a book that is addressed to the whole world while *The Lake Of Palms* appears to have been particularly addressed to the educated Indian of the later nineteenth century. Herein, perhaps, lies partly the reason for the continued popularity of *The Vicar Of Wakefield* even after nearly two centuries while the same cannot be said of *The Lake Of Palms* which does not seem to have kept up the popularity it had a generation ago.

Of both the authors it can be truly said that they left the world richer than they found it even if they had left nothing more than the two enduring works *The Vicar Of Wakefield* and *The Lake Of Palms*.



THE ART OF AMINA LODHIE

By ABANY C. BANERJEE

A gifted young painter in the person of Amina Lodhie has just broken new ground for art in India. An old pupil of the Calcutta Government School of Art and of the art department of the Government of India Delhi Polytechnic, she has recently returned from Paris after making further researches there and elsewhere in Europe into the expressive potentialities of line and colour. An exhibition of her works was held a few weeks ago in Calcutta under the auspices of the Academy of Fine Art. It was a brave and challenging display.

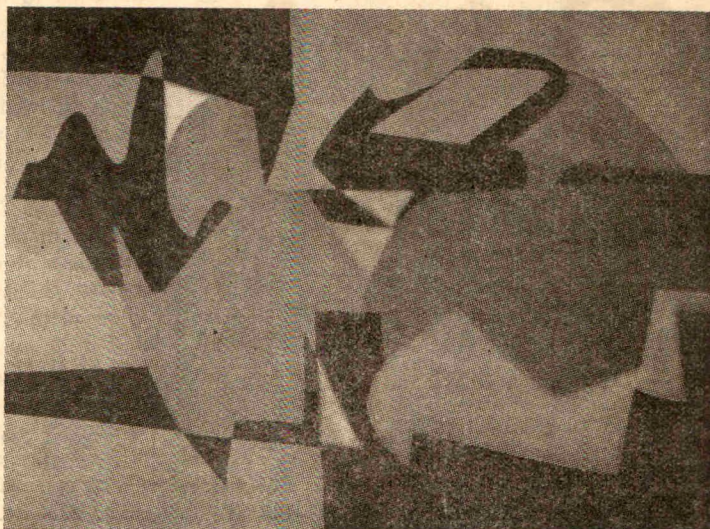
Amina Lodhie is the first considerable Indian exponent of abstract art. Those who look for verisimilitude in painting may have greeted her pictures with interrogative shrugs and brow-lifts. But those who know (as, forsooth, every Indian should know) the unimportance of the representational in art must have thrilled to them: those, that is, who are aware that the artistic imagination can intimate reality only by transforming it creatively into forms other than the apparent ones. In employing unconventional techniques Amina Lodhie has not been trying to escape from reality: on the contrary, she has been interpreting experience and finding a closer approach to things as they truly are to her.

In the assimilation of Europe's lately acquired idioms of painting she has been unhesitant and unafraid. The discovery of modern Western art-forms has enriched and enlarged her vocabulary much as the discovery of Japanese art-forms and later of Negro art-forms has done for many Western artists within the last few decades: a process destined to bring all the creative work of the nations into one pool of understanding.

But *depayse* or derivative Amina Lodhie's art is not at all. It brims with an affective content that proclaims the Indian-ness of this child of Bengal. The appeal it transmits, however, crosses all frontiers of land and sea. As the artist herself has explained in her foreword to the catalogue, her works were meant to reveal the quiddity of visual experience

"by relationships. . . universal rather than by forms . . . particular."

Abstract expression such as hers, far from being repugnant to the genius of traditional Indian art, springs directly and even inevitably from it. The true function of painting is not to reproduce objective phenomena, but to create plastic forms from inside outwards, or, as an English authority epigrammatically puts it, "not to render the visible but to render visible." Moreover, different emotions are differently expressible through one, but only one, of the different



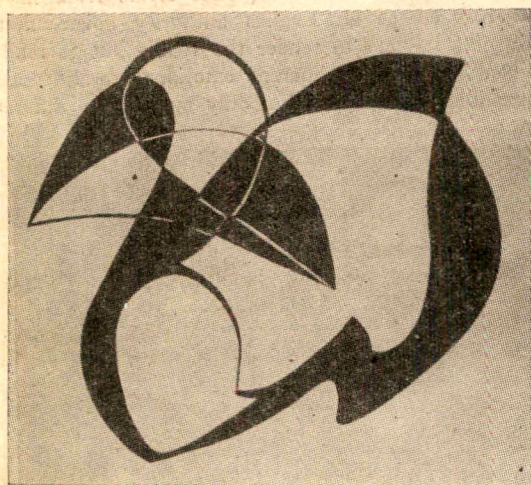
Santal dance

mediums of art. Thus the dream that may dwell in the written or printed page is other than the vision tenanted by the painted canvas. The life of incident and poetry with which words may vibrate differs from the vitality of linear and chromatic moods and accents. The West has but comparatively lately come to learn and work upon these principles, but India has known and practised them from long centuries ago. Did not the sage Sukracharya declare that an artist must "depend upon spiritual vision and not upon the appearance of objects perceived by human senses?" Wherefore, our artists have for ages had the courage to forgo likeness to life for fulness of life. Indian art which has been inspired by the Vedic impulse, is what has determined the evolution of Amina Lodhie's present paintings. She affirms:

"There is liberty unlimited provided that and only on condition that this liberty is founded on an internal necessity, so that the resonance of colours, the spiritual content of forms have not to be an exact copy of forms and colours such as exist in nature, but present as a total—a life of the spirit.

"All elements attain a perfect accord. . . passing through a visual discipline to a purity of conception not strange to the Indian point of view which has since Vedic times used forms not necessarily faithful to nature, towards spiritual realization."

Even in the pre-Parisian examples of her exhibited work the direction of her developing talent was abundantly discernible. The earliest of them described as *Art Class—Colour Woodcut* (done in her art-school



Conception (black and white)

days in Calcutta) expressed a fine sense of vital geometry with wiry lines and ponderable forms. Mathematically formative, too, were *Women Behind the Purdah* and *Bengali Girls Going to School* (both executed on the eve of her departure for Europe). The latter picture rendered a scene viewed from above. It was a trembling, rippling, tumbling cascade of whites, greys and browns enlivened by a central shock of red. Here the generating function of colour in relation to form, volume and space had been adroitly exploited.

Of her early paintings in Paris two were exhibited: *Elephant in Elephant Country* and *Men in Two Worlds*. They seemed to me to signify a mood in which the mind had been overrun with unfamiliar experiences. Each of them, and especially the former, held a feeling of rush, density and tension controlled by the restraining device of sharply juxtaposing just two complementary colours. But for this disciplinary simplification, the composition might have had a tendency to run riot.

The exhibit called *Still Forms* was a later work, as was evidenced by its quality of pulsating poise in

textural intensity. Here curvilinear cadences had been sinewily chastened with rectilinear stringency. The ordered dynamism of its contrapuntal design recalled some of the later masterpieces of Gaganendra Nath Tagore.

A strange crepuscular charm permeated the atmosphere of two of Amina Lodhie's finest paintings. It was as though they had been limned in the twilight of subliminal awareness. *Aircraft Taking off in the Early Morning* expressed a percipience of balance and progression with a brush laden, as it were, with half-sleep. *Dream Remembered Vaguely* was a fabric wrought of fantasy, such as the mature Paul Klee would have approbated. The pattern here had been elaborated with drawn and broken lines, convergent and divergent lines and with greys, pinks, subdued blues and blacks animated by a few splashes of pale yellow. It was a restless, undulant pattern, thanks to the third-dimensional sense of depth and, yes, the fourth-dimensional sense of a roll within the expanse imparted to the canvas. Every time I turned back to the painting it gave a new stir of feeling, a fresh *stimming*. And, projecting myself imaginatively into the life of the picture, I felt like having entered a dimly-lit wonderland of nameless nuances of mood, memory, premonition and ecstasy, mingling, chasing and eluding pursuit.

Aircraft Taking Off from a Runway was a drama of movement, gliding, swerving, mounting movement towards a climax above and beyond. Its process was almost completely linear. The artist presented two other pictures suggested by the controlled speed of man-made wings. (The lady is, be it remembered, the wife of a wing-commander in the Indian Air Force).

Pale, elastic lines weaving in and out of delicate tones and tints till one of the lines was arrested midvertically and remained precariously poised there like a spindrift in the air, went to make the picture called *Melody*. To me it signified some mental apprehension that was wistful and questioning.

Arrangement in Blue offered a sharp contrast to *Melody*. Here the swift electrical passage of zigzagging, criss-crossing white lines upon a cool blue background had the startling effect of a flash of forked lightning. Those few lines, how they touched the whole scene with life and light!

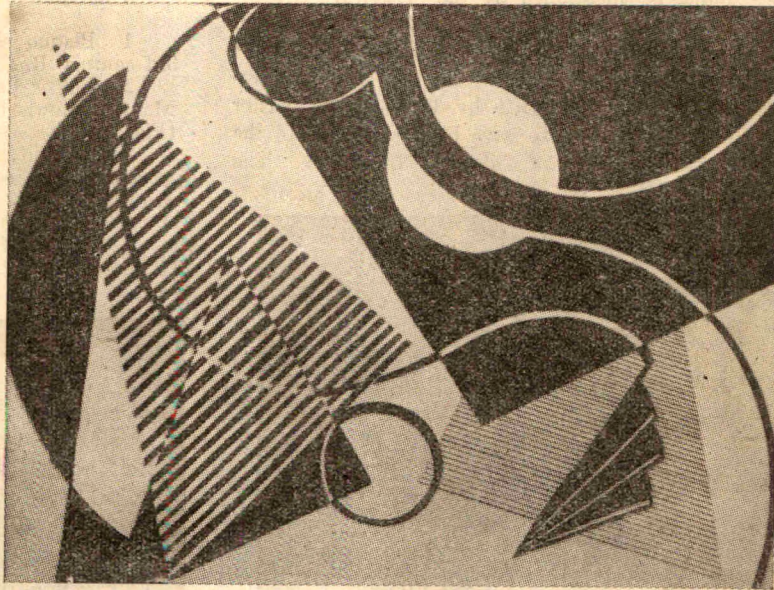
The most recently executed of the exhibited paintings was the one called *Santal Dance*. It was, perhaps the choicest. Here rigidity, vibration, movement hushedness dwelt together; and they had been coordinated into a whole that transcended the sum of the constituent elements. The animation of the picture was, no, not a reflection of the motions of dancing frisking figures but the progressive unfolding of a pent-up energy, in rhythms of colour, design and suggested space; meaningful of life's pathos. These aching rhythms seemed somehow to be near relations of the

pain-strained excitements of Petrouchka in Diaghileff's presentation of the ballet, to one who could remember it.

It is hardly possible to do justice to Amina Lodhie's spread of aesthetic delight within the compass of a short article. Sensitive drawing, fine balance of shapes and planes with countervailing shapes and planes, subtly conceived and cunningly contrived tonal inter-relations, textural integrity firm or throbbing or opaquely dreamy informed and vitalized nearly all her paintings. An especially noteworthy feature common to them was the executive skill that subjugated into organizational unity the structural cones and rounds, usually so unfriendly: corresponding, perhaps, to the antinomies of human existence. *Abstraction in Grey* and *Bluebird* held outstanding instances of such achievement.

Interspersed among the paintings, a set of her black-and-white sketches adorned one of the walls. At the first glance one derived from each of them an impression that was full, not fragmentary; in other words, one immediately felt it as a whole, intact. Proof positive of sound composition. Grace and *nettete* lent distinction to the vigour of these works. Much discipline, in the sense of *sadhana*, must have gone towards the cultivation of such effortless draughtsmanship, such economical sureness of brush-stroke. "That training is the most intricate," wrote Rabindra Nath Tagore, "which leads to the utter simplicity of tune." And also elsewhere: "If you want ease and simplicity of rhythm, you have to strain hard to keep the pauses in the right place." In these black-and-white creations space not filled—where, that is,

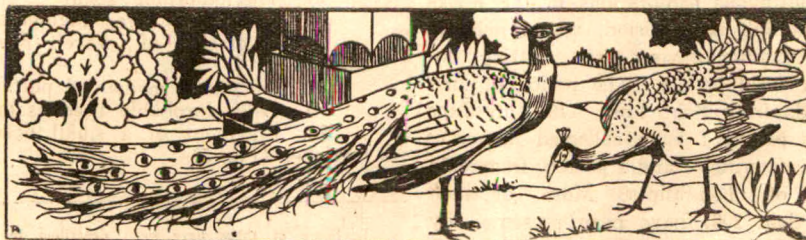
the brush had exercised reserve—was no less quick with life than filled space. As, for instance, in the ones called *Conception* and *Raag*. In the latter, lines taut as lute-strings, tremulous lines, coiling, caressive lines and a doubly intersected orb line drawn dominantly as the core of the composition unitedly uttered a single awakening spell upon and around a bare background which seemed lost in won-



Raag (black and white)

der. This picture, I noticed, made an instant appeal independently to several musicians before they had consulted the catalogue. (In this context it may not come amiss to comment on the nomenclature applied to not a few of the exhibits. The descriptive names were jarring and misleading, as they had to be with specimens of an art that had abjured recognizability).

An eminent French critic has appraised the quality of Amina Lodhie's works as "pure gold"; and no wonder, for their authentic excellence stimulates and extends the artistic tradition of India.



RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS AT TAMLUK

A Brief Account

By PROF. PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.,

Department of History, Tamluk College, West Bengal

TAMRALIPTA, the ancient international city-port of East India, is mentioned by the classical Graeco-Romans and the Chinese. It is located in the region of present Tamluk in the Midnapore District of West Bengal. Recently, a large number of ancient terracottas have been discovered by the present writer from this place, and these have been presented to the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University. The

over to the Asutosh Museum may very briefly be classified as follows :¹

1. Plaque showing four human figures, circa 3rd century B. C. (Fig. 1)
2. Yaksis datable from the period of the Mauryas down to the days of the Kushanas (Fig. 2)
3. Archaic type figures including a double headed figure resembling the ancient Roman god Janus (Fig. 3)
4. Legs of elephants and other quadrupeds
5. Beads of different sizes
6. Fragments of small arches (black)



Fig. 1. Plaque showing four figures

collection has become possible due to my arduous endeavours and continuous explorations in the nooks and corners of Tamluk sub-division, where, happily I have the good fortune of very often getting co-operation from the local people. The period of my explorations extends from September 1951 to June 1952. During this period I have collected numerous ancient terracotta figurines and pottery-fragments from the region of Tamralipta. Most of these (numbering more than 200) have been presented by me to the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University. The terracottas and potteries which have been made



Fig. 2. Yaksis. Sunga period (circa 2nd cent. B.C.—1st cent. B.C.)

7. Old earthen vase with a full-bloomed lotus design
8. Lower part of a Yogi image
9. Mutilated snake-hood
10. Pottery-fragments with incised designs
11. Pre-historic type figure of an ape
12. Female bust—Kushana
13. Decorated and stamped potsherds
14. Mutilated figures of ram and other animals (elephant, horse, dog, fish, etc.). (Fig. 4)
15. Theriomorphic spout
16. Neck of a vase, fragmentary
17. Fragments of wheels resembling Asoka Chakra
18. Early and mediaeval potteries and toys
19. Balls (probably used as missiles)
20. Fragment of a small head representing a foreigner (Fig. 5)

1. Some of these have been described in my paper, "Some Newly Discovered Terracottas from Tamralipta," *Calcutta Review*, February, 1952.

Apart from these, I have collected two stone images, one of Vishnu (*circa* 11th century A. D.) and the other of seated Matrika (*circa* 7th century A. D.). The former was found in the village of Ratnali near Tamluk and the latter was discovered at Abasbari. A highly polished and glazed stone fragment has also been recovered from the northern side of Dam Dama mound of Tamluk. The object may be the part of an ancient Siva Linga or a pestle. In any case, its

(No. 20) showing Graeco-Roman features probably corroborate the classical accounts (of Ptolemy, Pliny and others) of the ancient commercial contacts between Tamralipta and the Mediterranean world. The double-headed figure was originally found at Char Radhapur near Tamluk by a professional digger while digging the ground. Some of the pottery fragments with glazed and black slips seem to belong to the Mauryan times.



Fig. 3. Double-headed figure resembling the ancient Roman deity Janus



Fig. 3. Front view of the double-headed figure

wonderful polish reminds us of the well-known polish of the Asokan period.

The terracottas and potteries are extremely important and they render at least a broad idea about the archaeology of Tamralipta. Here it is to be noted that most of these antiquities have been collected from Abasbari and Parbatipur localities of Tamluk town. The elaborate ornaments, the fine cinctures, the romantic gait and the exquisite beauty of the Maurya-Sunga Yakshinis naturally make us inclined to believe that the Mauryan terracotta art reached its perfection in the region of Tamralipta. Apart from these, there are many other interesting features of the Tamluk terracottas presented by me to the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University.

The double-headed figure resembling the early Latin deity Janus (No. 3)² and the head of a foreigner

The fragment of a snake-hood (No. 9) may reveal the prevalence of serpent-worship in early Bengal.³ The cult of Manasa, the snake goddess, which has come down from a hoary past, is still a living cult in Midnapore. Traditions confirm that it was once a favourite deity of the Bengali mariners like the goddess Manimekhala of South India.

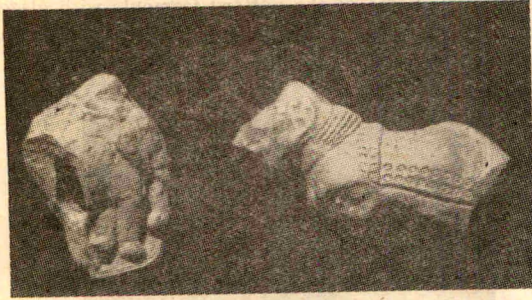
2. Vide H. Stuart Jones : *Companion to Roman History*, p. 369, pl. LIV, 1 and 8.

Victor Duruy : *History of Rome and Roman People*, Vol. I, London, 1883, ed. by Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, p. 19, foot-note, intro., cxliii.

James George Frazer : *The Golden Bough*, abridged edition, London, 1923, p. 166.

3. For their analogy from Nanoor (Birbhum District, West Bengal), see, K. G. Goswami, "Excavations at Chandidas Mound, Nanoor, District Birbhum" in *Calcutta Review*, March, 1950, p. 231.

No. 11 is the head of an ape indicating pre-historic style—the eye-balls being made from “centrally pierced applied pellets.” It resembles the pre-historic clay woman-figures recovered from Kulli in Baluchistan.⁴ No. 12 is a female bust with highly deve-



Mutilated elephant and caparisoned horse

loped breasts. It reminds us of similar female figures (circa 2nd century A. D.) made of red sand-stone, found in Mathura. A pottery-fragment is highly interesting. It reveals an astral design under



Fig. 5. Left : Head representing a foreigner (a Greek or a Roman?)
Right : Yaksi (circa 2nd cent. A.D.)

zig-zag border recalling similar Sumerian types.⁵ The terracottas and potteries presented to the Asutosh Museum are quite numerous and they require a long space for their proper description. The terracottas and potteries which belong to the author's collection and are kept with him are mentioned below⁶:

4. Stuart Piggott : *Pre-historic India*, p. 107, fig. 9.

5. Mackay : *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*, Vol. I, pp. 339-40.

For Indian influence on Sumerian astral motifs, see, C. J. Gadd : *Seals of Ancient Indian Style Found at Ur*, *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21-23.

6. I have discussed some of these with illustrations in *The Modern Review*, June, 1952.

TERRACOTTAS

1. Mutilated dog (?). Abasbari
2. Torso of a Yaksi. Abasbari (circa 2nd century A. D.)
3. Upper portion of a winged figurine. Right wing destroyed.
Find-spot Banpukur in Abasbari. The earrings are similar to the earrings worn by some Bharhut Yaksis (circa 2nd century B.C.).
4. Fragment of a chakra or wheel. Parbatipur



Fig. 6. Vishnu (Pala period). Hamiltonians' Museum, Tamluk

Courtesy : Photo Villa, Tamluk

5. Bust of a female figurine. Abasbari. Similar figures also presented to the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University
6. Horn of a ram. Abasbari
7. Trunk of an elephant. Parbatipur
8. Fragment of small wheel with design. Abasbari
9. Fragment of a chakra. Abasbari
10. Fragment of a figurine (?). The cylindrical base decorated with floral design. Abasbari. It resembles the bases of the ram-heads.
11. Mutilated head of an elephant. Abasbari
12. Fragment of a human arm. The tank of Jnanabahu in Abasbari
13. Fragment of a Yaksi. Left hand pressing the upper garment upon the hip. She is wearing a girdle with medallions. Abasbari (circa 2nd century B.C.)
14. Torso of a Yaksi with elaborate ornaments. It is similar to the Oxford figurine. Found under a tree by the side of a small tank just in the South of the College (circa 2nd century B.C.)
15. Mutilated ram's head. Abasbari. Cf. No. 11.

16. Fragment of a ram's head, Abasbari
17. Lower part of a human figure. Abasbari
18. A cylindrical object with fine floral decorations upon it. Portion of a figurine? Banpukur, Abasbari
19. Decorated ram-head, wearing necklace. Karjut Padumbassan



Fig. 7. Ancient earthen vases on two sides, the middle one being the lid of a vase representing a female head. Hamiltonians' Museum, Tamluk
Courtesy : Photo Villa, Tamluk

20. Mutilated ram-head, decorated. Sri Gour Goswami's tank in Parbatipur
21. Mutilated ram-head, decorated, Abasbari
22. Small ram with dots on the back, Abasbari
23. Tiny human hand. Abasbari
24. Decorated ram-head wearing 'jewelled' necklace. Sri Gour Goswami's tank, Parbatipur
25. Mutilated elephant bound with rope, Abasbari

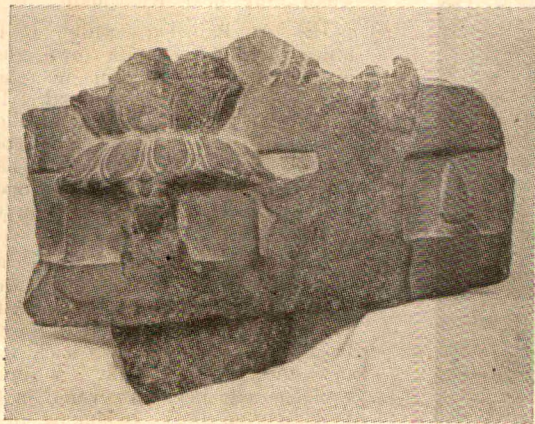


Fig. 8. Pedestal of a stone image (Pala). Hamiltonians' Museum, Tamluk
Courtesy : Photo Villa, Tamluk

26. Clay brush. Abasbari
27. Leg or trunk of an elephant. Parbatipur
28. Mutilated ram-head like the decorated ones. A tank near Khatpukur, Abasbari
29. Mutilated elephant. Found on the side of a tank just in the south of the college
30. Fragment of the girdle of a Yaksi. It is made of medallions. Abasbari
31. Ball (a missile?). Abasbari



Fig. 10. Scroll-painting showing Manasa-Mangal scenes (19th century). Midnapore
Courtesy : Asutosh Museum

32. Ball (a missile?). Parbatipur
33. Head of a bird, mutilated. Abasbari
34. Fragment of an unmodelled human head (a foreigner?). Abasbari⁷
35. Small head of a tusked elephant. Abasbari
36. Fragment of a female figurine with *tribhanga* pose (Pala?). Parbatipur
37. Small fragment showing floral and other decorations. Possibly fragment of a *Yaksi*
38. Unidentified object. Possibly the fragment of a figurine. Parbatipur
39. Leg or trunk of an elephant. Abasbari
40. Fragment of a small *stupa* finial. Abasbari

POTTERY

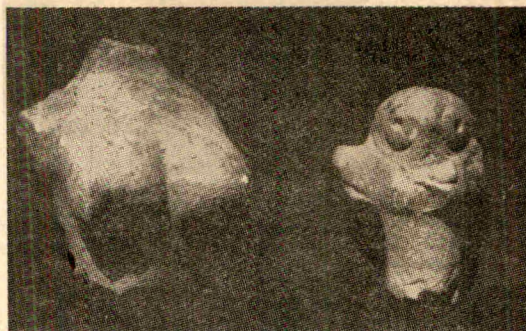
1. Miniature earthen vase. A tank near Khatpukur
2. Miniature earthen vase (grey). Abasbari
3. Small spout. Abasbari
4. Pottery-fragments with designs. Abasbari. Similar fragments also found in Golpukur by the side of the jail
5. Drinking bowl. Parbatipur
6. Fragment of a stamped pottery. Abasbari
7. Fragment of a black painted and glazed pottery. Side of Khatpukur. Sunga(?)
8. Fragment of a pottery with designs. Parbatipur
9. Miniature earthen vase. Parbatipur
10. Spout or funnel. Abasbari
11. A black vase with high polish. Shape somewhat resembles a snake-charmer's flute in India. Sunga (?). Parbatipur



Fig. 9. Plaque showing Narayana's *ananta-sayana* (18th century). Moynagarh

From the data collected we can easily discern that Abasbari and Parbatipur localities of Tamluk are rich with antiquities. From a close study of the find-spots it may also be understood that most of the terracottas and the earthen vase fragments have come out while

digging tanks and canals approximately from 10 ft. to 25 ft. depth. Hence, I may be excused for expressing the opinion that if any deep excavation is carried out at Abasbari locality or Parbatipur locality of Tamluk, the archaeologists will surely be rewarded with splendid discoveries. Even there are possibilities that traces of some pre-historic culture may be discovered by deep excavations. In this connection, I like to attract the attention of the archaeologists to the following facts :



Left : Female bust. Kushana. Right : Figure of an ape in pre-historic style

(i) Clear traces of an ancient road may be found in the tank of Jnanbabu in the region of Abasbari very near Banpukur. Such traces of roads can also be seen in another small tank near Khatpukur.

(ii) At Bainchar, only a few miles south of Tamluk town, there is a huge decorated stone in a tank near the cremation ground. The stone shows figures in bas-reliefs. Possibly, it was once the part (lintel?) of a huge temple. I have inspected it myself ; it is slightly visible above the water-level in the dry season.

(iii) When digging tanks and ponds at Tamluk, ancient wells under a great depth (15 ft. to 25 ft.) have often been uncovered. Recently, I have inspected two such wells in a tank of Parbatipur. A similar well has also been discovered in the neighbouring tank belonging to a student of mine, Sri Gour Goswami, which has yielded terracottas Nos. 20 and 24.

(iv) Several images of Vishnu, Chandi and other deities are preserved in the High School of Byabottarhat near Tamluk on the Mahishadal line.

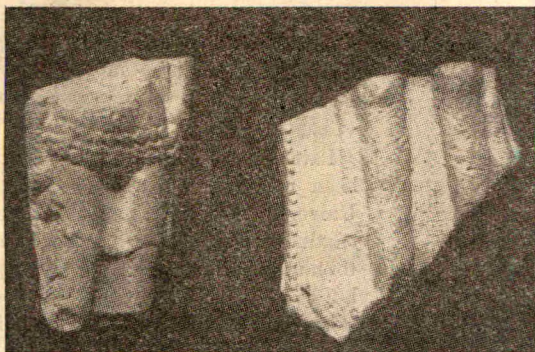
(v) The Ramjiu's temple of Tamluk near the Police Station preserves a number of small stone images of Ganesha, Chandi and other gods. These were dug out several years ago while opening the tank just on the opposite side of the temple in the washermen's ward.

(vi) In the washermen's locality a big stone-

7. For its Egyptian and Nigerian parallels, see, Leonhard Adam : *Primitive Art*, pp. 119-20.

slab is worshipped with veneration as the stone of Neta Dhapani (*Neta Dhapanir pat*) of the Manasa Mangal stories.⁸ There is a current tradition that while pious Behula was floating on a raft with her dead husband she met with Neta Dhapani on the side of the Khatpukur, which was at that time connected with the Rupnarayan. It is difficult to understand what it really was.

(vii) The temple of Jishnu-Hari preserves the memory of the epic story of the war between Krishna and Arjuna on one side and king Mayuradhvaja on the other. This temple is sanctified by two standing Vishnu images (*Chaturbhuj*), which may stylistically be dated in the second part of the Pala period. The temple has also fine terracotta plaques (late mediaeval) showing mythical scenes.⁹



Yaksi fragments

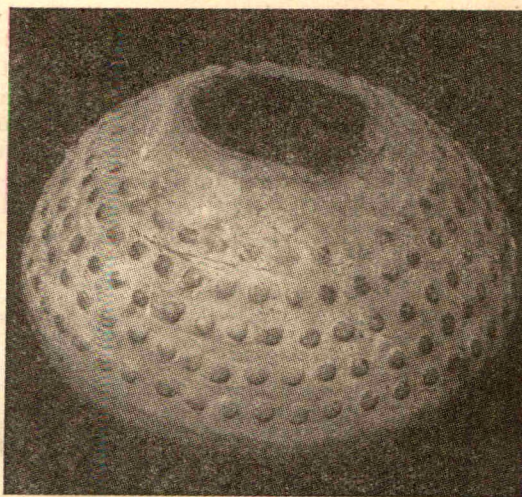
(viii) The Hamilton School Museum (also known as Hamiltonians' Museum) of Tamluk preserves a number of important antiquities, which may be classified as follows: (a) Ancient cast coins, (b) A stone image of standing Vishnu. Pala (Fig. 6), (c) Pedestal of a stone image showing a Naga figure (Fig. 8), (d) Two earthen vases—ancient (Fig. 7), (e) A terracotta lid of a vase representing a female head (Fig. 7), (f) Several small terracotta figurines, (g) Ancient stone pillar, (h) Fossilised tree (or mast of an ancient vessel?).

(ix) There is a huge dilapidated stone pedestal of an image (Vishnu?) in the bus-depot near the hospital. It is lying neglected on the road-side before a Siva temple. From a study of the general style it seems that it belongs to the Pala period.

8. For the historical background of the Manasa-Mangal Saga, see, T. C. Das Gupta: *Narayan Dever Padmapuran*, Intro. (in Bengali), Fig. 10.

9. The late mediaeval terracotta plaques of Midnapore are very interesting. Last year, I collected six terracotta plaques from a temple of Moynagarh near Tamluk. These depict Krishna Lila and other attitudes of God Narayana (Fig. 9).

(x) In the house of Sri Hrisikesh Mukherji in the Parbatipur area there is an intact stone image of Vishnu with a short votive inscription on the pedestal in proto-Bengali character (circa 11th century A.D.). I have learnt that the image was recovered a number of years ago from the banks of the river Rupnarayan by a fisherman.



Ancient earthen vase

(xi) The temple of the goddess Bargabhima stands on a large mound in the centre of the city (Parbatipur area). It is not impossible that the mound represents an ancient Buddhist stupa. The temple is decorated with fine terracotta plaques depicting Pauranik scenes. The image of the goddess Bargabhima seems to be a very old one (Gupta?).

(xii) There is a large mound resembling a hillock in Abasbari. It runs from about 20 yards west of the Matangini Road near the Tamluk College and ends abruptly near the Rajbari on the side of the Khatpukur. Its highest peak is commonly known as *Dam Dama*. There are traces of brick structures at its base. The mound is mostly covered with potsherds. Sometimes terracotta figurines and fragments of ancient vases are found in them. Some portions of the mound seem to be heaps of excavated earth from a neighbouring canal which is now completely dried up.

(xiii) There are also some other ancient mounds in Abasbari.

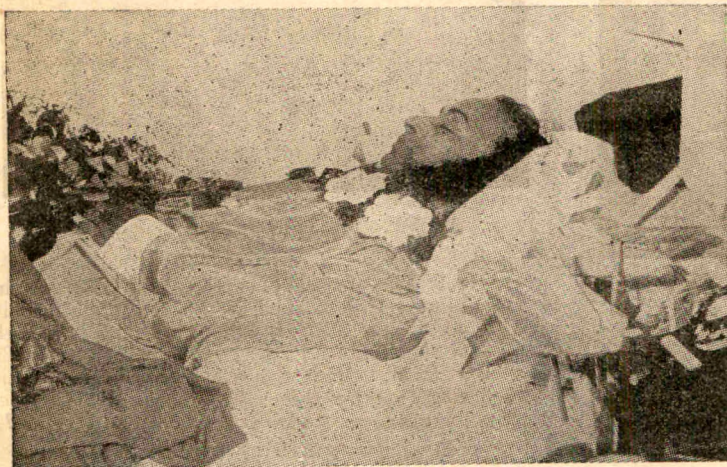
(xiv) There is a ruined shrine submerged in water in the centre of the Khatpukur. Sometimes, it can be seen in the summer season when the tank dries up.



PARAMHANSA YOGANANDA PASSES AWAY

By INDRA NATH SETH, B.L.

THE sacred body of the World Teacher and the great exponent of Yogic culture in America, Paramhansa Yogananda, who entered Mahasamadhi in Los Angeles, California, U.S.A. on March 7, 1952 after finishing his speech at a reception held in honour of H. E. Binoy Ranjan Sen, Ambassador of India, remained intransmutable,—this amazing fact was revealed in a letter written by Mr. Harry T. Rowe, Los Angeles, Mortuary Director, Forest Lawn Memorial Park, where his body was kept for temporary enshrinement, pending the arrival of two of his disciples from India for the permanent interment of the body at Forest Lawn, Los Angeles, U.S.A. Excerpts from the said letter are given below :



Paramhansa Yogananda in eternal life

"The absence of any visual signs of decay in the dead body of Paramhansa Yogananda offers the most extraordinary case in our experience. No physical disintegration was visible in his body even twenty days after death . . . No visible desiccation took place in the bodily tissues. This state of perfect preservation of a body, so far as we know from mortuary annals, is an unparalleled one . . . Day followed day without any visible change in the body under observation. . . . Paramhansa Yogananda's body was apparently in a phenomenal state of immutability. . . . The hands at all times remained normal in size, revealing no signs of shrivelling or pinching at the finger tips. . . . The lips which wore a slight smile, continuously retained their firmness. No odour of decay emanated from his body at any time. . . . The physical appearance of Paramhansa Yogananda on March 27th, just before the bronze cover of the casket was put into position, was the same as it had been on March 7th. He looked on March 27th as fresh and as unravaged by decay as he had looked on the night of his death. On March 27th there was no reason to say that his body had suffered any visible disintegration at all. For these reasons

we state again that the case of Paramhansa Yogananda is unique in our experience."

INDIA—THE BIRTH-PLACE OF YOGA

The monumental glory of India's cultural heritage, having its roots in the transcendental knowledge through divine revelations to the God-realized sages—the true Yogis of India, has been embodied in the "impersonal," mankind's ancientmost scriptures—the Vedas. Ancient Yogis in India reached highest perfection in the attainment of God when after centuries of persevering efforts they evolved out this divine science of Yoga. The efficacy of the soul-liberating principles of this all-important Yoga has been emphasised by Sree Krishna in India's most popular sacred book *Srimadvagbad Gita* (Chapter IV, 46).

Paramhansa Yogananda has truly been called a World Teacher, a Universal Guru. From his very childhood, his sole aspirations were to illumine the minds of the people all over the world with the soul-liberating messages of Yoga which has been fulfilled by his lifelong efforts of spiritually uniting the nations of the world.

In India's cultural conquest of the New World, Paramhansa Yogananda may be said to be the pioneer in introducing a new era of practical and unique system in the field of Yoga. Before his arrival there in 1920, only a sprinkling of Americans knew about Yoga and those who claimed to know anything about it had only a smattering of its knowledge.

LIFE AND ACTIVITIES OF PARAMHANSA YOGANANDA

From his early boyhood Paramhansa Yogananda had a burning desire for God-realization for which several flights to the Himalayas were attempted by him to find out a suitable Guru there. Paramhansa Yogananda was born in the last decade of the 19th century in the Uttar Pradesh. His father Bhagabati Charan Ghosh, a religiously-minded man and a strict disciplinarian, was a high official in the B. N. Railway. Yoganandaji was educated at Scottish Church College and Serampore College from which he graduated. But he was never satisfied with the stereotyped form of general education and his hankering for the knowledge of the ultimate truth led him to his much-sought-for Guru Sri Yukteswar Giri whom he first met at Banaras. He went to his Ashrama at Serampore. He moulded his religious life under the rigid discipline of his Guru, who later bestowed upon him the title of "Paramhansa."

His life-long work was to spiritually unite the peoples of the East and the West and to illumine the minds of all people with the divine conception of God.

Paramhansa Yogananda had a great interest for the religious education and spiritual upliftment of boys and young people for which he, with the help of Sri Manindra Chandra Nandy, Maharaja of Kashimbazar, founded in a commodious building with a 75-bigha of fine orchard at Ranchi, his educational institution, which is now well-known all over India as Yogoda Sat-Sanga Brahmacharyya Vidyalaya.

While in India in 1935, he reorganized the Vidyalaya and established many schools and dispensaries in various places of Bengal. Apart from imparting education, there is an outdoor dispensary at Ranchi Vidyalaya, where about 11,000 patients are treated annually. Among the illustrious visitors to the said Vidyalaya, were Mahatma Gandhi and President Rajendra Prasad who spoke highly of its system of education.

ACTIVITIES IN AMERICA

But the activities of a world-figure like Paramahansa Yogananda were not to remain confined in a small corner of the globe. Yoganandaji carried the messages of the East to the West when in 1920 he first landed in America as a delegate from India to the International Congress of Religious Liberals at Boston, Massachusetts.

His address at the Congress was received with such overwhelming enthusiasm that began his lectures and classes on his unique system of "Yogoda" which gained him immense popularity culminating in his establishing 84 branches of the Self-Realization Fellowship all over the world. His students and disciples exceeded 250,000 in America alone.

After his address at the Congress he went out on an extensive lecture-tour all over the United States giving Yogoda instructions and establishing Yoga classes, where millions of Americans attended in the biggest auditoriums in New York, Washington, Philadelphia and scores of other cities. During his thirty-two years' stay in America, thousands of people were initiated into his Yogic cult. He was invited by numerous Universities, Societies, Churches and Clubs to give his Yoga lectures before their audience.

Apart from his tremendous works of spreading Yoga messages in America, he wrote many soul-inspiring books like *Whispers from Eternity*, *Songs of the Soul*, *Metaphysical Meditations*, etc., which have brought inspirations to the people of America for divine love for God.

CENTRES AND CHURCHES ALL OVER THE WORLD

Self-Realization Centres were established in many large cities all over the world. Its American headquarters on Mount Washington Estates at Los Angeles was established by Paramahansaji in 1925.

The American Centres are in the United States, Mexico and Canada. In Europe, the S.R.F. Centres are in England, Scotland, France, Germany, Holland,

Finland, Norway, Sweden, Faeros Islands, Czechoslovakia. Apart from these there are centres also in West and South Africa, Philippine Islands and Hawaii. The Indian headquarters are at Dakshineswar and other centres are at Midnapore, Bihar, Puri, Madras, etc. Printing plants have been established in both the American and Indian headquarters in which S.R.F. and Yogoda Magazines and other S.R.F.—Y.S.S. literatures are published.

Ever since he went to America, Paramahansa Yogananda returned to India only once in 1935, travelling in England, Scotland, Europe, Palestine and Africa on his way. During his visit in India he became the State guest of the Maharajah of Mysore. He also visited Maharshi Ramana at Arunachalam and Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha.

In 1936 Paramhansa Yogananda went back to America where he breathed his last. In 1937 the S. R. F. World Brotherhood Colony was established at Encinitas, California. In 1947 an S. R. F. Church of All Religions was established in Hollywood. In 1948 another S. R. F. Church was opened at San Diego. Two other S. R. F. Churches were established at Long Beach and Phoenix in 1947 and 1948 respectively.

Paramhansa Yoganandaji's monumental work, *An Autobiography of a Yogi* is a 'spiritual classic' which has been translated into French, German, Swedish, Dutch, Italian, Spanish and Bengali. The *Autobiography* will be translated into twelve world languages.

Two large S. R. F. Centres were established by Paramhansaji, one at Pacific Palisades called Lake Shrine with an inspiring Mahatma Gandhi Peace Memorial, opened by Lieutenant Governor of California and other distinguished personages and the other at Hollywood, an S. R. F. Cultural Centre—India Hall, opened by Paramhansa Yogananda before Sri M. R. Ahuja, the Consul-General of India, Lieutenant Governor of California and many other great dignitaries. Contiguous to the India Hall are an attractive restaurant, a library, an auditorium with a seating accommodation for 350 people and a gift-shop, profits of which are distributed for charitable causes.

Paramhansa Yogananda, the illustrious son of India, went to America, carrying the messages of India to the New World in 1920 with the greatest mission of his life—to unite the East and the West in eternal spiritual bondage. His life's mission has been fulfilled. The invaluable instructions he imparted to the millions of his disciples, the soul-inspiring books he has written and the numerous S.R.F.—Y.S.S. Centres, Churches, Maths and Ashramas he has established in the four continents will be the imperishable memorials to his monumental glory and towering personality. He went out in the world with the blessings of his Gurus on him, undertaking the stupendous task of establishing a world-wide organization so that the soul-illuminating messages of S.R.F.—Y.S.S. and *Kriya* Yoga might be easily available to all.

DOLLS OF THE AMERICAN PUEBLO INDIANS

By DR. HAROLD S. COLTON

THE first illustrated report on Hopi kachina dolls was written in 1894 by J. Walter Fewkes, of the Smithsonian Institution, in Washington, D.C. Since then an increasingly large number of people in the United States have become interested in the Hopi tribe of American Indians and their delightful carved and painted dolls. For years collectors have treasured these small representations of Hopi supernatural beings without being able to learn much about them.



An American Indian of the Hopi tribe patiently carves a kachina doll

Courtesy : Arizona Highways

In the south-western States of New Mexico and Arizona are the communal villages, known as pueblos, with flat-roofed houses built of stone or adobe, of the Pueblo Indians. These American Indians are known to be the descendants of pre-historic people who lived in northern Arizona and New Mexico 1,500 years ago. In the intervening centuries they have developed a rich culture which, because of their innate conservatism, has been little changed or influenced by contact with other peoples or customs. Although most of the Pueblo Indians live in the Rio Grande River Valley, near the New Mexico cities of Albuquerque and Santa Fe, a chain of villages extends to the westward across the high plateaus and ends with the Hopi Indians who live on three mesas in north-eastern Arizona.

Many of these Pueblo Indians, particularly the Hopi and Zuni tribes, have ceremonies in which masked men called kachinas, play an important role. But who is the kachina; what is he, and what is his significance? A Hopi Indian defines a kachina as a supernatural being who is impersonated by a man wearing a mask, a being who lives on the peaks of high mountains. A kachina has three aspects: the supernatural being, as he exists in the minds of the Hopis; the masked impersonator of the supernatural being, who appears in the kivas (ceremonial chambers) and plazas; and the small dolls carved in the likenesses of the first two. The first two aspects are termed kachinas and the latter, kachina dolls.

The yearly calendar of Hopi Indian religious ceremonies is divided into two parts, from winter solstice to mid-July marking the first half, and from mid-July to winter solstice the second half. The first half, which extends perhaps a month past the summer solstice, is marked by kachina ceremonies. A group of about 30 "official" kachinas, called Mong Kachinas, take part in five major ceremonies held during this period. These major ceremonies each last nine days, and mostly are held in the kivas, where only the initiated may witness them. A few, however, have parts which are witnessed by the Hopi public, either in the kivas or in the more public plazas.

During the first half of the Hopi Indian year, there also are held one-day ceremonies, called ordinary or regular kachina dances in which the kachinas dance in the village plazas. In these ceremonies a group of 20 to 30 kachinas, all identically masked and dressed, may take part, or it may be a "Mixed Kachina Dance," where each mask and costume is different. Any ceremony, whether of nine days or one day duration, is a social occasion for the village, since friends and relatives come from the neighbouring towns to see the dance and partake of the feasts that are always prepared. During the second half of the year from July, when the Niman Kachina takes place, until the following December, no ceremonies are held in which masked impersonators take part. There are a number of ceremonies, such as the famous Snake Dance to invoke rain, but the participants do not wear masks. The Niman Kachina is called the Home Dance, because it is the last appearance of the kachinas before they return to their homes on the mountain.

Regular or ordinary kachina dances take two forms. In one form, called the Hopi pattern, the kachina dancers, in single file, walk rapidly into the plaza and form a line on one side. Keeping time with their feet, the tortoise shell rattles fastened to their legs, and the rattles in their hands, they sing one

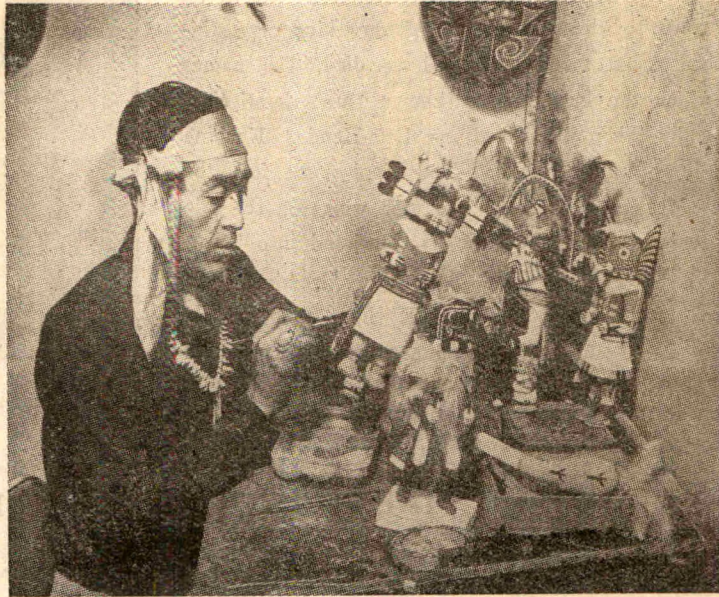
verse of a kachina song. Then the line moves to an adjacent side of the plaza, repeating the same verse of the song, and then to a third side where the verse is sung at least once more. With the completion of the song, kachinas distribute presents to the children and then retire. After a rest of half an hour, they return to the plaza and sing a new verse, repeating the performance as before. They maintain this routine from noon until nearly sunset, singing about six to eight verses of the song.

In the second form of kachina dances, built on a pattern borrowed from the Rio Grande Pueblos, a chorus of old men, accompanied by a drummer, supplies the music and songs for the line of dancers, who do not sing. The dancers form a line on one side of the plaza, and progress around it in the same manner as described above. In the intervals when the kachinas are resting, with their masks removed, clowns enter the plaza and afford comic relief by mimicking the spectators and acting out pantomimes.

When a Hopi Indian places a mask upon his head and wears the appropriate costume and body paint, he believes that he has lost his personal identity and has received the spirit of the kachina he is supposed to represent. Men take the part of both male and female kachinas. Members of the Hopi tribe apparently believe that, through a priest, usually an old man not in costume, the prayers of the people are given to the kachinas to carry to the gods. Therefore, the kachinas play a role somewhat similar to the saints of the Christian religion, and some, like saints, are supposed to be the spirits of very good men. However, not all kachinas are good spirits; some are demons and ogres.

In addition to the kachinas, the Hopi Indians recognize about 32 major super-natural beings who might be called deities. The most important of these are the god of the sky, sometimes called "the heavenly god," the god of the earth, the one-horned god who guards the gate of the underworld (he might be compared to Saint Peter in the Christian religion who guards the gate of Heaven, for the Underworld is the Hopi heaven), and the two-horned god of reproduction of man, animals, and plants, sometimes called the "germ god." Although a few of the deities may be impersonated as kachinas or represented by figurines, the majority are never impersonated or represented by dolls.

Children of the Hopi tribe of American Indians believe in kachinas just as Christian children believe in Santa Claus. (In many nations Santa Claus leaves gifts for good children during the night of Christmas Eve.) In a kachina ceremony, the children are not supposed to recognize their fathers, uncles, or parents' friends who are disguised by the masks and elaborate costumes. Just as Santa Claus comes at a certain season, bearing gifts to the children, so certain kachinas bring too the children kachina dolls, miniature



An American Indian artist carefully decorates the hand-carved dolls, which, when finished, will be models of the ceremonial Kachina dancers

Courtesy : Arizona Highways

bows and arrows, sweets, fruits, and other food. Hopi children enjoy a whole series of Christmas delights during the period from late December to July.

Kachina dolls are given to the children not as toys, but as objects to be treasured and studied so that the young of the Hopi tribe may become familiar with the appearance of the kachinas as part of their religious training. Prior to a kachina ceremony, the fathers and uncles of the village children are busily occupied in making dolls in the likeness of the kachinas that will take part in the ceremony. On this great day, the kachinas give to each child the dolls made especially for him by his relatives. The dolls are taken home, where the parents hang them up on the walls or from the rafters of the house, so that they may be constantly seen by the children of the family and their playmates. In this way the children learn to know what the different kachinas look like. The Hopi kachina dolls are neither idols

to be worshipped or ikons to be prayed to, but are objects for use in the education of the child.

The Hopi Indians recognize over 200 kachinas and frequently invent new characters. It is the opinion of these American Indians that, except for the kachinas that officiate at the major ceremonies in the annual cycle of religious observances, a large number were invented in the last half of the nineteenth century. Certain kachinas are believed to be the spirits of departed Hopis, of very kind or distinguished tribal members who have died. The names by which the kachinas are known are descriptive, especially when translated, as Left-Handed Kachina and Long-Haired Kachina. The Hopi name for the Crow Mother, a dour creature with wings on the side of her head like a Valkyrie, is translated into "Man with a Crow Wing Tied To." Many kachinas are named after birds and mammals, like the Rooster, Eagle, Bear, and Badger kachinas, while others take their names from the peculiar calls that the kachina utters in the ceremonial dances.—From *Arizona Highways*.



This doll is Polik Mana, the Butterfly of the Kachina dancers

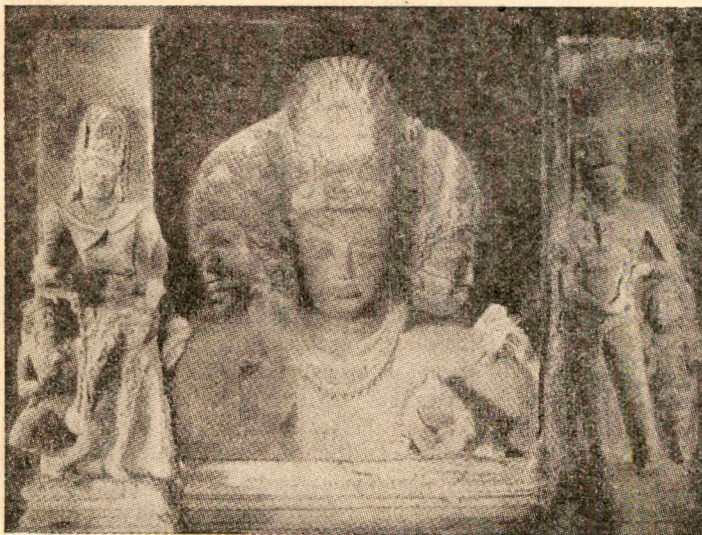
Courtesy : Arizona Highways

THE SCULPTURAL ART OF INDIA

Ajanta and Elephanta

By KRISHNA CHANDRA ROY, M.A.

LET us have a peep into the mediaeval stage of Indian sculptural arts and we shall be able to explore a great deal of things which we must feel proud of. By mediaeval, I mean the period beginning from the 4th



Maheswara-Siva with Dwarapalas (6th century A.D.), Elephanta (Kolaba District) Cave I

century A.D., and lasting up to the 8th century A.D. This is the period of the 'Renaissance' of arts in India. It is during this stage that the people of India felt a general outburst of their mental activities both in arts and religion, perhaps never equalled before or since. In history, this period is better known as the Gupta Period, the golden age of Indian history. During this period, Hinduism was revived and had a strong hold in the social and cultural life of the masses. The revived Hinduism, through its rites and pompous ceremonies, made a great appeal to all people, irrespective of their social status. It was not without reason Buddhism, for its conception of social equality and freedom of thoughts and religion, at once made a great appeal to the masses and practically almost

the whole of India accepted Lord Buddha as the Saviour. But the lofty ideal of Buddhism, influenced by the conception of the 'Para-Brahma' or the Highest Reality of Vedanta, as it is, together with its 'Karmabad' and Godless form, was a thing too abstract for the common man to understand and follow in day-to-day life. The 'Hinayana Buddhism' held before the masses the highest form of moral life and spiritual entity, but for its abstractness, public mind gradually grew less responsive towards its call. At this stage Hinduism was revived and through the patronage of the Gupta Emperors it became the religion of the masses. It is in this stage that we find the excavation of the Cave-temples of Elephanta and Ellora (5th to 6th century A.D.) and also of the Ajanta Caves, (7th century A.D.). Elephanta is purely Hindu in origin; and Ajanta belongs to the 'Mahayana School' of Buddhism which in details of rites and pompous ceremonies much resembled Hinduism.

ELEPHANTA

As I have already said the rock-cut temples and the deities of Elephanta with their attendant gods and demigods are purely Hindu in origin and belong to the Saiva School of Hinduism. The great rock-island of Elephanta or 'Sripuri' or 'Gharapuri' as it is locally known, stands in the Arabian Sea and is about 7 miles North-East of the Apollo Bunder of Bombay. The two rocks of the Elephanta island are separated by a narrow valley and on these rocks you find seven finished rock-cut caves and a few unfinished ones. On the western hill of the island you find the Cave No. I, or the main Cave. This main Cave contains the principal images of Siva, with his attendant gods. There are several compartments hewn out of the hard compact species of trap rock. In one of such compartments you would find the image of Siva as 'Nataraja,' in another Siva as 'Maheswara' and so on. Each for its details of style, decoration and fullest use of consummate skill has its own appeal. But the 'Nataraja' engaged in 'Tandava' or his mystic dance of creation, the whole of the Universe moving round him as a result of his furious dance and his face showing serenity and unperturbedness—for he destroys only for creation, i.e., on the ashes of destruction he wants to create a better and more glorious Universe—at once catches our imagination and the mystery of the Universe is unveiled to us. The other form shows Siva as 'Maheswara.' The three-faced bust, showing him as the God of Creation, Preservation and Destruction, the triple aspect combined in a single self, can not but create awe and wonder. Another form is 'Ardhanariswara' i.e., Siva as half-male and half-female. In this form the two creative powers of the Universe, the male and the female, are seen unified. Siva, the right half, represents the active, while Parvati, the left half, represents the passive principle of Nature.

During the Gupta Period, plastic art reached the height of perfection of form and style, and the images in the rock-cut caves of Elephanta show the perfectness of plastic art. The different expressions of the images shown through their faces and movements of limbs, etc., are really wonderful and almost unparalleled in the history of the plastic arts of the world. It is a matter of great regret that we could not get those images intact. The vandalism of the Portuguese pirates caused the destruction and mutilation of most of the images of the Elephanta Caves.



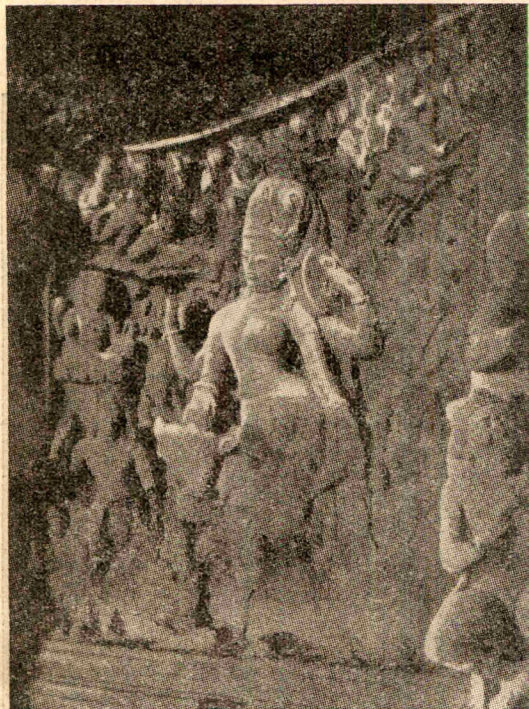
Siva-Tandava

Siva performing His Ecstatic Dance (6th-8th century A.D.), Elephanta Cave I

AJANTA CAVES AND PAINTINGS

This article on the plastic or sculptural arts of India in the mediaeval age will remain incomplete, if I do not say something about the rock-cut caves of Ajanta in Hyderabad. Ajanta is of later origin and belongs to the 'Mahayana' school of Buddhism. As has been previously said, the 'Mahayana' school of Buddhism resembled Hinduism in details of rites and pompous ceremonies. So 'Mahayana' Buddhism had a greater popularity than its counter-part, Hinayanism. The plastic art, as is found in Ajanta, is in many ways similar to that we find in the Elephanta Caves. There, the images are of Siva or his attendant gods and here, the images are of

Amitava Buddha, or his disciples, or 'Bodhisatvas' and so on. One more thing we witness in Ajanta and that is the fresco paintings of the caves. It is said that the Elephanta Caves and their images had beautiful paintings which were wonderful in colour and design; but we cannot see them now, though we can see traces of the same here and there. But the fresco paintings of Ajanta unveil to us a world of wonders. For about fifteen hundred years the paintings have to



Ardhanariswara-Siva
Siva as half-male and half-female (6th-8th century A.D.), Elephanta Cave I.

stand against the effects of light, air, moisture and so on. As a result of such effects the majority of the paintings have been destroyed or disfigured. But still there are some, which have remained intact fully or partially. From these paintings we can form an idea as to the extent and nature of perfection our art of paintings reached in that mediaeval age. The frescos have been painted with natural colours taken out of the stones found there and in adjacent palaces. The perfectness of designs, the consummate skill applied to the paintings, the details of style and the

natural colour applied to them, at once draw the admiration of all. The fresco paintings of the new 'Mulagandhakuti Vihar' of Sarnath near Banaras, will give one some idea about the Ajanta paintings. About the natural colours one may get the correct information from the arts section of the Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.

THEIR INFLUENCE ON NATIONAL LIFE

It is universally recognised that arts and crafts have a great educative value. Our predecessors in the early mediaeval age also understood the educative value of arts and crafts. It is with that idea that they constructed the Cave-temples, installed images of popular gods or figures therein and opened the doors to the masses for visit, especially during the occasions of great festivals connected with the faith. Worship and pompous ceremonies, as organised during these festivals, attracted a large crowd to those places. People from different parts of the country, both literate and illiterate, big and small, visited those places. The high tenets of religious philosophy and dogmas, which otherwise would not have had any appeal to the illiterate masses, were imperceptibly infused into their minds and consciously or unconsciously, they returned home wiser and more religiously-minded.

The high personalities or 'Acharyas,' who attended those ceremonies and taught things through both examples and precepts, had magnetic influence over the life of the people who at once worshipped them as heroes and made them their life's ideal. Here we find the utility of the religious fairs, festivals, ceremonies, etc., and undoubtedly find an answer to why the great kings and big figures of the country spent so much in constructing Cave-temples of Elephanta, Ellora and Ajanta. The religious tenets and philosophy as emanated from these places had a wonderful influence over the life of the people and moulded their thoughts and actions for a fairly long period of time. Can we imagine a better way of educating the masses? The answer is a definite "no."

The age of epic is gone for ever. The age of Elephanta, Ellora and Ajanta has long gone by. It is true, but still, I would boldly say that as arts and crafts, rituals and ceremonies, have a great educative value in life, we must see as to what extent we can utilise the illustrative lessons of those great works in developing our national life. If the attention of even a few is focussed in this direction, I would deem my attempt successful.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

NEWS-LETTERS OF THE MUGHAL COURTS (1751-52 A.D.): Edited by Prof. B. D. Verma. Published by the Government Printing, Bombay. Pp. ix + 172. Price Rs. 14-13.

This is a very unfortunate production. It contains the news-letters in the Persian language sent from Delhi (and a few other places) by the Peshwa's agents in 1751-52, when the Emperor Muhammad Shah's son, the youthful playful Ahmad disgraced the throne of Akbar. The silly amusements and puerile conventional etiquette of a lazy decadent court during an uneventful year which these letters report, are sickening by their monotony and uselessness. The editor would have acted wisely if after giving a few typical specimens of these he had cut out the rest of it and passed on to the really historical information of subsequent years. This the editor has not done, nor has he cared to give full and varied notes to help his readers, 99 per cent of whom will reject this volume for the lack of this very necessary information. The worst defect of the editor is the astounding fact that he has printed reports from Hyderabad in the midst of reports from Delhi, without himself knowing—and still less informing his reader—that the master in the former is the Nizam and not the Padishah! A knowledge of the Persian language is necessary in an editor of such documents, but a knowledge of Indian history during the period is even more essential, and this Prof. Verma has not cared to acquire.

J. SARKAR

SIKHISM (Its ideals and institutions): By Teja Singh. Orient Longmans. New and revised edition. 1951. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 4.

This short monograph brings together in book-form a collection of essays written by the author at different times on different aspects of Sikhism. The author has throughout relied on the original teaching of the Gurus, on the traditions preserved by history and on actual practice. Among its ten chapters are those concerned with the conception of God (Ch. I) and of humanity (Ch. II), the institution of Guruship (Ch. III), the organisation of the community (Ch. V), the sects (Ch. VI) and the ritual (Chs. IV, IX, X). The remaining chapters (Chs. VII and VIII) deal with certain tendencies and movements in the historical development of Sikhism. The value of the book is enhanced by frequent quotations (in English translation) of the original texts. Altogether it is a valuable guide for our knowledge of all that Sikhism stands for in the vast complex of our culture-history.

U. N. GHOSHAL

HINDU DHARMA: By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. August, 1950. Pp. xx + 443. Price Rs. 4.

The book is divided into the following fifteen sections: Hinduism (General), God, Temple-worship, Fasts and Prayers, Brahmacharya, The Gita, Non-violence, Ashrama Vows, Equality of Religions, Co-7 Protection, Untouchability, Varna Dharma, Brahmana—Non-Brahmana, Widowhood, Marriage and Women. This means that certain topics have been included which do not strictly form part of the institutionalized form of Hindu religion. The latter rather form parts of Hindu social organization, and acquaint us with Gandhiji's reformatory views in respect of certain important questions.

The book forms part of the collected works of Gandhiji which the Navajivan Publishing House has been issuing for some years past.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

WHICH WAY LIES HOPE?: By Richard B. Gregg. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. v + 82. Price Re. 1-4.

In this small book, Mr. Gregg has tried to examine the ways of Capitalism, Communism, Socialism and the Gandhian Programme, particularly against the Indian background. In the introductory chapter, Mr. Gregg analyses the present situation in India and enumerates seven dangers that now face her. They are, (1) the combination of soil erosion, destruction of humus and leaching out minerals from the soil on the one hand and increasing overpopulation on the other,—a combination leading to vaster starvation on an unprecedented scale; (2) violence of all forms, including physical violence and violence by economic, political or religious oppression; (3) grossly unequal distribution of power as between classes, caste groups and individuals, between city and country; (4) overvaluation of great size in organisation, specially in the realms of politics, finance, industry, etc.; (5) failure, among the leaders specially, to realise that the means must be consistent with the end desired; (6) the idea, among leaders specially, that Governments or Corporations or other large organizations need not obey moral laws recognised as applicable to an individual; (7) the loss, among leaders and book-educated people, of faith in the existence and the supreme power of spiritual unity. He points out, with very great force, that soil erosion has now become a world problem and this fact, combined with population growth, has made world food shortage a grim reality. According to F.A.O., the total arable per capita land has come

down now to only 1.5 acres—a figure far below the optimum. Even food-exporting countries like the U.S.A. are now turning to be food importers.

Having expostulated these dangers, Mr. Gregg proceeds to find out the remedy. He points out that the world is now generally experimenting with three solutions, namely, Capitalism, Communism and Socialism. But for India at least there is a fourth alternative, namely, the Gandhian way. Examining, first, the technique of Capitalism, the author points out the huge wastage in human and other materials that capitalism entails. He finally comes to the conclusion—a very correct conclusion—that the success of capitalism has now encountered the law of diminishing returns. The earlier successes were largely due to the opening of America, Australia and New Zealand to settlement and exploitation, and to exploitation of Asia and Africa by Europe and Great Britain, and to the advances of science and technology. Now there are no more fertile lands; due to industrial and political changes, markets have shrunk everywhere; soil erosion everywhere, except in Western Europe and Great Britain, steadily decreases food production; concentration of power is engendering clash; wars are increasing in frequency, size and destructiveness. In this situation, capitalism has to be rejected outright as a remedy.

But what about communism? There are, of course, various points which make communism attractive. For instance, the communist interpretation of history gives a sense of scientific sureness and truth and right. It signifies a revolt against the past with all its evils and has a thrill of new adventure. But, the author points out, the monistic interpretation of history is obviously a limited one; for, climate or geography may be no less factors in moulding a nation's history than the economic factors. In actual working again, the Russian experiment has become in reality State capitalism. It has, of course, demonstrated that there can be technological advancement or even an industrial society without private property. It is also true that social services exist in USSR on a scale nowhere else in existence. There is far less inequality in Russia than in other countries. Communism has been able to take vast strides in some direction, e.g., solution of the problem of soil erosion. But, in spite of all these, communism in practice retains all the seven dangers mentioned above *except private property*. And this vast concentration of power in a few hands ultimately destroys the finer potentialities of the individual which the vast civil coercion and violence, resulting from the zeal and impatience of communism to have a far swifter change than what the traditionally slow human nature is prepared to accept at a time, accelerates that process.

The third alternative, namely, socialism, (which, according to the author, is communism *without* its use of sheer violence as the instrument for change), can, of course, do something good in certain directions in India, for instance, in the matter of conserving and controlling water supplies, conserving soil, nationalising roads, railways, mines, etc. But as a variant of communism it also cannot escape the defects communism generally suffers from.

Does the Gandhian programme present a solution without these difficulties? According to Mr. Gregg, it surely does, through certain additions and innova-

tions. If we add a few items like composting, development of wood for fuel and stimulus to production of more high protein foods such as, soya beans, groundnuts, milk, etc., the Gandhian programme, according to the author, presents a most sensible and realistic solution to the present problems. Take, for instance, the food problem. A new situation, hitherto unprecedented in the history of capitalism, has arisen in the shape of world food shortage. No country now, like Great Britain or Europe in their heyday, can go on continually by industrialisation, depending all the while on endless food imports. However great the need for industrialisation in India, the limit is set by her food requirements. And, to feed such a mighty population, she must retain her village economy, though land must belong to the peasants and there should be other improvements also. Take for instance, the population growth. Birth-control through appliances and chemicals seems to be the modern scientific method; but is it also not true that nations using such methods on a large scale have been showing slow but inexorable signs of a falling standard of intelligence? Ultimately, therefore, is not continence a better method, however primitive it may appear at the present moment? He also examines the other important features of the Gandhian programme in the background of recent developments and ultimately concludes that "the use of mass Satyagraha is the greatest revolution in many thousands of years."

This is the main theme of the book. There are, of course, some conclusions with which many readers may not agree; for instance, his arguments against the use of tractors in general. Sometimes it may also appear that the implication of some of his arguments sounds almost like a justification of the existing but obviously defective pattern of India's economy. But barring these, the book is an extremely remarkable one. Its grasp over the fundamental problems is very deep and thorough, his approach is superbly clear and his analysis extremely remarkable. To deal with these vast and complicated subjects within such a brief compass with such clarity and depth is indeed an achievement. What is more, it presents the Gandhian programme in an entirely new setting and tries to show how it is a very sensible and realistic plan even from the standpoint of orthodox economics. Every serious student of India's socio-economic problems should read this book.

BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA

LIFE OF HIS HIGHNESS RAJA SRIMANT SIR RAGHUNATH RAO S. (*alias* Baba Sahib Pandit Pant Sachiv, Raja of Bhore): *By Rao Sahib V. G. Ranade. M.A., LL.B., Laxmi-Vilas, Mangaldas Road, Poona 1. Pages xxviii + 386 + 126A. Price not stated.*

The (now defunct) tiny State of Bhore lying in the Western Ghats of the Bombay State is hardly known beyond the limits of the Deccan; but it has two attractions, firstly, of its scenic beauty; secondly, of its commanding hill-tops crowned by fortresses which made it the nucleus of Chhatrapati Shivaji's dominions.

Bhore was obtained as an appanage by Shankarji Narayan, the founder of the ruling dynasty, from Rajaram, second son of Shivaji, for his loyal and faithful services as Pant Sachiv. Shankarji is noted in Maratha history as having been a member of the triumvirate that conducted the *twenty years war of independence* against the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb.

His associates in this struggle saluted the rising sun of Shahu, when he was released from internment in the Mughal camp; but he remained steadfast in support of the cause of Tarabai, widow of Rajaram, until his death in 1707. The dynasty which was begun by a man distinguished by such an uprightness of conduct and military capacity as well has now closed, due to the integration of the State with Raja Sir Ragunath Rao Saheb whose career is delineated in this nicely got-up volume under review.

Ruling over a tiny territory of only 910 square miles, yielding an annual revenue of seven lakhs only the Raja Saheb (benignly) has shown great enterprise, ability, and benignity in his task. Indeed, the story of his career as set forth in this volume reads like the chronicle of a benevolent monarch of olden days. Having his apprenticeship in administration as the Assistant Collector, Assistant Judge and Sub-Dy. Magistrate of Shirwal (anc. Shrivallaya) Taluk from 1913-22, the Raja Saheb assumed the headship of the State in 1922. He inaugurated his reign by a clean sweep of such imposts as the *gharPatti* (house tax), *mahispatti* (buffalo tax), marriage and remarriage tax, betel-leaf tax, etc., and at once won the love and esteem of the people. He led them towards progress along the path of social, economic and constitutional reforms. A Deshasth Brahmin he yet freed himself from the caste pride and prejudices and declared the court buildings, schools and offices in his State open to all people, Brahmins and Harijans alike, in 1936 and thus cut at the root of untouchability. He introduced political reforms step by step until responsible government was attained in the State. He set up primary schools in every village, inhabited by only 500 men, a High English School and a Public Library in the capital town of Bhor. He took steps to further the prosperity of the State by encouraging the establishment of industrial concerns. He commenced afforestation by large-scale tree-planting in 1936, thus introducing *Vana Mahotsab* long before it became the national festival of India. He again took the initiative in beautifying the capital town with electricity. By wide travel and study, he has kept his mind open to the thought-currents of modern times from which has flowed his ready response to all works of national uplift. There is, indeed, hardly any institution, educational and cultural, in the City of Poona which has not benefited either from the Raja Saheb's donation or words of encouragement. His gifts of books has enriched the *Bharat Itihasa Samsodhak Mandal*; gifts of ancient weapons and a sum of Rs. 3,000 benefited the *University of Poona*; while the present of two Copper-plates, one dated in 781 A.D. of the time of the Rastrakuta King, Dhurba Dharavarsha, and the other of 1079 A.D., has increased the acquisitions of our National Museum at Delhi. Both in his public and private life, the Raja Saheb has upheld a high standard of conduct and probity so that the renowned Govinda Sakharam Sardesai, hermit-historian of Kamshet, describes him in the Foreword as one of those men who can say to himself with pride, "I have done my duty."

Among the numerous illustrations that add to the utility of this volume will be found those of Rajgad fort (p. 38), the Chhatra of Rajaram on Sinhgad fort, the Bhor armoury, and armour in the Bhor Palace (p. 354), Layangiri (rock-cut) caves near Shirwal, 1A, Shiv Sankar Temple at Benares (p. 56), and the group-photo of the Raja Saheb with G. S. Sardesai (in the 86th year), taken after the conferment of D.Litt. degree (Hony. causa) by the Poona University in 1951. Misprints such as Jahagir for Jagir; Zulpikar

for Zulfikar; Sarje for Sharza, Auverangzeb for Aurangzeb; Kadar Bax (p. 94A) for Qadimbaksh and an account of Shankarji Narayan's death differing from that given in the *New History of the Marathas*, II, p. 16, are minor blemishes in a bulky volume which is commended by us to the notice of the wide reading public of India. The Raja Saheb's speeches incorporated herein ranging from the utility of the study of history to the use and importance of Ayurveda would certainly interest many.

N. B. Roy

GOING TO THE CINEMA: Pp. 160. Price 7s. 6d.

FILM-MAKING FROM SCRIPT TO SCREEN: Pp. 159. Price 8s. 6d.

Both by Andrew Buchanan. Published by Phoenix House Ltd., London.

Andrew Buchanan is a top-ranking name in film-production and these nicely got-up editions of his two famous books (first published in 1947 and 1937 respectively) amply prove his ability as a writer on cinema subjects. He is so thoroughly conversant with his business, probably through his long connection with the famous *Cinemazine* which he himself started, that he has been able to make a very difficult subject easy and interesting for the general reader. These two books take us to the intricacies of the trade without troubling us with details.

In *Going to the Cinema*, Mr. Buchanan takes us right into the Studios and shows how the producer, the director, the cameraman, the scenarist, the script-writer and the lighting experts and finally the actors work in a team to produce the final product. We also learn what a documentary, a news-reel and a cartoon means. The last chapter "Films that Everyone should See" is a safe and sure guide to cinema-goers giving them a list of pictures from 1915 to 1950.

In *Film-making from Script to Screen*, Mr. Buchanan goes a bit farther and gives easy instructions and lessons on filming. The book is in two parts, the first part being theoretical, while the second is practical. It is a beginner's book and will amply repay careful perusal.

B.

WHY INDIA LIVES: By Nagendra Nath Gupta. Hind Kitabs Ltd., 261-263 Hornby Road, Bombay 1. Pp. 228. Price Rs. 3-12.

This book contains fourteen essays, some of which were published in this *Review* from time to time. Our readers were greatly benefited by the perusal of these interesting and illuminating writings from the facile pen of the illustrious author, who is no more in this world. The book has been named after the first essay, "Why India Lives." The others include: The Doctrine of Divine Incarnation, The Ways of Religion, Shri Krishna: Charioteer and Teacher, Passion Plays—The Mohurram and The Ram-Lila, The Place of Man, Miracles, The Span of Life, The Gathas, The Veda and the Avesta, Vidyapati, the Poet of Mithila and Bengal, The Poems of Chandidas, Art in the West and the East and Megalomania in Literature. Throughout these essays, like the first one, the author attempts in his lucid and elegant style, to give a suitable reply to the question "Why India Lives." Civilisations and empires have come and gone, even some nations have been wiped out of the face of the earth, leaving some relics of their past glory behind. But India lives for ever. Foreign invasions, internal troubles, religious and

political revolutions were not a few in the country. At times they have threatened extinction of everything that was best in our race. But still India has survived them. The thing or things that have sustained our country, people and culture and all that this term denotes, are fit subjects for enquiry. The present treatise supplies a clue to such an enquiry. It will prove indispensable to the students of Indian thought and culture.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

WORDS FROM THE VEDAS (An anthology of Vedic verses with English translation and commentary): By Dr. Abinash Chandra Bose, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, S. N. College, Khandwa, M.P. Published by Republican Era Publishers, 24 M. J. Building, Chandni Chowk, Delhi. Pp. 250. Price Rs. 5.

The book under review is an excellent collection of 284 significant passages from the four Vedas, chiefly the Rig-Veda with Sanskrit text, running translation and annotation. The selections are classified under five different heads named Bhaktiyoga, Jnanayoga, Bibhutiyoga, Rajayoga and Karmayoga. The English rendering is kept as close to the original as possible. Indian and Western authorities are followed in the translation and interpretation of the verses. It appears to be a very useful and important anthology for the general readers. In a lengthy and informative introduction covering over one hundred pages the author has carefully discussed the Hindu conception of monotheism, polytheism and henotheism as well as some basic principles of the Vedic religion. It was Maxmuller, the immortal orientalist of Germany, who coined the new term 'henotheism' for the Vedic cult of the One in Many. Dr. Bose, the erudite author, appreciates the adequacy of the term and observes that it resembles both monotheism and polytheism in certain aspects. The

author who has been a professor of English literature for over three decades has rightly brought out in his translation and commentary the poetic and literary as well as the philosophical and religious aspects of Vedic religion. This *vade mecum* will enable the common reader to establish a direct contact with the world's oldest literature and the source-books of Indian culture and religion. It seems to be an important addition to the growing literature on the Vedas in English.

SWAMI JACADISWARANANDA

VOYAGE OF "KOMAGATA MARU"—OR, INDIA'S SLAVERY ABROAD: Compiled by Baba Gurdit Singh. Published from 32, Asutosh Mukherjee Road, Calcutta. Pp. 330. Price Rs. 3.

The second title of the book gives its gist—the adventure of a Sikh contractor in Malaya as the compiler then was who was stung by the slavery abroad of his own people. Thereafter he resolved to challenge this iniquitous system under Britain, and challenge it in Canada where Sikh agriculturists and lumber-men had built up fortunes the value of which was Rs. 2 crores 50 lakhs. He chartered a Japanese ship for "continuous voyage" as required by Canadian laws. The demands of law were thus satisfied but the Canadian Government did not allow more than 300 passengers (Sikhs) to land in Vancouver. For about 2 months they remained on board; they were not allowed to buy provisions from the port. Thus were they forced to return, and the British Government in India took a hand in it that was disgraceful. The Budge-Budge tragedy was enacted; unarmed men and women were pelted with bullets. And they fled. Baba Gurdit Singh became a wanderer over India, a man hunted by the police. But he could delude them for 7 years. And only after the Jallinwala Bagh massacre when Gandhiji took charge of our political fight, did he

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"discover" himself and surrender to the police at Gandhiji's insistence. The reports of his wanderings make absorbing reading; though badly edited and suffering from the "printer's devil."

Baba Gurdit Singh was born in 1849. So, during the period he has described he was more than 65 years. And it is a wonder that he could stand the fatigue of the wanderings and the pangs of hunger that was almost regular. He is now over 100 years, and stands as a symbol of undaunted courage and resourcefulness, of hatred of injustice felt in the bones as a representative of India. This makes the book an epic in our modern life which the present generation does not know, but should if they desire to understand their country's history.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

SANSKRIT

SRI SRI RAMAKRISHNAKATHAMRITAM : Translated by Sri Jagannathananda Swamin. Published by Sri Akula Mitra Kavyatirtha. Cuttack Trading Company, Cuttack. Price Rs. 2.

Of the works composed in recent years in Sanskrit special mention may be made of translations from different languages and of poems as well as prose treatises describing the life-stories of a number of great men of India whose achievements in different fields of activities have made them famous. Some of these works have been noticed in the present section of this Review (August '32, June '36, July '47, September '50, July '36, May '42). Very recently a work of the second type mentioned above, the *Tukarama-charitam* of Pandita Kshama Row, is reported to have won the first prize in an All-India competition held by a weekly paper of Ayodhya for the best poem in Sanskrit.

The present work is a new addition—perhaps the latest—to both these types of literature. It contains a translation of selected portions of the well-known Bengali work on the cult of Ramakrishna Paramhansa, e.g., *Ramakrishnakathamrita* of Sri-Ma, which contain descriptions of conversations with the Great Sage. The translation is preceded by a short biographical account of the Master, representing a decidedly better type of composition than the translation. It is indeed very difficult, if not impossible, to do justice in Sanskrit to the crisp homely utterances which constituted a unique characteristic of the Master. A few grammatical lapses and printing mistakes are noticed. The printing and get-up are not quite up to the mark.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

SAHITYA-PRABAHA : By Dharendra Nath Mookerjee. Published by A. Mookherjee and Co, Ltd., 2 College Square, Calcutta-12 Pp. 187. Price Rs. 3.

The book is a collection of a number of critical literary essays, some of which deal with the nature and objects of poetry and literature in general and the present trends and scope of modern Bengali literature and its influence on individual and national life, some deal with Japanese poetry and drama, some with foreign writers like Andre Molre and Anton Chekov, some with Urdu poets like Hali and Iqbal and some with Bengali poets like Gobinda Chandra Das and Satyendranath Datta. The last articles are written on Rabindranath and his poetical works *Manasi*, *Sonar Tari*, *Kheya* and *Khageshara*, the last being written on his drama *Raktakarabi*. The articles show great insight and critical acumen of the author, and his sympathetic outlook and angle of vision

are praiseworthy. The language and style of the articles are elegant and charming. The author has already earned his reputation as a poet. The present work will establish his fame as a powerful literary critic in Bengali literature.

BEJOYENDRA KRISHNA SEAL

ARGHYA : By Sm. Saralabala Sarkar. Published by Ananda Hindusthan Prakashani, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

The authoress needs no introduction to discerning readers. Her contributions through several decades have enriched our literature and are worth preserving. This collection of noble poems, previously published in various periodicals, will surely be enthusiastically received by the reading public. These offerings (*arghya*) to the Supreme Poet are composed of flowers that are as fragrant today as they were when they first appeared.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

MANAS-MANOVIGNAN : By Dr. Sachchidanand Sahay and Srimati Priyamvada Devi. Gupta Book Depot, Bara Bazar, Hazaribagh. Pp. 129. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is a highly reasoned, intriguing and stimulating interpretation of the Ramayana. The authors believe that the soul of the epic is the epic of the soul of man in terms of his life's pilgrimage, rather than a story made up only of a number of incidents and individuals against the background of history. The principal characters in the epic stand for certain principal human qualities, for instance, Sita for *prakriti* (Nature); Lakshmana for *jiva* (individualized existence); Rama for *Paramatma* (God); Ravana for *agnanta* (ignorance); Bali for *lobha* (greed); and so on. Therefore, the exposition treats of several philosophical and ethical doctrines like God with attributes or without attributes, freedom from Delusion, cultivation of Discrimination, Egotism and how to overcome it. *Manas-Manovignan* is, in short, an ethical interpretation of the Ramayana and, as such, a valuable aid to the study of the epic. The sale proceeds of the first edition of the book will go towards Gandhiji National Memorial Fund.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BAPUNA KARABASNI KAHANI : By Sushila Nayyar. Translated by Manibhai B. Desai. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. September, 1950. Pp. 516. Price Rs. 6.

This is an account of the life in prison led by Sushila Nayyar in the company of Bapuji. The book begins with the cry of "Quit India" and the arrests which followed. Dr. Sushila Nayyar could spend 4 days with Mahadeb Desai after which he died, and she recounts the various incidents in the jail and the thought-currents like the Veceroy's reply to Gandhiji's letter, Sarojini Naidu's ill health and consequent release, Ba's great departure, Bapu's malaria, etc. There are 16 illustrations. The events are chronicled in diary fashion.

As Dr. Rajendra Prasad says in a brief foreword, there is considerable original matter in the book deserving study.

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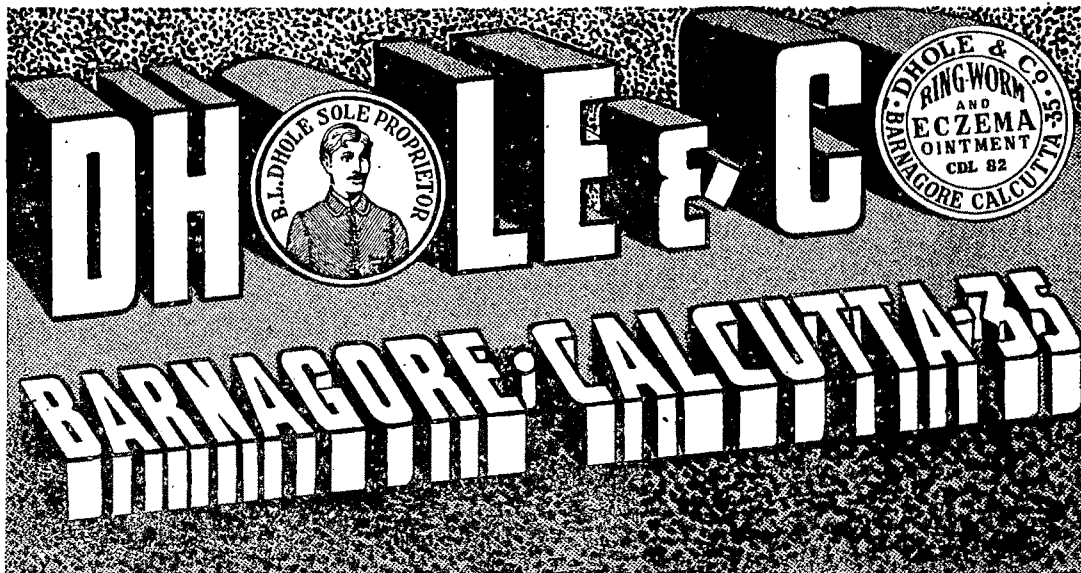
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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Australian Poetry

A Critical Survey

Dilip Kumar Sen writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Not as the songs of other lands
Her songs shall be
Where dim her purple shore-line stands
Above the sea
As erst she stood, she stands alone;
Her inspiration is her own.

—G. ESSEX EVANS (1863-1909)
An Australian Symphony.

To her early immigrants Australia, "the last sea-thing dredged by sailor Time from Space," was most probably "the ghost of a land, by the ghost of a sea." The perimeter of tortured trees, the warm earth's dark deliciousness, the grey gum trees, those "strange Southern acolytes of the eternal Pan," the wind-swept plains, the sapphire-misted mountains, had little interest and hardly any beauty to those expatriates. They regarded Australia as an exotic outpost, obtruded in a faraway part of the world—a place where Nature was unfamiliar, trees seemed the wrong shape, the animals unnatural, the seasons back-to-front. They clung fondly to England and almost forgot their physical separation. J. A. Frowde came to Australia on a visit and found English life over again. "all the same—dress, manners, talk, appearance—of our Wimbledon." Henry Kingsley, brother of the celebrated Charles Kingsley, voiced the opinion of the ordinary settler through the mouth of Sam Buckley in his novel *The Recollections of Geoffrey Hamlyn* :

"Don't let me hear all that balderdash about the founding of new empires. Empires take too long in growing for me. What honours, what society has this little colony to give, compared to those open to a fourth-rate gentleman in England?"

Life was full of hardships and intensely dull, but the prospects of quickly made fortunes in this "haggard continent" made it somewhat tolerable. What would have been the reaction of these homesick English gentlemen, if they had read lines like these in their lifetime ?

Dear land of mine, I will not send
One envious thought beyond the foam.
They speak of England still as home
It is not mine.

Or

Your London is a vault, a tomb
To those born 'neath Australian skies.

English songbirds could not thrive in the thickets of an alien forest; and most verses written during the early period of Australian poetry can be fittingly described as the "dandruff of Poetry." They were English in subject-matter, in treatment and in outlook. The poets had learned neither to love their own country nor to see it with their own eyes. Barron Field, Lamb's "distant correspondent," chose to describe himself as the "first Austral harmonizer," and published in 1819 a collection of rather puerile verses: *First-Fruits of Australian Poetry*. W. C. Wentworth in his *Australia* expressed the hope that Australia would be a new Britannia. There were

poets superior in merit to both Field and Wentworth—poets like Charles Tompson and John Dunmore Lang—but perhaps the soil was not yet ready for the sensitive plant of poetry.

This is brought out by the following extract from a review of Tompson's *Wild Notes from the Lyre of a Native Minstrel* in the *South-Asian Register*, of Sydney, October 1827.

A poet is made up of sensibility and imagination, a constitution of the inner man ill-adapted for the usages of a working day world. We consider his, therefore, to be a perilous destiny to fulfill, one which none should rashly seek to draw upon himself. In an early state of nature he is not fit to tend sheep and in a more advanced stage of population he is only qualified to tend in the rear of armies, or wait on the idle hours of dissolute and effeminate society.

There were other handicaps too. During the early years of her history Australia had no tradition of literature or of the fine arts. The early settlers almost completely disregarded the rich but stange folklore and the traditions of the aboriginals. Again, the whole outlook of the colony was materialistic—the first printing-press arrived in Sydney in 1788 but no one who could work it was found till 1793! It is amusing to recall here the manner in which an early poet, Michael Massey Robinson, who composed yearly odes at the royal birthday celebrations, was rewarded—he was presented with a pair of milch cows from the government herd in recognition of his merit! On top of all this was the convict taint which infected the spirit of the community with deadening result. Politically, too, the atmosphere was unfavourable. The different states had a strong feeling or rivalry, a sense of solidarity was lacking in the human groups inhabiting this continent.

But the gold rush completely changed the scene. This unprecedented influx of people from overseas was in itself, however, not conducive to the development of literature, as the majority were concerned, to use the lines of Richard Howitt :

To buy and sell, their souls they frame,

The worship of the land is gold.

But it certainly did one thing. Those who came lured by gold were not so sure as their predecessors had been of being able to return quickly after a successful career as gold diggers. In many cases they had burnt all their bridges behind them and come to Australia to start life afresh. The very atmosphere was, to them, surcharged with adventure. The horse became an indispensable part of their lives and the wild empty places became dotted with tenements in which the intrepid newcomers roughed it. A new feeling of camaraderie, a sense of comradeship, was in the air. Charles Harpur, "the grey forefather of Australian poets," sang of stirring and romantic adventure; while Henry Kendall, who like Harpur was also bush-bred, tinged his verse with a Wordsworthian veneration for Nature. Kendall was not a profound or original thinker, nor had he watched nature with the close scrutiny of Wordsworth, but he had a true and delicate gift of song and fine emotional sensibility. The little things of nature, like bell-birds, had infinite interest for him :

The silver-voiced bell birds, the darlings of daytime,
They sing in September their songs of the May-time,
When shadows wax strong and the thunderbolts hurtle.
They hide with their fear in the leaves of the myrtle.

A typical product of the time was Adam Lindsay Gordon. He came to Australia when he was 20, with echoes of the works of the great poets, from Homer to Swinburne ringing in his ears. As mounted trooper, a horsebreaker, a steeplechase rider, a livery-stable keeper, Gordon spent most of his Australian life among horses. The rhythm of horse-hoofs seems to beat in most of his metres. The figure of the stockrider in one of his poems is a superb one:

Firm and upright in his saddle as a soldier upon
parade,
Yet graceful too is his seat, for Nature this horseman
made.
From childhood a fearless rider, now like a centaur
he
And half of his strength is gone when he jumps from
the saddle-tree.

There was not yet great literature, perhaps, but the fire of life was there; it needed only a talented midwife to bring forth a native literature. The midwife soon made her appearance in the shape of a weekly paper: the *Sydney Bulletin*, founded in 1880. Its aim was to stimulate among Australian writers a love of their own country for its own sake. It published ballads soaked with Australian atmosphere. The bush became the poets' Eldorado. Like an alluvial gold field it was fossicked from end to end for pay dirt. But the bush balladists, at whose head was Gordon, perhaps overdid their inspiration—they took delight in exploiting the indigenous idiom to an extent that eventually became wearisome.

It would be wrong to suppose that the literary activity which the *Sydney Bulletin* aroused was limited to local subjects; on the contrary, it stimulated authorship generally. Poets other than balladists appeared. Victor Daley wove dreams of exquisite fancy. In sharp contrast with him stood two other poets, Andrew Barton Paterson and Henry Lawson. Their best work was easy, vigorous, and racy, of the bush. Bernard O'Dowd has been acclaimed as the most intellectual of all Australian poets, and the symbolic revaluations of life which he embodied in *The Silent Land*, *Dominions of the Boundary* and *The Seven Deadly Sins* are interesting and often profound. In C. J. Brennan the Celtic nostalgia of an imaginative scholar became transmuted by its affinity with the German Romantics and the French Symbolists.

The modern period of Australian poetry dates from 1932, when Kenneth Slessor published his *Cuckoo Contrey*. He has been described as "fundamentally but livingly metaphysical." Another modern poet is Robert Fitzgerald, who is gifted with a pictorial intellectuality and has probed poetically into the minds of Tasman and Warren Hastings. Judith Wright, with her dark exploration of womanhood and fresh tones in local themes, is in the forefront of the younger poets.

In the '40's appeared a group of poets who were imbued with a new ideal. These poets—James McAuley, Harold Stewart and A. D. Hope—chose for their subjects the great myths of European civilization. But their outlook was challenged by another more powerful group, influenced by Dylan Thomas and other apocalypsts. This group has chosen an aboriginal word to designate itself. This word is "jindyworobak" and means "join." Its aim is to free Australian art from whatever alien influences trammel it and to bring it into contact with native material. As one member of this group remarks:

"We cannot be English or Americans, we can only be Australians and in so far as we succeed in being English

or Americans we betray what is inescapably ourselves. . . we are Australians and that is something fundamentally different."

Ian Mudie, another member, draws attention to the significance of the aboriginal tradition as follows:

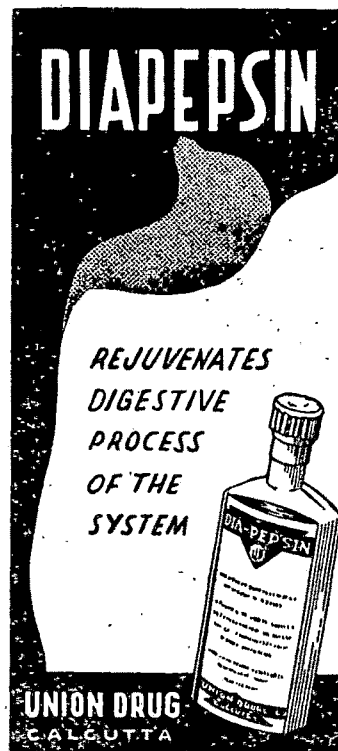
Deep flows the flood,
deep under the land.
Dark is it, and blood
and eucalypt colour and scent it.
Deep flows the stream
feeding the totem roots,
deep through the time of dream
in Alcheringa.

This cult of aboriginalism is not something completely new. Harpur long ago wrote a ballad in which he recounted the dastardly murder of an aboriginal and the murderer's subsequent haunted death; and Kendall used aboriginal place names to fine effect. G. G. McCrea wrote, in his earlier days, two poems founded on aboriginal legends; but this modern impulse is more intense and springs out of a deep-seated feeling of nationalism.

Poetry in Australia has taken an interesting turn. The Australian poet is now thrilled and animated by a new sense of assisting at the bringing to birth of a new culture. He regards his country as:

The scroll on which we are to write
Mythologies our own and epics new.

Lovers of literature throughout the world are probably watching with keen interest this grand experiment in the fusion of cultures and are looking forward to "Mythologies . . . and epics new."



Gandhism—A Boon or a Menace to India

Keith Austin observes in *The Indian Review* :

The fact that Mahatma Gandhi was an Indian is a source for legitimate pride. But it is also a tremendous responsibility, for it places on us, who survive him, the burden of living up to the high standards he set, and being worthy of him. We must not only praise and reverence his memory but follow the path he marked out for us, else he will be Mahatma without disciples, or a Father without children. And this is the last thing Gandhi would have wished. He was prepared to die, and did die, for the happiness of his fellowmen; he would cheerfully have sacrificed his immortality had he known, he was to be revered but not obeyed, worshipped but not followed, exalted but betrayed, idolized but ignored.

This, unfortunately, is exactly what is tending to happen in India today. Fame is a double-edged weapon, and may be a power for good or for evil. Even during his lifetime the Mahatma had become something of a legend; now that he is no more with us, he is in danger of becoming a myth.

A new cult is in the process of being fashioned, the cult of "Gandhism." God knows there are enough *isms* in the world to confuse and mislead men, without India adding her contribution to the quota. But that is precisely what is being done, before one's own eyes. And no one is raising a finger to stop it.

A classic has been defined as a book which everyone praises and no one reads. Gandhi's saying and writings are in danger of attaining this rather doubtful position of honour. Few public speeches are complete without a reference to what the Mahatma had to say about the subject; or, what is worse, what the Speaker thinks he taught, or what he has twisted his words to mean so that they may lend an aura of authority to the series of half-truths he is striving to "sell" to his audience. The Mahatma wrote prolifically and the record of his sayings and writings furnish an inexhaustible store for finding props and justifications for almost any point of view. And this is, alas, the abuse to which they are being put...

The Devil, it is said, can quote Scripture to suit his own ends, and indeed the Bible has been used to justify things as diverse as polygamy and celibacy. The same thing is happening; with the voluminous works of the Mahatma. He wrote on almost every conceivable subject and, so anyone who reads may find, tucked away in some corner of a yellow-coloured edition of the *Harijan*, an apt quotation, or misquotation, with which to bolster up his arguments. In fact any one can, and almost everyone does, interpret Gandhi's writings to fit in with his own ideas, or as a blind to conceal flaws and blemishes in his way of thinking and living. Thus within the last few years we have seen the Mahatma's authority invoked to justify almost everything from Harijan uplift to Socialism, from Communist tactics to a Capitalist Budget. Gandhi's writings may contain "the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind", but this is no excuse for the prey of plagiarists who are ransacking his works, and debasing the pure metal they find there for their own selfish ends, making the Apostle of Truth, in effect, the father of their own lies.

The Mahatma, were he alive, would have every cause to pray, "Lord save me from my professed friends." During his lifetime he never claimed infallibility, and, like the truly great man he was, he had the humility to acknowledge his mistakes when they were brought home to him, even if they were "Himalayan blunders." He was human and being human was fallible; and even his closest followers and most ardent admirers like Pandit

Nehru and C. Rajagopalachari, often differed violently from him. The course of events, too, has shown that the Mahatma was often mistaken, and, had he been alive, he would have been the first to admit it.

But what the Master never dared to claim, his so-called disciples and followers are claiming for him. They quote him as if he were the last word on everything, and imagine that a quotation from his writings is the end of all rational thinking and a veto against all further argument. This attitude of mind must change if India is to make any progress in the field of ideas and of actions and to grow to political and human maturity. Gandhi was undoubtedly the wisest man of our generation in India, if not in the world; but though seldom blinded by passion or prejudice, he was very often mistaken, and many of his statements are half-truths. Gandhi meant his writings to be a spur and an incentive to further thinking and discussion, not as a drug or as a sedative; and above all not as the *Vox Dei* on any and every subject. He had a passion for truth at all costs, and would never compromise with error, even his own errors. We must preserve and extend his dispassionate search for the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, if we are to push back the frontiers of ignorance and dispel the clouds of error that lurk in old established customs and traditions. The world is changing rapidly, and the new Republic of India still more rapidly; much of what Gandhi wrote will endure for all time, but much will pass and perish like all earthly things. We may mourn its passing but it would be false to the spirit of the Mahatma's teaching to resuscitate it and preserve it to mislead posterity. Unthinking "Gandhism" in the realm of ideas and ideals must be checked before it proceeds much further. There is an urgent need for the intellectuals of India to sift the wheat from the chaff, and to revalue and re-interpret his thoughts and ideas to suit new times and new men. It is characteristic of a great thinker that every generation finds in him something new and vital to inspire and direct it. The India of 1952 is not the India of 1930 or 1940; and those aspects of Gandhi's teachings which were most fitting then may not have the same relevance to us now while others may have acquired a new relevance and may need re-emphasising. The need for interpreting Gandhi anew for our epoch is an urgent one; it should not be left to every demagogue or budding orator who wishes to justify his misdoings, or score a point in a debate.

Uncritical "Gandhism" in the realm of ideas is bad enough; in the realm of action it is almost fatal. The Mahatma was a unique individual who used unique methods to achieve his political ends. Many of these such as the Hunger Strike and Satyagraha can scare or be objectively justified on strictly ethical grounds. The

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Mahatma's unique personality, high ideals and passionate sincerity perhaps afforded justification for these methods; at least in his own conscience he was without guilt, for his motives were pure.

But the moral validity of these actions is nevertheless questionable, even in the light of the Mahatma's own principle that the means make the end, and that good ends never justify bad means. Hunger-strikes, which Pandit Nehru spoke strongly against in Parliament in the debate on the "fast unto death" of Mr. Shibbanlal Saxena, are except in extraordinary circumstances considered in the light of cold logic, a form of political blackmail, and a fantastic confession of weakness masquerading as strength. They are objectively equivalent to hitting below the belt, for no one is so inhuman as to see a fellow man slowly starve to death before his eyes and do nothing about it. Sooner or later a compromise has to be effected; and it is generally a compromise with error and injustice quite foreign to the Mahatma's teaching.

Fasts and hunger-strikes undertaken by sincere and selfless men for a great cause may have some shadow of justification. As practised in India to-day they are almost a joke, except that they are a joke carried too far! For the most trivial things, people are daily resorting to them and a headmistress who cannot agree with her governing body or a labour leader unable to get his way with the Government feel they are quite justified in resorting to a hunger strike; while Communist prisoners frequently use this method of blackmail on their captors to obtain their demands. This travesty of what was in the Mahatma's hands an intimate weapon to be used only as a last resort, has gone far enough. It must be stopped by force if necessary and newspapers would do well to ignore such happenings, so that even as "advertisement stunts" or as a quick way to cheap popularity they will cease to be effective.

Satyagraha is another of the Gandhian methods which needs to be revalued, and controlled. Gandhi wielded this weapon magnificently to overthrow British imperialism; it was the only weapon he could and would use; and since he used it in a state of undeclared war, a great deal of justification can be found for it, even by sticklers for the "Law". But the weapons of war are not the weapons of peace, no one uses a handgrenade to settle a peaceful argument. The war period is over and to win the peace, as Pandit Nehru is never tired of repeating, hard work and sustained effort are necessary. Yet, consciously or unconsciously, Satyagraha is being widely used in India today by all types of people—by industrial workers and through "Go Slow" strikes in Government offices—it takes 3 weeks to get a reply even to a routine enquiry!—in fact everywhere. Everyone who has a grievance against the Government or his employer, feels he is justified in using Satyagraha; after all didn't the Mahatma give his blessing to the use of this method? Laziness is one of the worst traits of our Indian character; it is partly innate, partly the product of our environment and climate. Only when we acknowledge this and cease calling it by a fancy name, and make a real effort to overcome it shall we be able to get down to the hard work "the blood, toil, tears and sweat" which our Prime Minister and the country demand of each one of us.

Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest boon a kind Providence gave to our country. Uncritical "Gandhism" is fast making him a menace, for while all men quote him, only one in a million dreams of practising what he preached. We want not the letter of the Mahatma's teachings but their spirit; his spirit of love, tolerance, broadmindedness, his passion for truth and hatred of cant and hypocrisy. Otherwise Gandhi may be revered as an Avatar, but he will cease to be a real, vital and lasting influence over the lives and thinking of his countrymen.

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Religion, Science, and the March of Humanity

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially :

The progress of man is commensurate with the amount of peace, stability, and security he is able to find in life. Judging from the perilous times such as those in which we are living, when thousands are subject to fear and frustration and tens of thousands are disturbed and unhappy, it is certain that unregenerate human nature cannot be trusted with irresponsible power. And where such irresponsible power is backed by death-dealing weapons, appalling inhumanities cannot but be expected. Men who know most are unequivocal in their declarations that the danger to civilized community life is not inconsiderable and that the hope of release from the prevailing uncertainty, apprehension, and drift lies in spiritual values and better human relations. The abiding truths of man's inner being, fostered by the non-sectarian and non-dogmatic religious way of life, are required to be reasserted and realized before man can recapture the ability to make substantial contributions to the general advancement of culture and civilization.

That science by itself, bereft of the reassuring message and transforming influence of religion, could not dispel fear, distrust, and egocentricity is beyond question. While scientific progress has exerted a tremendous influence on our patterns of thought and behaviour, it has left the chief dilemma of our generation unsolved. To set store by purely scientific considerations alone would therefore prove disastrous. Einstein, one of the world's greatest thinkers, has uttered a warning, saying, "Radio-active poisoning of the atmosphere and hence the annihilation of life on earth has been brought within the range of technical possibility." What is the way out of this impasse created by man himself? This world-famous thinker, whose devotion to science is second to none, did not mince matters when he added, "All of us . . . should realize that we have vanquished an external enemy, but have been incapable of getting rid of the mentality created by war . . . The idea of achieving security through national armament in the present state of military technique is a disastrous illusion. . . . This mechanistic, technical-military psychological attitude has inevitable consequences." This should leave no doubt in the mind of anyone that the world would go back well-nigh to the dark ages if another global war were to afford the opportunity for the destructive powers of science to play havoc with human life and property.

The problem for scientists, as for others, is how best to utilize modern scientific knowledge for human welfare. This almost invariably depends on the other problem of our times, *viz.*, how best to ensure peaceful co-existence and co-operation of the nations of the world. At a time when the means of mass destruction are being perfected on every side and the armament race is assuming a hysterical character, it is best to ask oneself, 'How to accelerate the march of humanity by adhering to science alone? And if religion does not help, then what else will?' In some of his recent speeches, General Eisenhower very appropriately stressed 'the necessity for a spiritual rebirth in America and for a return to the simple religious values of long ago.' He meant to convey his view that a country which permits large numbers of her people to turn atheists and agnostics may be said to have gone astray

and to run the risk of disintegrating morally and spiritually.

Today the erstwhile cleavage between religion and science is looked upon as a myth. Religion and science are not irreconcilable, much less antagonistic. The spirit of religion and the spirit of science are not fundamentally at variance. Man's mastery over the physical world, through the application of the method of science, has brought him very close to the borders of the metaphysical world, the study of whose laws belong clearly to the domain of religion. Observing that the well-known conflicts between science and religion in the past must be ascribed to misapprehension of the situation and mutual mistrust, Einstein says : "Now" even though the realms of religion and science in themselves are clearly marked off from each other, nevertheless there exist between the two strong reciprocal relationships and dependencies. Though religion may be that which determines the goal, it has, nevertheless, learned from science, in the broadest sense, what means will contribute to the attainment of the goals it has set up. But science can only be created by those who are thoroughly imbued with the aspiration towards truth and understanding. This source of feeling, however, springs from the sphere of religion. To this there also belongs the faith in the possibility that the regulations valid for the world of existence are rational, that is, comprehensible to reason. I cannot conceive of genuine scientist without that profound faith. The situation may be expressed by an image : Science without religion is lame, religion without science is blind."

Human progress is likely to be retarded in a world where the majority of the inhabitants lead a humdrum existence, half frightened of and half indifferent to the immediate future. Technology and applied science have revolutionized living conditions to such an extent that mankind is caught up in a struggle for quick and often uneasy adaptation. At the same time it would be idle to pretend that these have not complicated life and not threatened the survival and security of man. A social order on the basis of scientific or economic blue-prints, without a conscious striving towards the common spiritual goal, is likely to be unstable. The real core of lasting peace is to be found in the great teaching, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," and this is possible only through Vedantic unity and harmony. World organizations and world governments are not unnecessary; they serve a useful purpose of secondary importance. In the course

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of his penetrating analysis of the essence of the relation between religion and science and the greater importance of spiritual ideals, William McDougall writes :

"When we consider the larger and higher activities of man, it is as clear as daylight that those activities conform to laws quite other than the laws of physics. As hitherto formulated, the laws of the physical world are mechanistic (which means that the future course of events is wholly determined by the present and the present by the past) and, therefore, non-creative. This remains true no matter how subtle, immaterial, vague, and amorphous the entities, substances, or ultimate postulates of the modern physicist. The activities of men, on the contrary, are purposive; they conform to teleological laws and are creative in the fullest sense. Especially is it clear that man's higher activities are prompted and sustained by spiritual ideals, by his aspirations towards truth, goodness, and beauty. It is ridiculous that it should be necessary to point to, and reaffirm, such obvious and indisputable facts. Yet the science of the nineteenth century was almost quite blind to them; while the reactionaries of today still cling wilfully to that blindness, acclaiming it a virtue. Their position is pathetic in that, whereas the belief in the mechanistic determination of human life was deduced from certain principles of physical science, the physical scientists themselves have now abandoned those principles in their own sphere, while the reactionary biologists and psychologists remain clinging to the unsupported dogma like sailors clinging desperately to the mast of a sinking ship deserted by its officers."

It is true that religion, too, like science, has abused its powers and often proved a bar sinister to human welfare and progress. Yet, it has brought about perfect harmony between man and man, and man and the universe in such degree as nothing else has done. Religion could never be outmoded. It supplies the needed spiritual sustenance to the soul of man and helps him subjugate his untamed passions and integrate his split personality. Suggesting that science and religion should co-operate to promote human happiness, Swami Nikhilananda (Head of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre, New York) made the following significant observations, in the course of the discussions at the Seventh Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion held in the U.S.A.: "It is true that religion, too, like science, has abused its power. It has exploited people everywhere in the world. But in spite of these aberrations, one cannot find fault with the ideal of religion, which is to endow man with the knowledge of the soul, the universe, and the ultimate reality. Without this knowledge, the frictions and tensions of

life cannot be removed. Whenever religion deviates from the ideal of truth and wanders away into the dark lane of superstition, science should insist that it follow the scientific method of experimentation, observation, and verification, which also is the method followed by the genuine mystics. Religion does not consist of believing in a dogma, but in the experience of truth.

"Science and religion are not in conflict; they are not even incommensurable. They cross each other's path in the daily experience of life. A genuine scientist has something of the feeling of awe and reverence towards the ultimate reality which transcends the observed facts of the world, and the religious mystic is not altogether free of the critical attitude of the scientist. I do not think science has disproved spiritual values. What science finds fault with—and rightly so—is the superstition which very often passes for religion."

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U. S. to Get Report on Pakistan Crisis

Michael James, Special Correspondent, writes in *The New York Times*, May 31, 1952 :

Karachi, Pakistan, May 30—The United States Ambassador Avra M. Warren, left today by air for consultations in Washington. He will join talks being held with Chester Bowles, the Ambassador to India and report on the threatening crises in Pakistan's foreign policy, her internal politics and her economics.

The chief problem for Pakistan in the field of foreign policy remains the dispute with India over the control of Kashmir. In spite of contradictions from officials, many feel that the Kashmir problem and its full and fair discussion in the United Nations is tied up with Pakistan's espousal of the cause of the Tunisian Nationalists against France.

One school of opinion, and it is very large here although it does not include Americans, feels that Pakistan would "take it easier" in her support of Tunisians' demands for a larger voice in Tunisian rule if more support were assured her from the United States, Britain and France on Kashmir. It is not contended that the Pakistanis would drop their support of their fellow Moslems in Tunisia, but that at least they might be willing to wait and see whether the French really do put through the promised reforms.

JOINING OF CLASSES DENIED

The official Government position is that the Tunisian issue and the Kashmir problem have nothing to do with each other, but that Pakistan does not intend to take any backward steps on either. However one Pakistan official did say today that "if the Kashmir issue is settled, so will many other issues."

The main question before foreigners and Government officials alike here is just what will happen if the Kashmir problem is not settled. The answer to that for the most part lies in the answer to the question of what Pakistan actually can do. It is doubted that the present Pakistan Government would go to war against far stronger India over Kashmir. But it also is doubted that the Government can prevent public violence which might well result in war.

The internal situation is complicated by insistently rumored shifts in the Government. The Governor General, Ghulam Mohammed, a powerful stabilizing force in the Government, reportedly is growing physically weaker and would like to resign. A year ago he suffered a stroke and his activity since has shown a marked decrease.

WORK HAS AFFECTED HEALTH

Prime Minister Kwaja Nazimuddin also is rumored to be feeling the effects on his health of his post and would like to resume his old job of Governor General. The two men most often mentioned for the post of Prime Minister are Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, the Minister of Industries, and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, who now is Chief Minister of the Northwest Frontier Provinces. Mr. Nishtar's opponents say that he has insufficient background for the job while Mr. Qaiyum Khan's enemies say that democracy would be set back

seriously under his regime. His rule of the frontier provinces has been extremely vigorous.

Pakistan's economy, which had been a bright spot in Asia, has recently suffered a double blow. The able Finance Minister, Mohammed Ali, is hospitalized in Dacca, East Pakistan, suffering from what is reported to be a serious circulatory ailment. There is doubt in Karachi circles that he will be able to take up his duties again for a long time, if at all.

At the same time Pakistan is finding it extremely difficult to sell her raw materials on a glutted market. Her principal export of jute is hardly moving, long staple cotton very slowly and short staple cotton not at all. Economic experts believe Pakistan will probably need considerable aid from the United States, something that has not been necessary before.

Meeting of Minds

In a contribution to the Magazine section of *The New York Times*, May 1951, Sirdar J. J. Singh points out the need for a better meeting of minds between Americans and their friends in Asia.

Singh speaks with some authority, since he has himself devoted many strenuous years to helping out this cause. His warning against having or even seeming to have a sense of superiority is both friendly and sharp. It should be heeded.

In this connection we (Americans) are eager to see further channels for the interchange of ideals. We applaud, for example, the recently announced comprehensive tour of the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. The projected visit, at this level, is belated. If there had been more of this sort of effort and more of such friendly fact-finding as, for example, the Far Eastern trip of Governor Dewey, there would be less of the misunderstanding that Mr. Singh rightfully deploras.

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At the same time it is well to remember that there is need for a further meeting of minds among the Asian peoples themselves. They, also, need instruments for the exchange of ideas both among themselves and with us. For this reason we welcome enthusiastically the news that President Quirino has sent out a call for another East Asian conference to be held next year. The cultural conference that was held in the Philippines in May, 1950, was certainly fruitful and it is to be hoped that the next meeting can be larger in scope.

There is also under discussion a plan to set up some sort of a consultative group representing all the nations in the Pacific, both Asian and occidental. Such a body would fill a needed gap in our thinking and planning. It is certainly out of order to go into vital Pacific problems without the opinion and judgment of all of the affected peoples. What we need is a sum-total of ideas and the free interchange of them.

With such instruments at hand it would be easier to avoid misfortunes such as the raising of the issue of our help to Indonesia or India's attitude toward the Japanese treaty. We want to be good friends and we want to be helpful. The meeting of minds is, however, still all too imperfect. Perhaps our friends in Asia can help us in this respect, just as we wish to help them.

Alexander Radischev—Russia's First Revolutionary Author

(Commemorating the 150th Anniversary of his Death)

Georgi Makogonenko writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union*, September 23, 1952 :

ALEXANDER Radischev is a name that fills the Russian people with pride. He was an exceptional personality, with encyclopedic knowledge, a lover of freedom and a revolutionary who had profound faith in the creative strength and the future of his people. As philosopher and sociologist, politician and writer, poet and critic he left his stamp on Russian culture, embodying the brilliant historical and social development of Russian society in the 18th century. At the same time he laid the first bricks in the foundation of the great structure of 19th century Russian emancipatory thought.

In Radischev the Russian people produced a thinker of tremendous scope, who proved capable of independently studying and interpreting both Russian and world events. At a time when the ideas of the French Enlightenment, which advocated social changes by peaceful means, were considered the most progressive, Radischev called for popular revolution as the only way of destroying the system of autocracy and serfdom and winning freedom. Radischev's writings are proof that independent philosophical, sociological and political thought, the most advanced of the time, was taking shape in Russia.

Radischev was born on August 31, 1749 at his father's estate Verkhneye Ablyazovo in the former Saratov Gubernia. His early education he received at home and then in Moscow under professors of the Moscow University. After that he attended a privileged state school in St. Petersburg and then studied law and natural sciences at Leipzig University.

The young Radischev made an especially thorough study of the writings of Helvetius, Holbach and Rousseau, but in his views he proved more consistent than the French philosophers. Upon his return to Russia in 1771 he undertook to translate Mably's *Observations on Greek History*, coming out in sharp opposition to the political theory of the Encyclopedists in his commentaries, to the translation. This is how he defined autocracy in one of his footnotes: "Autocracy is an order completely contrary to man's natural state."

A most important stage in Radischev's ideological and creative life was the peasant war of 1773-1775 led by Emelyan Pugachev. This war aroused Radischev's interest in the people and how they lived, in the uprisings that were constantly taking place in serf-owning Russia. His attention centered upon the fundamental problems of Russia's social and political development. Previously Radischev had stood for the development of society through peaceful means and enlightenment, but after the Pugachev rebellion he became a revolutionary preaching the idea of peasant revolution.

In 1783 Radischev wrote his ode *Liberty*, a work of enormous philosophical and political significance that first advanced the theory of popular revolution. The same idea was presented with still greater emphasis in Radischev's *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* that appeared several years later. In this book the heroes were the people and the progressive noble (the traveller), who broke with his class and joined the ranks of the "prophets of liberty", in other words revolutionaries.

Radischev was the first writer in 18th century Russian literature not only to make the serf the hero of a book but to present him the chief motive force in Russian history. Such an approach upset all the traditional conceptions of the time, according to which history was made by kings, army leaders and nobles. In the Russian peasants, reduced by serfdom to the position of slaves, Radischev saw a force that, when awakened, would make each one "a true son of his Fatherland." In each individual he glimpsed a potentially free man.

In *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* Radischev presents a large number of peasant types. With great sorrow he speaks of the poverty of the Russian "agriculturist, our bread-winner," who "has no right either to dispose of what he cultivates or what he produces." He wrathfully attacks the landlords, selfish, cruel, base men who tortured the peasants in every way, showing the moral superiority of the serfs over the members of the ruling classes. He presents a picture of energetic peasant labour and the warm-heartedness and courage of the common people. His peasant girl Anyuta is a character of



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Radischev finds wrathful, stirring words with which to expose serfdom—"the bestial custom of enslaving one's fellow men." In the chapter entitled "Zaitsovo" he defends a group of serfs who, reduced to despair by the landlord's despotism, kill him and his sons. "If I meet a rascal and he raises a dagger against me with intent to kill, should I be held a murderer if I forestall him in his crime and strike him down at my feet?" In the chapter "Khotilov" Radischev paints, with tremendous boldness and force, a picture of popular rebellion, which he regarded as the only way of overthrowing the despotism of the autocracy and the landlords. Prophetically he wrote: "Nor is this a dream, for vision penetrates the thick curtain of time, which conceals the future from our eyes; I see through a whole century."

The democratism of Radischev's views and the concreteness of his historical conceptions enabled him to perceive the falsity and antipopular essence of the new bourgeois order he saw being established in America. That is why in *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*, which deals with the Russian revolution, he wrathfully branded an American democracy that made Negro slavery legal and refused to call a land "blessed" where "one hundred proud citizens wallow in luxury while thousands do not have enough to eat."

Radischev's book was hailed by all the progressive men of the time. In this book the ruling classes heard the stern voice of the people wrathfully exposing despotism, heard a summons to struggle for popular freedom. After reading *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* Catherine II flew into a rage. She declared that Radischev was "a worse rebel than Pugachev," that "he was placing his hopes on a revolt of the muzhiks" and was "a threat to the tsars." Radischev was thrown into prison and sentenced to death. Later the sentence was changed to ten years' exile in the remote Ilimsk prison in Siberia.

The death of Catherine II brought Radischev home from exile. He again tried to engage in extensive activity, but death on September 24, 1802, cut short his life.

Radischev's influence on the development of Russian social thought was extremely great. The entire advanced section of Russian society was reared on Radischev's ideas. Pushkin declared with pride that in hailing freedom "he followed in Radischev's footsteps." The great revolutionary democrat Herten wrote that Radischev's dreams "are our dreams, the dreams of the Decembrists."

Radischev's baton was handed on from generation to generation. It is no wonder that V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin, in speaking of the revolutionaries who dared to come out against the autocracy in the dark years of serfdom, mentioned the name Alexander Radischev.

The Nile Valley—Elements of Unity

GEOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS

It is an established fact that the North of the Valley is indebted to the South for its fertility and its very existence. In ancient geological periods, the course of the River as well as the Valley was a single sea inlet from which the sea water receded allowing the river water to run through it, carrying from the South the deposits which have formed its soil. Thus Egypt's soil was not formed locally, but was a result of accumulated deposits carried to it. The minerals constituting it may be traced to specific formations in the territories through which the Nile runs in the various upper reaches. These sources, which have created Egypt's soil, still supply the Valley, during the annual flood, with the elements which renew the soil's vitality and recuperate the loss of fertility.

It is noticeable that nature has affirmed this unity of the two parts of the Valley by the evident intermingling of natural aspects in the North and the South. Surface phenomena are almost identical while climatic and plant conditions vary naturally and gradually with the result that between the Sudan and Egypt no abrupt change is felt. Nor are there any insurmountable obstacles between the two regions. Thus, it may be stated that the present frontiers between the Sudan and Egypt are artificial, and the result of administrative agreements, because none of the elements of true frontiers exist. There are no physical landmarks which justify separation nor any abrupt transition which may warrant the establishment of frontiers. On the contrary all physical factors emphasize connection and integration, particularly as the present frontiers divide the territory inhabited by one tribe with its wells and pasture land leaving one part within the borders of Egypt and the other within those of the Sudan.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS

In the Nile Basin, we are confronted with a slow and gradual variation in all physical, climatic and plant phenomena. We shall have more concrete evidence of this when we deal with the different communities inhabiting the Nile Valley. Whether we take into consideration skin, colour, nose structure or hair formation, the fact remains unchanged, because no abrupt change is met when moving from one region to another in the vicinity. Hence, the line drawn by certain writers as dividing Negro Africa and Caucasian Africa and on the basis of which the Sudan is divided into Caucasian in the North and Negro in the South, should not be given any undue scientific importance, but should rather be looked upon as an attempt to present to students a picture which they can easily grasp.

The ethnographical history of the Nile Valley proves that two predominant races have held successive sway over the Valley: first the Hamites and later the Arabs.

As regard the Hamitic race, it moved in several different waves reaching Egypt northwards and giving her inhabitants their basic racial characteristics. The Hamitic elements likewise left their racial imprint upon inhabitants of Nubia. The Hamitic waves, also reached the Sudan itself but were intermingled there with the Negro elements which, not having been arrested by any physical barrier from reaching the various regions of the Sudan, become more prominent as we move southward in the Nile Valley. However, the Hamitic race has become predominant among the inhabitants of the Sudan even among those of the South. It is, therefore, wrong to place the South of the Sudan within the Negro sphere.

This fact is put into prominence by Prof. Sligman, the greatest English authority on ethnological questions relating to the Sudan. In an article on "The Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan" (Review of the Doyal Institute of Anthropological Sciences, Vol. 33) he writes:

"If we consider the semi-negro tribes in whom there is evidence of Hamitic Blood, we shall find that the Nilotic Communities, inhabiting the Upper reaches of the Nile, are those worthy of the first place in our survey. There is no doubt that there is an extraneous element among the Shiluks, a Nilotic tribe living at the most extreme point northwards. Although this strange element is not so clearly evident in the Dinkas or Noweirs, there is no doubt whatever that it exists in them. Their close relation to the Shiluks in bodily characteristics and in their civilization prove that the same elements, albeit in somewhat varying proportions are possessed by all the three tribes."

It was not strange, therefore, that this book has called the inhabitants of the southern regions of the

Sudan the semi-negroes, so that they may not be confused with real negroes. Even this is an unjustifiable term, as it denotes the ascendancy of the negro element, despite the fact that the Hamitic element is predominant. They should have been called semi-Hamitics, as certain tribes of similar characteristics to the inhabitants of the southern Sudan, as for example the inhabitants of the Equatorial plateau who are given this appellation. As regards the Eastern regions lying between Atbara and the Red Sea the Hamitic characteristic is very pronounced in the inhabitants. There dwell the Baggas who possess qualities typically Egyptian since the pre-dynasty eras. They are divided into four principal groups, the Ababda, living in the Egyptian Eastern Desert, the Bisharis who are divided by the administrative frontiers between Egypt and Sudan, the Hadadwa inhabiting the regions extending south of the Bishari territory in a zone leading to Tokar, and the Beni Amer who live to the south of the Hadadwa zone, extending to Eritrea and even to Abyssinia itself.

After the Hamitic race comes the Arab race which, by its semitic characteristics and Moslem culture, links the inhabitants of the Nile Valley with the closest bonds. However, the advent of Semitic influence in the Nile Valley was considerably earlier than that of Islam. In pre-Islamic times, Arab traders travelled to Africa in quest of gold, ivory, slaves and spices. They crossed the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Gulf of Suez from the earliest times and their activities greatly increased under the Romans and the Ptolemies. There is no doubt that a considerable number of them permanently settled in Egypt and the Sudan where they were joined by hosts of kinsmen and fellow-tribesmen. In the two pre-Christian centuries and in the first Christian century, hosts of Hemiaris crossed the Gulf of Aden and settled in Abyssinia, large groups of them moving to Nubia. Next came the Moslem Arabs whose entry in the Sudan after their conquest of Egypt was not at first an easy task, as they were held in check by the Christian Nubian Kingdom. They finally defeated the Nubians and entered the Sudan.

It is definitely established that the process of Arabisation which took place in the Sudan was effected by peaceful means, resulting mostly from intercourse, amalgamation and fusion. An allusion is made to this point by McMichael in his book, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*.

The new Arab element was amalgamated with the old Hamitic race and ultimately fused. Nor were the Arabs ever separated from the original inhabitants to justify the so-called "Colour Bar" the existence of which the Persians asserted in their writings on the Sudan. We reproduce an extract of what Prof. Pritchard, Principal of the Anthropological School at Oxford, wrote on the subject:

"We shall not make any effort to divide the inhabitants of the Sudan into racial sub-sections. Intercourse has been going on since very remote times and one rarely meets with anything approaching pure races. Many of those known as Arabs are definitely influenced

by negroes as is the case with the Baggara, and the Moslem tribes of Darfur, while among the black tribes one may come across individuals with unmistakable Caucasian traits as some of the Shiluks. Hence, we should look upon the people of the Sudan as consisting of different characteristic groups. We do not usually call the inhabitants of the Southern Sudan negroes but they are referred to as being influenced by negroes."

Nor is there the slightest doubt that the inhabitants of the Sudan were about to be racially fused and that it would have been possible for them to develop a joint racial character had the process of reconstruction, expansion and intercourse proceeded normally in the same manner as it started, and had not the British barred intercourse between the South and the North. From the above it may be readily seen that the inhabitants of the Nile Valley, even those of the South, all share the two successive basic racial characteristics of the Nile Valley, the Hamitic and the Arab, while the negro influence is almost entirely confined to the South of the Sudan where even in this region, it is by no means predominant as the Shiluks, the Noweirs and the Dinkas are originally Hamitic tribes, affected by the negro element from countries adjacent to the Sudan and not from the Sudan itself.

Hence, throughout the Sudan, either in the North or the South, there is no region which may rightly be called a "negro zone" as the whole country is Hamitic-Arab, the Arab characteristics becoming more pronounced as we proceed in the Nile Valley from South to North. Nor should it be inferred from the successive advent of the Hamitic and Arab races in the Nile Valley that the inhabitants are divided into Hamites and Arabs each marked by its own distinctive characteristics, because, as already stated, the process of intercourse, amalgamation and fusion has intermixed and ultimately fused the two elements into a single race possessing both Hamitic and Arab characteristics while the Arab element becomes more prominent as we advance from south to north.—*Proche-Orient*, June 1952.

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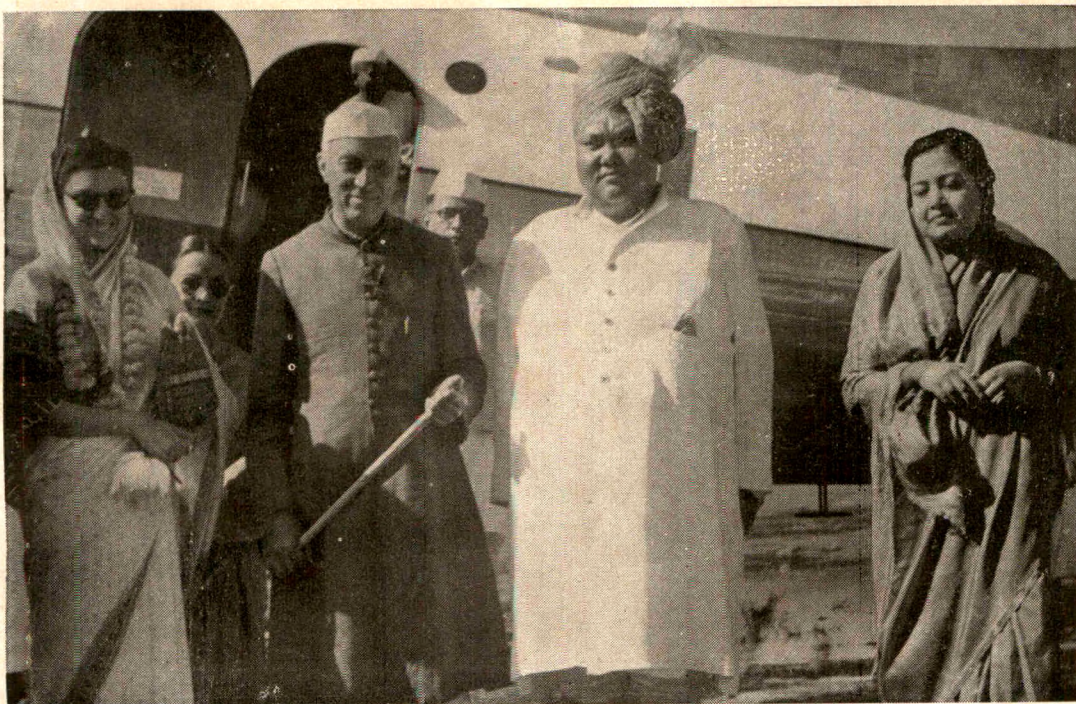
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at 115A, Tarak Pramanick Road, Calcutta-6. On receipt of their names, etc., they will be supplied with membership forms and a copy of the proposed constitution for their comments etc., Afterwards an open general meeting will be held at a suitable time and place to establish the formal body."



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presents a garland to a Tribal child at Ziro during his recent tour of India's North-East Frontier Hills region



The Prime Minister at Imphal, Left to right : Srimati Indira Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maharaja and Maharani of Manipur



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

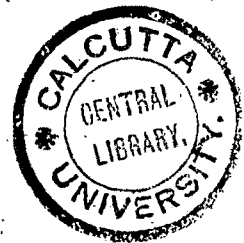
MOTHER AND CHILD
By Sukhamoy Mitra

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NOTES

Sariputta and Moggallana

The sacred relics of Sariputta and Moggallana of sainted memory have been re-enshrined at Sanchi, whence they had been removed in 1851 by General Cunningham.

Much has been spoken and written about these noble sons of India and at the time of our writing more speeches, accompanied by much pomp and glitter, will be uttered by the great ones amongst the distinguished men and women that have foregathered on the occasion at Sanchi.

In addressing the International Buddhist Conference held at Sanchi on November 29, Pandit Nehru said :

"I have come to Sanchi not with any message, but in search of something. In this confused and distorted world of today I am a very confused person. I try to see the light, try to search for it. Often I stumble, but I get up, go forward. I try to search for what is lacking in me and try to find what is wanted of me by my people and the country. It may be that we are reaching a turning point in history. History today has ceased to become history of one or the other country. It has become the history of mankind. We are tied up together.

"In India, as in other countries, light did shine greatly. This great country not only saw great lights but took them to other countries to brighten their darkness. The message that Buddha gave 2,500 years ago was a great light not only to this country, or the continent, but to the entire world. If we apply the principles taught to us by Buddha, we will win peace and tranquillity in the world."

Very seldom have more significant words been uttered by any statesman on any public occasion. Today the world is all topsy-turvy. The old values, along which human civilization developed almost all its most lasting and resplendent glories, have been

abandoned, and nothing tangible or lasting has come to replace them. Morals, Ethics, Culture, all these have been pushed aside in the rush to establish *isms*.

Perhaps, the time has come, therefore, to take measure of the new values, or rather the newest devaluations. But who will evaluate the devaluation and debunk the debunker? It is a puzzled and bewildered world where nothing seems to be lasting.

Will this Light, that once lit up most of the old world, prevail again, in showing the Path? Today the blaze of atomic fission, and the minor conflagrations of embattled armies have dazzled the eyes of the Nations of the world. Pandit Nehru is not the only puzzled man. There is no statesman today who knows of a certainty as to what the morrow may bring. Moscow and Peking, Washington and London are as much in darkness as New Delhi.

The difference lies in the preparations for the unforeseen. And there we feel that too much is being left to chance and too little thought is being devoted to eventualities. We do not say that it is wrong to pin our faith on the intrinsic goodness of humanity. But we do say that it would jeopardize our newly won freedom if we minimize the estimate of the evil forces that exist in this world of ours. Just as one firebrand may destroy the fruits of a bountiful harvest gathered by the peaceful toil of thousands, so can one powerful destroyer wreck the peace of half the world. After all the greatest general, the greatest killer and the greatest conqueror the world yet knows of, was Genghiz Khan the Buddhist.

All of us yearn for peace, and as such the Shining Light, undimmed by millenniums of strife, hold great promise. But that promise has always remained unfulfilled to those who slackened their vigilance or abandoned their guards.

Economic Sanctions Against Pakistan

With the progressive influx of refugees from Pakistan, a section of the Indian public opinion is viewing it as the result of deliberate and planned efforts of the Pakistan Government to drive out the Hindus from that territory. As a reprisal measure, they are demanding that economic sanctions should be imposed against Pakistan. Without going into the political aspects of the question as it is for the Government of the country to decide that, we shall examine here briefly the economic implications.

Champions of the Indo-Pakistani amity put forward the plea that economic sanctions against Pakistan would be ruinous to India. We have to see whether that plea is based on economic or on political grounds.

In Indo-Pakistan trade, the total deficit incurred by India on current account with Pakistan amounted to Rs. 46.9 crores in 1951 as against Rs. 2.0 crores in 1950. Almost the whole of the deficit in 1951 was settled by transfers of sterling. Under the new agreement, India has undertaken to supply Pakistan with pig iron, ferro manganese, ferro silicon, iron and steel products including rails, wheels, tyres and axles, high alumina fire bricks; wood timber including railway sleepers; mustard oil, hard cotton waste, potato seeds; herbs, crude drugs and seeds; lime and lime stone; tallow; khara salt; filter cloth; textile machinery and spare parts; weighing machines and weigh bridges; belting for machinery; cast iron pipes, excluding pressure pipes; road rollers.

Instead, India would import from Pakistan raw buffalo hides, raw cow hides, raw goat skins, bamboo, fish, poultry, eggs, herbs, printed books, magazines, and journals; spices including dhanian, methi, etc.; and firewood.

For very insignificant commodities, India is selling away her strategically important raw materials to a country which is not at all friendly to us. That means, India at her cost is strengthening her own enemy with strategic materials. Just after partition India was dependent on Pakistan for the supply of raw jute. Now India's jute production has soared up to nearly 48 lakh bales annually and she is now almost self-supporting in that commodity. In the new agreement, jute has not been included in view of Pakistan's charging an extra export duty of Rs. 2|8|- per maund for jute exported from Pakistan. This duty is imposed only in case of jute being exported to India and for export to other countries it is not applicable. This discriminatory duty against India is designed to put a handicap on India's export of jute products as this duty will raise the cost of India's jute exports in world markets. If jute is not available from Pakistan, then there is no vital necessity of continuing trade with Pakistan. India is importing raw cotton from Egypt, America and other countries and Pakistan is not indispensable to us for the supply of cotton. As regards raw hides and skins, these are

not vital commodities for India. India has at present about one-third of the world's total cattle population.

The imposition of economic sanctions against Pakistan will not spell disaster for India. On the other hand, it will be a crippling measure for Pakistan. But there are other factors to be considered besides mere vengeance. Would the economic sanctions be effective in the matter of protection of the minorities still in East Pakistan? There the question becomes exceedingly involved. We are compelled to believe that the results would be the reverse of what is considered desirable.

Just as there is no economic reason against the imposition of economic sanctions, there is no political justification for the imposition either, unless we are planning for an outright declaration of war. On this point the protagonists of economic sanctions have to be more specific and present their arguments and justifications—if any—on a clearly stated basis.

The R.P.A.F.

The Commonwealth Survey for 10th October, 1952, contains the following particulars about the R.P.A.F.:

The Royal Pakistan Air Force, which came into being on 14th August 1947, shares a common origin and tradition with the Indian Air Force. When Pakistan and India became independent Members of the Commonwealth, Pakistan's share of the existing Indian Air Force was two fighter squadrons, one transport squadron, one air observation flight, and a communications flight.

The RPAF tackled the task of providing training facilities to such good purpose that today it possesses the bulk of its own training institutions run on modern scientific lines.

An Apprentices and Trade Conversion Training School has been established at Korangi Creek (Karachi) and a Radar School—for the three Services—at Malir. Other schools include the Wireless Observer Wing School to train ground observers, and the Multi-engine Conversion School to train the regular RPAF Volunteer Reserve and Civil airline pilots, navigators, and radio operators up to international civil aviation standards. The instructional and servicing staff for the Multi-engine Conversion School have been provided, for a period of two years, by the UK firm of Air Services Training Limited which has also provided teaching staff for the Apprentices and Conversion Training School. The latter school trains boys between 15 and 17 years of age to perform the advanced ground technical duties necessary for the maintenance of aero-engines, aircraft and their equipment. Another Air Services Training Limited project is the proposed Sargodha College.

Officer cadets are trained at the RPAF College, Risalpur, with a small number filling vacancies at the RAF College, Cranwell. Some senior Pakistani

officers are trained in staff and higher administrative duties at the RAF Staff College, Andover.

The RPAF is steadily being equipped with jet-propelled fighters and has replaced the *Dakotas* of its transport command with Bristol *Freighters*, which can carry twice the load of the *Dakota* for the same speed and engine power, and are specially designed for military operations with a view to easy loading and unloading, the transporting of troops and vehicles, and the dropping of paratroops and supplies. The fighter squadrons are equipped with Hawker *Furies*.

It is evident that Pakistan is developing its armed forces in a linked fashion with Britain as a dominion.

Anglo-American Resolution on Kashmir

On November 6, Sir Gladwin Jebb on behalf of the U.S.A. and Britain introduced a resolution in the Security Council for the settlement of the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. The text of the resolution reads as follows:

"The Security Council recalling its resolutions of March 30, 1951, April 30, 1951 and November 10, 1951:

"Further recalling the provisions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan Resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, which were accepted by the Governments of India and Pakistan and which provided that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations;

"Having received the third report dated April 22, 1952, and the fourth report dated September 16, 1952, of the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan;

"Endorses the general principles on which the United Nations representative has sought to bring about agreement between the Governments of India and Pakistan;

"Notes with gratification that the United Nations representative has reported that the Governments of India and Pakistan have accepted all but two of the paragraphs of his 12-point proposals;

"Notes that agreement on a plan of demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir has not been reached because the Governments of India and Pakistan have not agreed on the whole of Para 7 of the 12-point proposals:

"Urges the Governments of India and Pakistan to enter into immediate negotiations at the head-quarters of the United Nations in order to reach an agreement on the specific number of forces to remain on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarization, this number to be between 3,000 and 6,000 armed forces remaining on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line and between 12,000 and 18,000 armed forces remaining on the Indian side of the cease-fire line, as suggested by the United Nations representative in

his proposals of July 16, 1952, such specific numbers to be arrived at bearing in mind the principles of criteria contained in Paragraph 7 of the United Nations representative's proposal of September 4, 1952:

"Requests the Governments of India and Pakistan to report to the Security Council not later than 30 days from the date of the adoption of this resolution; and further requests the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan to keep the Security Council informed of any progress."

The Government of India have rejected the resolution.

One of the distinctive features of the resolution is that India is required to recognize the right of Pakistan to station troops on her side of the frontier. India's original complaint to the Security Council was that Pakistan should withdraw her troops from the soil of Kashmir; because after the accession by Maharaja Sir Hari Singh Kashmir became an integral part of India. Even Sir Owen Dixon had already implicitly admitted that Pakistan was the aggressor. Still India did not press the issue on account of her eagerness to reach a settlement with Pakistan. But Pakistan has consistently taken an adamant attitude and with the direct and indirect insinuation of the Anglo-American Indophobes has blocked all attempts at a compromise.

Commenting on the resolution *The People of New Delhi* writes in its issue of the 15th November:

"We would warn Mr. Churchill's Government in good time against the mischief and machination of its Kashmir policy at the UNO. Frankly it is anti-Indian and pro-Pakistan. There is no doubt that his Government would be glad to undo the omission made in regard to Kashmir at the time Britain abdicated, by now giving Kashmir to Pakistan. On this basis alone can we understand the latest British proposal at the Security Council. According to this proposal, the patent fact is to be completely forgotten that Pakistan was the aggressor and is therefore not entitled to equality of status with India in regard to this dispute. Dr. Graham, in his latest report, is fair enough to allow Pakistan to keep only civil armed forces on her side of the cease-fire line, but the British proposal would allow Pakistan to keep regular armed forces. According to Dr. Graham, again, Pakistan should be concerned with the final disposition of troops only in so far as it has a bearing on the freedom of the plebiscite, while on her side India is not only to ensure freedom of the plebiscite, but also the security of the state. This consideration goes by the board in the British proposal, whose effect can only be to encourage Pakistan to be more and more intransigent and to attempt further and further to approximate her position to that of India."

Commonwealth Prime Ministers'

Conference

The Commonwealth Premiers' Conference is due to open in London on November 27. India is being re-

presented by a team of five headed by the Union Finance Minister, Sri C. D. Deshmukh. The U.K. delegation will be led by Mr. Winston Churchill while Khwaja Nazimuddin will lead Pakistan.

The agenda of the conference, according to the statement of Pandit Nehru before the House of the People on November 19, is as follows:

"1. Review of economic development in recent years and future prospects;

"2. Objectives in external economic policy;

"3. Aspects of these objectives and of the means for achieving: (a) financial policy; (b) economic development; (c) trade policy; (d) commodity policy, and (e) international institutions;

"4. Co-operation with other countries;

"5. Short-term balance of payments prospects of the sterling area and policy for 1953."

Among other things, Pakistan is expected to bring up the Kashmir issue before the conference and Britain may discuss Queen's title.

Giving the background of the proposed conference Pandit Nehru said:

"The House will recall that the Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth countries met in conference early this year to discuss emergency measures that were necessary to avoid a serious threat to the trade and payments of the sterling area caused by a rapid decline in its central gold and dollar reserves since July, 1951. As a result of the measure taken by the Governments of the sterling area countries, on the recommendation of this conference, the drain on the central gold and dollar reserves of the sterling area has been halted since March, 1952.

"Apart from recommending short-term and emergency action to overcome this threat, the Finance Ministers' Conference had also given consideration to the long-term policies which the sterling area countries should adopt in order to avoid a recurrence of a similar crisis. It was considered that the productive power of the sterling area countries should be rapidly developed and that measures should be devised to avoid violent fluctuations in commodity prices.

"Further, it had come to the conclusion that the objectives of the economic policies of the sterling area countries should be to achieve convertibility of sterling and to work towards that goal, by progressive steps, for creating conditions in which sterling could be made convertible and its convertibility could be maintained. Sterling being an international medium of payments for a substantial part of the world trade, its convertibility was an essential step towards achieving a high level of international trade on the basis of multilateral payments.

"The purpose of the Commonwealth Economic Conference now to be held is to have further consultations on these long-term problems and to examine whether it is possible for the sterling area countries to take any step in these directions."

The present Commonwealth economic conference is

particularly significant in that unlike the conference in January, it is a Prime Ministers' Conference and has been preceded by a long preparatory conference of high officials. But from the trend of developments it can safely be said that the objective of achieving the "convertibility of sterling" to dollars will not be realised in this conference. Though the position in regard to the dollar and gold reserves of the sterling area has improved—the reserves now stands at \$1767m to be precise—it is still quite inadequate to meet the requirements of trade.

Australia will press for full convertibility of sterling into dollar while Canada is expected to "urge that the sterling area drop restrictions with Canada and other dollar countries. Canadian producers are alarmed lest a Republican administration impose fresh barriers against foreign goods.

The dispatch quoted above further states that "Canada has already hinted that she would consider making new loans to Britain to help her return to normal trade. A condition of this offer would be that Britain remove restrictions on trade and curb domestic inflation."

The industrially underdeveloped countries presumably will not be inclined to support this view inasmuch as their improved position has mainly been due to cuts in imports from dollar area.

A summary of Indo-British Trade is given below:

U. K. Exports to India
In £ 000

	9 months (Jan.-Sept.)	
	1951	1952
Total all Exports	84,679	86,215
Of which—		
Machinery	25,013	27,135
Vehicles (including ships and locomotives)	17,117	13,324
Iron & steel & manufactures	4,699	5,675
Pottery, glass, abrasives, etc.	1,460	1,489
Non-ferrous metals & manufactures	1,928	1,719
Cutlery, hardware, implements and instruments	2,988	2,837
Electrical goods & apparatus	5,689	8,295
Cotton yarns & manufactures	2,015	2,493
Woollen and worsted yarns and manufactures	3,816	3,840
Silk and artificial silk yarns and manufactures	966	532
Chemicals, drugs, dyes & colours	8,050	8,568
Paper, cardboard, etc.	1,597	1,704

U. K. Imports from India

	1951	1952
Total all imports	112,464	87,180
Of which—		
Tea	28,209	33,767
Tobacco	5,477	5,895
Non-metalliferous mining & quarry products other than coal	1,956	2,280
Non-ferrous metalliferous ores and scrap*	1,538	2,327
Raw cotton and cotton waste	4,081	1,512
Wool, raw & waste and woollen rags	4,369	2,272
Seeds & nuts for oils, oils, fats, resins and gums	5,835	5,325
Hides & skins, undressed	1,775	364

Woollen & worsted yarns and manufacture.†	4,176	906
Coir mats and matting	1,794	737
Jute manufactures	16,551	13,041
Oils, fats & resins, manufactured	1,448	1,023
Leather and manufactures	15,782	6,064
* Mainly manganese ore.		
† Mainly carpets, floor rugs, etc.		
Source : Trade and Navigation Accounts of the U. K. (H.M.S.O.)		

Food Policy of the Government of India

All speculations regarding the food policy of the Government of India were set at rest by the announcement in the House of the People of November 17 by the Food Minister, Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai that controls over rice and wheat would not be lifted. The following is the full text of Mr. Kidwai's policy statement as published in the *Statesman* of November 18 :

"As the House is aware, the policy of the Government is to minimize the irksome features of food controls, so far as practicable, without incurring the risk of having to increase imports of food or encountering an undue rise in prices.

"With this objective in view, the Government have approved relaxation in food controls in a number of States. The present indications are that this experiment should succeed, but its results have to be closely and carefully watched.

"It is now proposed to relax, to a certain extent, the control on millets and other coarse grains. I would like to take this opportunity to announce the policy about millets and other coarse grains for 1952-53.

"It is proposed to continue the present inter-State cordon, but State Governments will be free to buy millets and other coarse grains in any other State approved by the Centre and move them into their own States either on a State-to-State basis or by direct purchase through their own agencies.

"There will be no movement restrictions within each State except with the approval of the Central Government. Even in the case of inter-State cordons, movement of headloads will be permitted for producers wishing to sell their produce in neighbouring markets, though outside the border of the State.

"Suitable measures should be taken to ensure that prices do not go up unduly as a result of competition by the buying States. For such purchases, a price will be kept in view which will be related to the present procurement prices.

"To ensure equitable distribution of the surplus, a proportion would be maintained in the purchases of different State Government. A State Government for its own requirements, may procure necessary quantities from within the State.

"A watch will be kept on the price level to see that too much is not removed from surplus States, causing an undue rise in the price level. The effect of this relaxation will be watched by the Government before any further relaxation of food controls is considered.

Meanwhile, the existing controls, on price and controls on rice and wheat will continue as at present."

Including the debate Mr. Kidwai told the House that the objective of the Government's food policy was to increase production so that the needs for imports of food-grains might be obviated. The other objective was to organize a fair distribution at a reasonable price. Government had been following that policy since 1945 when it had been introduced along with the Grow More Food Campaign. The nature and extent of controls differed in different States. While the States in Northern India were mostly surplus or self-sufficient, the South Indian States were deficit in food. The procurement policy in the South was very rigid but in the North it was leaky. The result was that though production of food-grains was actually on the increase in Northern India, production in the South was decreasing.

The Food Minister admitted that "there must be something wrong in the procurement system," and in his opinion "some change in the policy is required." Accordingly, the Government of India attempted at decontrol and the relaxation of restrictions on the free movement of food-grains from one part of the State to another in some States, at the same time keeping a close watch on the rise of prices. Mr. Kidwai said that relaxations had brought some relief to the consumers. In Bihar, after relaxation, the prices had come down considerably. In the eastern districts of U. P. prices went down, but in the western districts they remained high. After the warning of the U.P. Prime Minister that Government would take over the stocks from the grain dealers unless the prices of wheat were brought down to a reasonable level, prices came down considerably. The U. P. Government had relaxed controls on all food-grains except wheat from November 15 of the current year.

The experience of Madras was otherwise. The State was facing the threat of a famine because of the failure of both monsoons. Something, therefore, had to be done for Madras. Failure of rains had not been caused by decontrol. Really there was no decontrol in the State. There was a food-grain order which the Madras Government had not thought it necessary to enforce so long. The State Government would now use that order and together with the help that might be rendered by the Centre would be able to bring the food situation under control.

Intervening in the debate, the Finance Minister, Sri C. D. Deshmukh said that the king-pin of the Five-year Plan was some kind of implied control. In regard to the question, whether controls affected production, he said that he did not think "it was proved controls affected production one way or other."

He disagreed with Mr. Kidwai and said that he was not convinced that "laxity or rigidity in methods of procurement had any great effect on production. Punjab, which was running a system of procurement

very efficiently, though it was not a system of levy, was a pointer to this. Therefore, he would not himself be prepared to dogmatise. But, these were personal opinions."

Referring to the question whether increased prices led to higher production he did not find any fixed relation between prices and production over the whole field of agriculture.

The position now cannot be considered as satisfactory in any way, but the official attitude is clear.

West Bengal's New Food Policy

Mr. P. C. Sen, the Food Minister of West Bengal, announced on November 19 that statutory rationing would be abolished from December 15 throughout the State except in the Calcutta industrial area, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong.

The *Statesman* of November 19 reports that "the levy system of procurement would be introduced in the State on January 1, 1953. From the same date, all restrictions on inter-district or intra-district movement of food-grains would be withdrawn. No movement of rice or paddy would, however, be allowed to the rationed areas within West Bengal or to any place outside the State.

The target of procurement under the new levy system was 400,000 tons of which 150,000 tons would be given to the Central pool and the remainder kept in reserve. Under this system, procurement would be made only from people holding or cultivating 30 bighas or more of paddy land. After making provision for the requirements of their families at the rate of 10 maunds per head per annum and keeping 10 seers of paddy per bigha for use as seeds and providing for the repayment in kind of their loans incurred during the previous year or for payment of rent in paddy, such persons would be required to sell their surplus to the Government alone. Of the 2.7m agricultural families in the State only 134,000 would be affected by the new scheme.

There would be no restriction on the sale of food-grains in non-rationed areas by persons who owned or cultivated less than 30 bighas. Government would not allow big employers who received supplies from Government to purchase from the open market.

"Rice mills in non-rationed areas would be entitled to purchase freely. The Government would realize from them one-third of their products at the procurement price; they would be free to sell the balance in the open market, at market prices."

The Government would not tolerate any hoarding and would seize such stocks when discovered. Cordoning would be intensified to check smuggling.

On November 24, Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai told the House of the People that in West Bengal "The rice ration from the regular ration shops will be raised from the present scale of 4½ oz. to 6 oz.," a day with effect from the 1st January, 1953. He said that the

West Bengal Government had undertaken to supply the quantity necessary to raise the rice ration from 4½ oz. to 6 oz. and the increased scale would be maintained as long as the West Bengal Government were able to provide that extra quantity. In addition, supply of rice at a higher price from the economic rice shops would continue.

Recent Tariff Developments

Recently, Indian Parliament adopted an amendment to the Indian Tariff Act seeking to continue protection for 29 industries. The Tariff Commission is now a statutory body set up by an Act of Parliament. Its establishment gives effect to the recommendations made by the two Fiscal Commission of 1921-22 and 1949-50 and also meets the desire expressed from time to time by industrial and commercial interests for a permanent body to examine and review cases of protection. By virtue of its constitution and its statutory character, the Commission is a quasi-judicial body, free from any political influence and from any possible interference from the executive. The Tariff Commission, unlike the previous Tariff Boards, has been given wide discretion both in regard to the general principles relating to determination of tariffs and the principles relating to the obligations of protected industries. Among the general principles to be taken into account is the effect of protection granted to an industry on other industries, including cottage and other small-scale industries. The obligations laid on the protected industries, into which the Commission must carry out investigation at suitable intervals relate to such matters as the scale of output, the quality of the product and the price charged for it, technological improvements and scientific research, training of personnel, the use of indigenous resources and, in the case of embryonic industries, the time within which they should start production. The functions of the Commission are much wider than those of the Tariff Boards in the past. The functions now include: (1) enquiry and report on the grant of protection for the encouragement of an industry, (2) variations in the customs or other duties for the purpose of protecting an industry, (3) action to deal with dumping and with abuses of protection by a protected industry, (4) enquiry and report on the effects of protection on the general price level and cost of living, (5) the effect of tariff concessions given under trade or commercial agreements on the development of a specified industry and (6) certain other matters such as tariff anomalies. The Commission has the power to consider claims to protection, not only from established industries as hitherto, but also from industries which have not yet started production but are likely to do so if suitable protection is granted. Further, the Commission can start enquiries on its own initiative, except those relating to the initial grant of protection and the prices of particular commodities whether protected or not. In these two

latter cases, it can act only on reference from the Government. The Commission has the duty laid upon it to investigate into and report on the working of protection periodically and into the special conditions that might have been imposed on a protected industry.

Sugar Policy for 1952-53

The Government of India have fixed the minimum price payable for sugarcane by vacuum pan factories in the ensuing season at Rs. 1-5 per maund for gate deliveries and Rs. 1-3 per maund for deliveries at Railway centres. This decision has been taken after reviewing the trend in sugar production during the last three years and the anticipated production in 1952-53.

With regard to the current year's carry-over of nearly 500,000 tons of controlled sugar, the Government shall ensure delivery of it from factories at the present controlled prices. The new season's sugar produced at lower cost will be released for internal consumption only after this season's carry-over is nearly exhausted. No control will be imposed on the distribution of sugar released from factories, but if the market prices rise to unreasonably high levels, the Government will release sugar from the reserve stocks at prices which may be fixed then statutorily. The Government have also decided not to fix any ceiling price for *gur* or *khandsari* in the coming season nor to exercise any control on the movement of these two commodities. The Government have decided to allow 200,000 tons of sugar to be exported outside India from the next season's production or from the current year's carry-over on a replacement basis. Of this quantity the Government may permit export up to 50,000 tons in the form of raw sugar.

From December 1, 1952, the price of sugar will be reduced by about Rs. 4 per maund. The new sugar that would be produced should cost Rs. 6 or Rs. 7 less than the 1951-52 sugar on the basis of the price of cane. Government have decided not to release the new sugar for sale till the old sugar had been sold.

The total production of sugar directly from cane by vacuum pan factories in India during the 1951-52 season was 14.83 lakh tons, as against 11.01 lakh tons in the previous year, according to a note issued by the Indian Institute of Sugar Technology, Kanpur. This figure is a record in the history of sugar industry in India.

Crisis in Tea Industry

Indian tea industry is passing through a crisis. Latest reports indicate that the situation has reached a critical stage in which the industry has no alternative but to close down many gardens. It is reported that a large number of gardens have already been closed and a still larger number may follow suit before the end of the

year. The Government of India is, of course, aware of the gravity and seriousness of the situation and in May last they appointed an Enquiry Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. E. Rajaram Rao. Although it was well over a month since the Enquiry Committee's report was submitted to Government, it was a pity that the Government did not announce their decisions earlier. At a Press Conference held in New Delhi on 12th September, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry admitted that there were signs of fundamental *malaise* and that long-term measures had to be devised. An immediate visible improvement in the situation could not, of course, be expected, he added. The industry itself admits that the solution of some of the difficulties depends upon certain long-term measures. What the industry needs is some immediate action to alleviate its existing crisis. It is to the need of such action that a Memorandum submitted to the Government by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce on the crisis in the Indian tea industry draws pointed attention. The memorandum expresses its concern over the Government's delay in arriving at a decision on the various suggestions made by the tea planters.

The fundamental problem of the tea planters is their inability to bridge the gulf between the high cost of production and the low price which the tea fetches in world markets. The minimum difference between the cost and export price in all the districts, except Darjeeling and Assam, is more than As. 4 per lb., the difference in the case of internal price being nowhere less than As. 11 per lb.

While the prices of Indian tea have suffered a heavy decline, it is pointed out that the industry's cost structure has remained rigid, about 90 per cent of the cost being accounted for by factors over which it has little or no control. Thus, the industry has to bear a very high cost of labour and welfare. The wages, which are already high, have been considerably increased by the fixation of minimum wages. It is stated that consequent on the enforcement of the Minimum Wages Act, the increase in the cost has, in many cases, been as much as as. 2 per lb. The incidence of the supply of foodstuffs to labourers at concessional rates is estimated at as. 2½ to as. 5½ per lb. The responsibility thus imposed on the gardens to feed their labour entails, it is submitted, the blocking of a large amount of capital in foodgrains stocked for the purpose. This concession, which was introduced as a war-time measure, is continued against the wishes of the industry, even after the emergency has passed. No other industry is being asked to bear such a burden, and it is rather unjustifiable to ask the tea industry alone to bear such a burden. Another factor which has contributed to the rigidity of the cost structure is the more or less inelastic nature of the cost of tea garden stores. Further, the cost of coal, which the tea gardens have to bear, is high. The controlled price of Bengal-Bihar coal is Rs. 17/12/- per

ton, but some of the gardens have actually to pay as much as Rs. 90 to Rs. 95 per ton, owing to high transport charges. In view of such a rigid cost structure, there is little scope for the industry to reduce its cost.

Among the important recommendations of the Rajaram Committee for the amelioration of the tea industry are: deferred payment of excise duty; relaxation of the rule requiring advance payment of income-tax; improved rail facilities for the transport of coal and other essential stores to tea gardens; provision of financial relief to tea estates; postponement of the Plantations Labour Act; and continued supply of foodgrains to tea labour at concession rates, and also to their dependents.

As immediate short-term relief, the Government of India have announced that the tea waste shall be exempted from excise duty. This measure is intended to extend immediate relief to the producer of poorer quality of tea. As regards the payment of excise duty, it may now be paid within a week of the end of the month to which the clearances relate. Hitherto, the practice was to pay the excise duty at the time tea leaves the factory. Action has already been taken to relax the provision of Section 18(A) of the Indian Income-tax Act in favour of tea gardens and instructions to this effect have been issued to the income-tax authorities. The Government have also decided to provide as many wagons as possible for the carriage of coal to tea gardens by the all-rail route.

The industry observes that the extent of relief just announced does not seem likely to bridge the gap between cost of production and selling price. The deferred payment of excise duty and relaxation of Section 18A of the Indian Income Tax Act, would afford temporary relief. It did not however imply any ultimate saving in cost of production. What is required is production credit and unless money is available for financing next year's production, even good gardens are likely to go out of business. The tea industry expresses great disappointment that there was apparently to be no reduction in the export and excise duties on tea. The falling export is mainly due to the high prices in comparison to the export from other countries. While jute export duty has been considerably reduced to bring the Indian export prices of jute in line with world prices, it is puzzling why the same advantage should not be accorded to the tea industry to enable it to compete in the world market.

The grant of exemption from the payment of excise duty on tea waste is not viewed well by the industry. Such action, it is said, would dangerously affect the future of Indian tea. It has been one of the greatest endeavours of the industry to improve the quality of its products and the ready appearance of "fluff," "sweepings" and stalky tea on the market will tend to affect adversely the quality of Indian tea and may harm its international reputation. The exemption of tea waste

from excise duty may result in low quality of the product and it will be an indulgence to uneconomic enterprises with inefficient management. If exemption of excise duty is to be allowed, all qualities should enjoy the same facility without any discrimination.

We agree on this question of improvement of quality. So long the tea market was a sellers market, the greed of the producer for profit made him sacrifice quality to such an extent that to-day even the costliest brands are poor in flavour and liquor. Labour took note of the enormous profits and made demands accordingly and the government, through the medium of the mediocrities in charge of Labour assented, without even thinking of the future.

Now the inevitable has happened. Abroad it is a buyer's market where price *cum* quality is the only consideration. At home the poor consumer is the main sufferer, and is likely to remain so unless it makes up its mind to rebel, when internal consumption will also drop despite all the bumbling of the Tea Marketing Board and bungling by the government. We append the latest tea report from Britain to show the competition Indian tea will face in future.

Rationing and price control of tea, which had been in force since July 1940, ended on 5th October. Tea can now be bought freely without a ration book.

In a statement announcing this step the Ministry of Food pointed out that it resulted from a steady improvement in tea production, especially in the Commonwealth countries of India, Pakistan and Ceylon from which the United Kingdom obtained most of its tea. The distributive trade had now built up sufficient supplies of packeted tea in anticipation of derationing. The shops were fully stocked and there was ample tea in the country to meet demand. (Tea consumption in the United Kingdom before the second World War was about 508 million lb. a year).

In recent weeks, the statement continued, the retail prices of many blends of tea had fallen below their controlled prices. It was now possible, therefore, to remove price control without risk of a shortage of supplies which would lead to a rise in prices, and this would enable the trade to provide the consumer with the greatest possible choice of blends.

All other restrictions on the sale of tea by wholesale and by retail have also been lifted.

Consequential relaxations in import and export licensing arrangements were announced by the Board of Trade. With effect from 5th October tea from the sterling area can be imported without restriction, and from several other countries under open general licence. From 6th October tea can be exported without an export licence to any destination except Far Eastern territories where general restrictions are in force.

The following table shows the quantities and value of imports of tea into the United Kingdom in 1950 and 1951 respectively:

Imports of Tea into the United Kingdom

	Quantities (thousand lb.)		Values (£ thous.)	
	1950	1951	1950	1951
Kenya	2,330	3,565	304	563
Nyasaland	7,910	12,705	986	1,841
India	239,112	276,225	34,705	44,423
Pakistan	18,039	34,735	3,301	5,175
Ceylon	93,756	110,271	13,838	20,011
Other Commonwealth countries	1,733	3,963	291	615
China	389	157	79	28
Other foreign countries	5,276	23,069	883	3,354
Totals	338,572	461,690	57,387	76,315

Re-exports of tea from the United Kingdom totalled 12.8 thousand lb., valued at £3.1 million in 1950 and 13.2 thousand lb., valued at £3.2 million in 1951.

Industrial Finance Corporation

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, replying to the demand made by several members of the House of the People for disclosure of the names of the concerns to which loans have been granted by the Industrial Finance Corporation, asked the House today to wait for the Government's decision till the Finance Minister returned from London.

Mr. Nehru recalled that, yesterday, his colleague in charge of the Bill had found some difficulty in giving the names of the concerns because of the policy so far pursued in this matter. Indeed, only a few days ago the Finance Minister, answering a question, had said that the borrowing concerns were entitled to the secrecy which was customary between a banker and the customer with regard to their financial transactions, and it would not be in the public interest to furnish this information.

"I am no expert in regard to the conduct of banks either from the borrowing or the other point of view. So I tried to bring my fresh layman's mind to bear upon this question. The first thing obviously which struck me was that we have followed a policy and proceeded on the basis of that and given certain assurances to parties, and it would not be fair regardless of other considerations for us to go behind those assurances, in so far as they have been given without the consent of the parties concerned.

"Secondly, my colleague, the Finance Minister, who is most intimately concerned with this matter, has been following this policy, and I should not like, without consulting him, to say anything definite about this matter. Nevertheless, I realize completely that there is force in what some members stated in this House, and that this matter should be considered fully at a little later stage when the Finance Minister is here."

It should be remembered, Mr. Nehru said, that the Industrial Finance Corporation was an autonomous corporation. No doubt it was responsible to the Government. But, normally speaking, in regard to autonomous organi-

zations Parliament did not interfere in their normal day-to-day activities. Of course, it could wind them up, if necessary, or inquire into any serious misfeasance. That was a different matter. But the very idea of putting up autonomous organizations was that they should have freedom to carry on their business subject to certain overall policy or control by the Government or Parliament.

The firms to which money was lent, he understood, were public limited companies. The relationship between the Government and the Industrial Finance Corporation was somewhat different on the one hand, between, say, the Damodar Valley Corporation and the Government. The DVC was a completely Government organization. On the other hand, the relationship of the Finance Corporation lending money to these people could not be entirely equated, so far as he could see, with that of a private banker doing it. So this corporation stood in a third intermediate category, and considerations on either side could be advanced.

For the moment, Mr. Nehru said, he would not like to say anything definite as to what the future policy in regard to this matter should be. If any undertakings or assurances had been given or any policies stated, he would not like to go behind them so far as the past was concerned without consulting the parties concerned, and more especially the Finance Minister when he came back. The future policy could also be considered then and laid before the House. Representatives of the House would also be consulted.

In regard to this, there was the question of not merely stating the names of those to whom money had been lent but also of those to whom money had not been given or whose applications had been rejected. If the fact was published that the Corporation had not given money to a particular firm, it might hurt its credit. Then again, if the House discussed the affairs of a public company to which money had been given and such details, that would not be in keeping with the normal practice of the House and various difficulties would arise.

Concluding, Mr. Nehru said that if in any particular case any member of the House had in his possession information which led him to suspect that something wrong had occurred, the Government would very gladly inquire into the matter if he would place that information before them.

This move by some members had its origin in the dissatisfaction at the method of granting loans. It is rumoured that loans have been given on the basis of the personal interests of certain powerful financiers and not on the merit of the applicant firms. The sooner this matter is threshed out the better.

Steel-merger

The President of India in an ordinance has ordered for the amalgamation of the Indian Iron and Steel

Company and the Steel Corporation of Bengal. The merger is to take effect from January 1, 1953. The Tariff Board and the Tariff Commissions had repeatedly recommended the merger. A technical mission of the International Bank for Development and Reconstruction, which visited India, assured that the Bank could make available a loan of Rs. 15 crores if the two companies were merged. The India Government also have promised to grant a further loan of Rs. 10 crores interest-free for the first four years and bearing no fixed maturing date. Sir Biren Mukherji is now in America for finalizing the loan agreement with the International Bank.

According to Mr. T. Leslie Martin, Chairman of IISCO and SCOB, the effect of the amalgamation would be a considerable expansion in the production of steel by the two companies. The annual production of saleable steel and pig iron would increase from about 300,000 tons and 140,000 tons at present to 700,000 tons and 400,000 tons respectively in 1957. Together with the steel produced by the Tatas (700,000 tons) and the manufacturers with small electric furnaces (200,000 tons)

India's total steel production was expected to reach the level of 1.6 m tons per annum in 1957. It would fall short of the country's requirements, which were estimated to be between 2 m tons and 2½ m tons, by 400,000 tons to 900,000 tons.

The Law is Sacrosanct ?

Moving the Bill for consideration, Dr. Katiu, Home Minister, said the object of the Bill was that the appellate authority for the State of Coorg, which was at present vested in the Madras High Court should now be changed and vested in the Mysore High Court. "I should like to make one point quite clear," the Home Minister said "that this Bill just means what it says. It touches no other question which is intended to have an impact on any other question relating to Coorg. This is the gist of the matter while other sections in the Bill are purely consequential to this."

In Mysore there was a very efficient judiciary and a competent High Court. It was very near to Coorg. Litigants from Coorg had to go to Madras now through Mysore. The language of Coorg and Mysore was also common. It was for these reasons that it had been decided to vest the appellate authority for the State of Coorg with the Mysore High Court.

Mr. C. G. K. Reddy (Praja Socialist—Mysore), opposing the Bill said the Mysore High Court had never administered speedy justice to the people of Mysore. "I do not think the people of Coorg have deserved the infliction of the High Court of Mysore on them."

Speaking amidst constant interruptions from the Congress benches, Mr. Reddy said the Mysore High Court had failed to give not only "speedy justice but justice as well." It gave him considerable pain that he

should say something which the people of Mysore so far dare not say about their High Court.

The Home Minister, intervening, said that all this was quite irrelevant to the Bill and improper as the conduct of the judiciary could not be criticized in the House.

The Chairman asked Mr. Reddy to confine himself to the Bill under discussion.

During the last two years, Mr. Reddy said, not one writ of mandamus, habeas corpus, or any other writ had been decided by the Mysore High Court. There had been cases when habeas corpus applications had been kept pending and heard by the High Court only when the prisoner had been released.

"It is a matter," Mr. Reddy said, "on which it is not possible ordinarily to complain and, therefore, I have taken the opportunity of bringing to the notice of the Home Minister what is happening in the High Court of Mysore."

Mr. M. Govinda Reddy (Cong.—Mysore) said he did not hold any brief for the Mysore High Court but he would observe "the decency not to make allegations against it." He claimed that the Mysore High Court had all along been recognized as being on a par with other High Courts in the country.

Replying to the debate, the Home Minister, Dr. Katiu, said the question of High Court judges in Part B States being put on an equal footing with judges in Part A States was engaging the attention of the Government. Coorg had a permanent population of only 180,000 and a fleeting population of 50,000. A High Court for such a State would be a costly luxury and an impracticable proposition.

He was distressed to hear comments about the working of High Courts. The judiciary in this country had functioned with the greatest amount of impartiality and regardless of creed or caste. One could not say in the same breath that the working of democratic institutions depended upon an independent judiciary and also give expression to opinions which were calculated to bring that judiciary into contempt. If there were evils in the functioning of courts, representations could be made to bar associations and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

During the third reading of the Bill, Mr. C. G. K. Reddy said he had not cast aspersions on the Mysore High Court. He had only pointed out that the High Court was deficient in certain respects. If discussions on such a subject were shut out from Parliament, members would have to bring substantive motions against judges even on trivial matters. He was seriously considering whether he would not have to do it soon.

There is a tendency amongst the legal luminaries of the House of People to stop all criticism of the High Courts as being akin to blasphemy. This attitude we are unable to appreciate. We certainly agree that it would be disastrous if the highest tribunals of

justice were brought into contempt. But we would be relieved if we could be convinced that the gentlemen who adorn those august bodies are aware of their own obligations in that matter. Today the people are getting highly involved interpretations of Law—but not Justice that is apparent, immediate and within the reach of all. This is not a satisfactory position and Dr. Katju is very much mistaken if he considers it to be so.

Adulteration of Ghee

Dr. Desmukh, Minister for Agriculture, said in the House of the People that the Ghee Adulteration Committee had made three principal recommendations in regard to vanaspati, and the Government had accepted two of the recommendations. Necessary steps to implement them were being taken under the Vegetable Oil Products Control Order.

The recommendations were that the Government should ensure by law that every lot of vanaspati produced in a factory should be accompanied by a certificate that the Baudouin test had been carried out to detect the presence of sesame oil. Efforts should be made to make extensive use of this test.

Secondly, vanaspati should be fortified with synthetic Vitamin A so that its nutritive value could be increased.

Lastly, all vanaspati produced in the country should be coloured orange by using carotene oil concentrate as a colouring medium in addition to the incorporation of sesame oil.

Dr. Desmukh said the Government did not accept the last recommendation because colour by carotene oil was of an unstable nature.

What we would like to know is whether the Government wants to stop adulteration of Ghee and Butter. Stable dyes and pigments that were non-poisonous are available. But they are not considered. We would like to know why.

Corruption in Officialdom

The House of the People on Nov. 28 focussed its attention on the issue of corruption in the administration.

The House was discussing a non-official resolution moved by the Akali leader, Sardar Hukum Singh, suggesting the setting-up of an Investigation Commission to enquire into the wealth and fortune of Government officials throughout India.

While Sri N. V. Gadgil suggested forfeiture of property, deprivation of citizenship rights and even whipping or hanging in extreme cases, Sri R. Velayudhan recommended building up of the national character as the only remedy.

Most of the members spoke in general terms but the Deputy Leader of the Socialist Party, Sri Sarangadhar Das, referred to two specific instances and alleged that Government spokesmen had "shielded" the officers

concerned in both Houses of Parliament when questions were put about them in the current session.

The Deputy Speaker, Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, ruled out a point of order raised by a Congress member that the resolution was 'ultra vires' of the Constitution.

Sardar Hukum Singh then moved his resolution which called upon the Government to take steps to investigate into "the wealth, fortune or property, whether held in his own name or of any member or members of family, jointly or severally, of any person holding office under the Constitution and of Government officials throughout the country."

Sardar Hukum Singh said that in moving the resolution he had no other motive but to get the services purified. Corruption was rampant and insidious and, therefore, an all-out offensive was necessary.

Urging the Government to accept the spirit behind his resolution, Sardar Hukum Singh said: "We cannot progress unless some step similar to the one I have suggested in my resolution is taken at once to convince the masses that Government does mean business, that it is wedded to the eradication of the evil that is sapping the vitality of our community."

Sri Shankar Rao Telkikar (Congress—Bombay) opposing the resolution said that it was not "in keeping with the dignity of the country." It sought to reverse the dictum that every person was innocent unless he was proved guilty.

Sri Sarangadhar Das, Deputy Leader of the Praja-Socialist Party, supporting the resolution, charged that Ministers were "shielding" people. "If we go on in this way," he said, "we are encouraging corruption. Corruption will go down to the lowest strata of our society. In this way we are ruining our country and I accuse that the Government of the day is the cause of the ruination of our country, the loss of our morals, the loss of every thing that we and our forefathers cherished. Government should be up and doing. They should not shilly-shally with the problem."

Before the war, one never heard of I.C.S. officers doing anything to bring a blemish on the service, though there was corruption in the lower rungs of the ladder here and there. "Now, the highest officers and the people who rule the country above those officers are so much involved in this corruption that it becomes very necessary to have a resolution of this kind," Sri Das said.

Sri Bhagwant Jha Azal (Congress—Bihar) wanted Government to strike at the top in order to end corruption.

Sri K. Raghuramaiah (Congress—Madras) urged that the issue of corruption should not be used for political ends. It should be treated as a national issue.

He said even Ministers should not be immune from prosecutions in cases of corruption. He wanted Government to set up a tribunal, envisaged in the Tek Chand

Committee, to ensure expeditious disposal of cases against officials.

Sri K. Anandan Nambiar (Communist—Madras) said persons should be encouraged to come forward and give evidence without any fear of danger to their personal safety. Government should provide this measure of safety, otherwise out of fear of victimisation, people would not come forward and give evidence.

Sri N. V. Gadgil (Congress—Bombay), former Minister, said it was not true that only petty officials had been prosecuted. Between 1947 and the end of June, 1,552, 118 Gazetted officers were prosecuted, 21 cases were pending and 37 convictions had been secured.

These were regarding Central services. The States had also taken action.

Corruption, Sri Gadgil said, was not a problem which was special to this country. It arose in every Democracy, fortunately for this country, administrators were recruited under a system of merit and not a system of patronage. What had to be done today was to effect such changes in the system of administration that it would be possible to combine Democracy with good Government.

While welcoming the idea contained in the resolution, Sri Gadgil felt there must be restriction on a Government servant leaving his service before his time of retirement and joining a commercial firm.

In the new set-up, when the country was changing over from a 'laissez faire' economy to an economy of planned production and distribution, he said, a higher type of administrator was absolutely necessary. The Planning Commission was laying down certain standards in this connection.

Sri Gadgil proposed the complete forfeiture of property in certain cases and the deprivation of the rights of citizenship in extreme cases.

Sri Gadgil also suggested that if specific cases of corruption were brought forward by responsible persons like members of Parliament there must be some agency not necessarily judicial to begin with, to which they could be referred. Anonymous letters must also be taken notice of in suitable cases, although some might be true and some not true.

Malanism

The 60-nation special Political Committee of the U. N. on November 20, rejected by 45 votes to six with eight abstentions, the South African claim that the UN was not competent to consider the Union's apartheid policies. The Committee then adopted by 35 votes to eight with 18 abstentions a proposal that a fact-finding commission be appointed to study the racial situation in South Africa in the light of the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. By 33 votes to seven with 15 abstentions the Committee invited the Government of South Africa to extend its full co-operation to the Commission and requested the UN Secretary-General to provide the Commission with necessary staff and facilities. Britain, Canada, and

New Zealand voted against the Resolution. Mr. Llewellyn (Britain) said his Government held the view that the UN would be treading on the wrong road if it started "to invade on matters essentially in the domestic jurisdiction of member States." This course, according to Britain, might in the end make the world organisation known not as the UN but as the "disunited nations." The British delegation regarded the entire debate on this matter as "out of order."

Subsequent to the passing of the above UN Resolution against South Africa, Dr. Danges, South Africa's Minister for Interior, said on November 21, that the Union Government would ignore the UN Resolution for the appointment of a three-man fact-finding commission to inquire into the Union's apartheid policy. South Africa, he said, would not be a party to "such a transparent breach of the UN Charter." If adopted by the General Assembly, it would be just another UN Resolution that would be disregarded by the people to whom it was addressed. "This resolution would be just another nail in the coffin of the U.N.," said he.

The origins of the present tension lie in the constitutional crisis precipitated by the Malan Government's determination to put the Cape coloured people on a separate electoral role from Europeans. It is true that Mr. Strauss and the United Party are, in general, in favour of a policy of segregation for Africans. But when the Nationalists proceeded to hack their way through the tangle of race relations, at almost any cost in terms of public opinion and constitutional procedure, it has had an effect of delayed shock on the opposition, white and non-white alike. When the Separate Representation of Voters Bill was declared unconstitutional by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, Dr. Malan pushed through a High Court of Parliament Act; as a result of this, the Government's parliamentary supporters sitting as a High Court—opposition members and senators boycotted the session—overrode the Supreme Court's ruling. Lately the High Court of Parliament Act itself has been declared null and void by the Cape Division of Supreme Court, and the appeal by the Government against this ruling has been turned down in Bloemfontein by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court itself. It is not surprising therefore that what started as a constitutional crisis, caused by a deliberate political decision affecting the everyday life of a large section of the community, should now be reflected in a nation-wide sense of uncertainty, frustration and fear. Dr. Malan has only himself to blame for the way his opponents are reacting to the provocation he has given them.

The situation in South Africa is progressively worsening. Following the race riots in Port Elizabeth last month in which eleven people were killed, there have now been outbursts at Kimberley and East London. At Kimberley at least thirteen people,

all Africans, were killed and at East London ten, including two Europeans. Instead of trying to bridge the gap between his administration and the Africans by creating new machinery for consultation—there has been practically none since the Natives' Representative Council was allowed to lapse by the present Government—Dr. Malan has only aggravated the deadlock in race relations by more and more use of force. Instead of recognising the truth, he is now blaming the Indians as the people primarily responsible for what is happening in South Africa. Dr. Malan recently accused the British of letting down the white races in Africa by their "policies in the Gold Coast.

Indians in South Africa

The *Indian Opinion*, edited by Shree Manilal Gandhi, quoted, in an article entitled "The Creation of a Historic Myth" by C. W. M. Gell, the following paragraph from the pamphlet on the "Group Areas Act" by Mr. Kenneth Kirkwood. Mr. Kirkwood took it from the Joint Report of the Land Tenure Act Amendment Committee upon which the Malan Government relied for evidence to support their 'apartheid' (segregation) legislation.

"A perusal of the evidence summarised in chapters 1 to 3 hereof shows that the Indian came to South Africa as an indentured labourer against the wishes of the European inhabitants of Natal. They did not want the Indian and they feared the curses which they believed would come upon the country with the advent of the Indian."

After quoting the above, Mr. Gell goes on to say :

"In the first place we are placed at a disadvantage because Chapters 1 to 3 of the Report were not published and we cannot, therefore, examine the evidence upon which the authors of this Report came to a conclusion exactly contrary to that of Volume VIII of *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*. But the recent publication of Bishop Ferguson Davie's pamphlet *The Early History of the Indians in Natal* which is based upon much the same documentary evidence as the Joint Committee professes to have studied, largely repairs the omission. The Bishop's conclusions wholly support the Cambridge History and altogether refute the Joint Committee. It may be argued that this is yet another instance of honest disagreement between minds dispassionately studying the same evidence; and this contention might be sustained if we were able to see—as we can in the Bishop's pamphlet—exactly what sources the Committee consulted and how it handled the evidence. But no reputable historian or impartial layman will feel disposed to accept an unsupported conclusion which runs so contrary to the known facts.

In my copy of Bishop Ferguson Davie's pamphlet, which covers the year 1850-87, I have marked twenty

passages in which contemporary opinion for or against the introduction of Indian indentured ("coolie") labour is quoted. In only four of these passages is opposition to or reservation about the proposal expressed. Two of these four relate to the evidence before and conclusions of the Wragg Commission of 1885-88 and only two—the voices of the Rev. W. Holden and Dr. Charles Johnston—to the period before the initial decision was made in 1860.

No doubt there were other individual dissentients whose opinions have not come down to us. If the Joint Report had said that the Indians came "against the wishes of some of the European inhabitants," the statement would have been true but not very significant. Because it is quite clear that, since reliable and regular African labour was not available to work the plantations of the Natal coast, the consensus of opinion of the overwhelming majority of the Natal European population was in favour of the introduction of indentured labour, which only India could be found able to supply in sufficient numbers and on acceptable terms. The preponderance of those in favour is shown by the passing of the second reading of Law 14 of 1159 (permitting the importation of coolies under specified conditions) through the Natal parliament without a division—and that the demand of Indian labour was not confined to the planters is proved by the very high proportion among the early applications for Indians for domestic and other general occupations up country.

Now I think it is also clear from Bishop Ferguson Davie's pamphlet that Natal did not get Indians on terms which the Europeans altogether approved. But in fact, if they wanted Indian labour, they had no choice in the manner of terms, for those were imposed by the Government of India as the condition on which alone it was prepared to sanction indentured emigration. The evidence for this is the correspondence between the Governments of Natal and India which preceded the opening of coolie immigration, the text of Law 14 of 1859 and the further assurance for the proper performance of the terms which the Natal Government had to give the Government of India before the latter permitted the resumption of emigration in 1874. There were some in those days in Natal—and more particularly at the time of the Wragg Commission ten years later—who believed, as others like to believe to-day that Natal got its Indians on the understanding that they must re-enter indenture on the expiry of their contracts or immediately return to India. Many Europeans then, as to-day, feared Indian economic competition, though a few saw that it might be in the interests of the community as a whole. But the Government of India confronted Natal either with the cessation of Indian immigration or with allowing the Indian to choose at the end of his five years' indenture to remain in South Africa or a free passage. Throughout this early period the benefits occurring from Indian labour were so obvious and immense that Indian immigration was welcomed almost unanimously despite its (from a European

racial point of view) attendant disadvantages. Between the economic recession of the mid '80's, out of which the Wragg Commission arose, and 1911, when the Government of India (not the Governments of Natal or the Union which strenuously opposed the decision) finally stopped indentured emigration to this country, there was a period of gradually increasing friction. A poll tax of £25 (reduced to £3 by the intervention of the Government of India) was imposed on unindentured Indians in 1893 to induce them to return to India. In 1896 Indians lost the parliamentary franchise in Natal and that colony prohibited free Indian immigration in 1897. The Transvaal in 1885 passed the first of a series of discriminatory measures against Indians, the Free State expelled all Asiatics in 1891 and the Cape restricted Indian immigration in 1906. But despite all this evidence of growing European concern with the economic activities of free or freed Indians, the importation of coolies steadily continued. In 1880 there were 21,000 Indians in Natal; in 1891, 41,000; in 1904, 101,000; and in 1911, 133,000. From 1860-1911 142,000 Indian indentured labourers were imported into Natal under laws passed by the government of that colony. Indentured immigration accounts for 81 per cent of the total immigration into the Union.

In view of these facts which verdict can we choose, that of the Joint Committee or Hofmeyr's? He wrote: 'If our history proves anything, it is this—that however we may regard our Asiatic problem, the fact that it came into existence is due to the European and to the European alone....The self-interest of the European brought the Indian to South.' And this verdict is no whit invalidated by the fact that Indians were willing to emigrate under contract from poverty-stricken parts of India in the hope (later fulfilled) of improving their economic condition. Neither they nor their Government sought to force their entry here. On the contrary, the Europeans of Natal besought them to come.

Wherever it has been practised, racialism has necessitated the deliberate creation of historical myth. Three recent instances spring to mind. There was the thesis, promulgated after the death of General Smuts in preparation for the Coloured Franchise Bill, that the Cape delegates to the National Convention wished to abolish the Coloured and Native vote but were overruled by the British Government. Then there was this *canard* about how the Indians first came to this country, in an attempt to justify the residential and economic discrimination of the Group Areas Act. Now Dr. Malan discovers that the British Government originally gave the vote to the Cape Coloureds and Natives to prevent the Cape Afrikaners establishing a republic. Are we shortly to expect a measure to abolish the Native Representatives?"

Pioneers of Labour Movement in India

The late Sasipada Banerji was, perhaps, the first to organise industrial labour in India—the labour that was minting money in the jute mills at Baranagore

on the Hoogly in the neighbourhood of Calcutta; he started in 1874 the first "working class journal" in India—the *Bharat Sramajibee*, containing "wood-cuts from English blocks" imported all the way from Britain; for the safe custody of working-class savings he helped the organization of a "District Savings Bank," popularly known as the "Anna Bank," for even an anna deposit was accepted. The fellow-workers of pioneers like these in the other provinces were Kundukuri Veerasalingam who started "Ragged schools" in Madras; in Bombay, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Sapurji Sorabji Bangali and Dayaldas Ratausi; in Ahmedabad, Bhola Nath Sarabhai, Ranchorlal Chotelal, Mahiputram Rupram, Nilkanta and Syamji Krishna Varma.

Dwarka Nath Gangopadhyaya was another pioneer in the most necessary preliminary of all labour uplift—enquiry and study of labour conditions that suppress the human element in labour. For this he risked his life. Pandit Ram Kumar Vidyaratna, a missionary of the Brahmo Samaj, in course of his missionary tour in Assam where tea gardens had been opened and working under European auspices, came to know of facts in tea garden "coolie" life; a new form of wage-slavery. He recounted his experience to his Calcutta co-religionists, of whom Dwarka Nath volunteered to gather first-hand information of these facts; he disguised himself as a "coolie," worked in tea gardens, saw and felt what life in them were. On return to Calcutta he gave publicity to his personal experiences in the columns of the *Sanjibanee* and the *Bengalee*, the English weekly, edited by Surendranath Banerjee. These articles entitled—"Slave Trade in Assam"—created a sensation, and great was the wrath of "Planter Raj" in Assam—a limb of imperial exploitation.

Since then we have had any number of organizations to voice the feelings of labour, organized and disorganized, employed in industrial plants or as tillers of the soil.

Indian Proposal on Korea

The Indian proposal for ending the Korean deadlock has met with opposition because of irreconcilable Russo-American antagonism.

According to the *PTI-Reuter* dispatch of November 17 from the U. N. Headquarters:

"The resolution firstly establishes a repatriation commission, consisting of representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland—neutral commission mentioned in the draft armistice agreement—or constituted alternatively of representatives of four States not participating in hostilities, two nominated by each side, but excluding representatives of the Big Five."

"2.—It asserts that repatriation of prisoners shall be effected in accordance with the Geneva Convention, international law and relevant provisions of the draft agreement (reference here is to Art. 51 of the agreement which says that all prisoners must be repatriated)."

"3.—Force shall not be used against prisoners 'to prevent or effect their return to their homelands.'

"4.—All prisoners shall be released to the above indicated repatriation commission 'from military control and from custody of the detaining side in agreed numbers and at agreed exchange points in agreed demilitarized zones.'

"5.—Classification of prisoners according to nationality domicile 'as proposed in the letter of Oct. 16 from Gen. Kim Il Sung, North Korean Supreme Commander, to Gen. Clark, shall then be carried out immediately.'

"6.—After classification the prisoners shall be free to return to their homelands and their free return shall be facilitated by all the parties concerned.

"7.—According to arrangements prescribed by the repatriation commission, each side shall have the freedom and facilities 'to explain to the prisoners their rights' regarding the immediate future.

"8.—Red Cross teams of both sides shall assist the commission in its work.

"9.—The prisoners have the freedom to approach the commission.

"10.—Article 3 above notwithstanding, the repatriation commission will be authorized to 'exercise legitimate functions' for prisoner control.

"11, 12 and 13.—After agreement on repatriation proposals as adumbrated in the Indian resolution the interpretation thereof shall rest with the repatriation commission. In the event of disagreement in the commission, the majority decision will prevail. In the absence of a majority decision, it is agreed that the umpire shall have the deciding vote.

"14.—Prior to the armistice and at its first meeting, the repatriation commission shall agree upon and appoint an umpire. If the commission is unable to agree on an umpire within three weeks of its first meeting, the matter shall be referred to the General Assembly.

"15 and 16.—Arrangements for repatriation will begin when an armistice agreement is concluded.

"17.—At the end of 90 days the position of any prisoners whose return to their homelands has not been effected in accordance with the above 16 proposals shall be referred by the repatriation commission to the political conference envisaged in Art. 60 of the draft armistice agreement.

"A preamble to the resolution lays down the principle that force shall not be used 'to prevent or effect' the return of prisoners to their homelands."

The resolution requested the President of the U.N. General Assembly, Mr. Pearson to transmit the proposals to Communist China and North Korea and to make a report to the Assembly on the results of that communication.

The Indian resolution was not accepted by the U.S.A. on the ground that she could not "accept any machinery which would deliver prisoners, possibly by

force, into the 'indefinite custody' of some repatriation machinery."

Britain supported the Indian proposals and there was an apparent conflict between the British and American points of view. Mr. Eden had an interview with the U.S. President-elect, Mr. Eisenhower, in order to ascertain his views. Press reports indicated that Mr. Eden was quite content with his conversations with the President-elect. He offered renewed support for the Indian proposal and proposed certain amendments to the points which related to the Umpire in the repatriation commission and to the manner in which any prisoners who did not return home should be dealt with.

After much persuasion by the British the U. S. delegation announced that it could accept the Indian plan provided it was amended to include the following three principles:

"(1) There shall be no forcible repatriation of prisoners;

"(2) Any repatriation commission set up shall be workable; and

"(3) There shall be no 'forcible detention' of prisoners."

On November 24, the *PTI-Reuters* reported that India had amended her proposals. The revised draft made changes in respect of two of the 17 proposals in the original draft that Mr. Eden, British Foreign Secretary, had wanted altered, when he had supported the draft resolution in principle, in the political committee on November 20.

They were in respect of function of the Umpire and disposition of non-repatriable prisoners through a political conference if the Repatriation Commission was unable to send back all prisoners. The revised proposals read:

Proposal 14: "The Repatriation Commission shall at its first meeting and prior to armistice proceed to agree upon and appoint an Umpire who shall at all times be available to the Commission and shall act as its chairman unless otherwise agreed."

(The change is the additional provision that the Umpire shall at all times be available to the Commission and shall act as chairman unless otherwise agreed. No change in the rest of Proposal 14).

Proposal 17: "At the end of 90 days after the armistice agreement has been signed the disposition of any prisoners of war whose return to their homelands may not have been effected in accordance with the procedure set out in these proposals or as otherwise agreed shall be referred with recommendations for their disposition, including a target date for the termination of their detention, to the Political Conference to be called as provided under Article 60 of the Draft Armistice Agreement. If at the end of a further 60 days there are any prisoners of war whose return to their homelands has not been effected or provided for by the Political Conference, the responsibility for their care and maintenance until the end of their detention shall be transferred to the U.N."

The same day the Indian's plan to settle the deadlock in Korea was rejected by the Soviet Foreign Minister, M. Vyshinsky on the ground that a paragraph of the Indian draft resolution subscribing to the principle of non-forcible repatriation of prisoners was not compatible with Articles 118 and 119 of the General Convention of 1949.

He rejected the suggestion contained in paragraph 14 of the resolution that the Umpire should be appointed by the U. N. General Assembly because the U. N. was itself a warring party and that would be tantamount to allowing one of the parties in a law case to be appointed as 'judge in his own trial.'

In his opinion the Indian proposal was "not designed to end the Korean war but to perpetuate it. It is therefore unsatisfactory and unacceptable."

Speaking after M. Vyshinsky, Mr. Dean Acheson on behalf of the U.S.A. deplored the stand taken by the Soviet Foreign Minister. He described the Indian resolution as "a most important and statesmanlike effort." He said that the Government of the U.S.A. was prepared to support the resolution if certain objections were met. According to the *PTI-Reuter* dispatch, "Mr. Acheson's main objection to the Indian resolution was the provision that the fate of any prisoner should be referred to a political conference on Asian matters, which, he said, might last for years. He said his Government had 'grave doubts' about the desirability of referring the POW question to such a conference."

Regarding the question of choosing an "Umpire" for the Repatriation Commission, Mr. Acheson thought that the suggestion of Mr. Eden, British Foreign Secretary that this Umpire should play an integral part in the commission was an 'improvement' on the original Indian plan.

"He said that the most discouraging impression from M. Vyshinsky's speech was that such an Umpire might never be selected and that, in fact, M. Vyshinsky did not appear to like the idea of an Umpire at all."

Mr. Acheson's speech closed the Political Committee's general debate.

We now await the results of further pourparlers between the Indian delegates and the representatives of the Soviet Bloc.

Tovarish Bahadur ?

The following letter has appeared in the *Indian Worker* for November 13, regarding the speech of Mr. Gopalan, M.P., the leader of the Communist group in Parliament, at Moscow :

"The burden of the speech was to paint India with a big black brush and to praise and adore and sing to Moscow and her satellites. Mr. Gopalan said :

"On behalf of the freedom-loving democratic people of India who demonstrated their will in no unmistakable terms in the last elections and more recently with the foodgifts of the Soviet Trade Unions, I greet great Soviet people..

"Your people's magnificent achievements in the Soviet Union and also the achievements of People's China and the countries of People's Democracy stand out sharply against the conditions in our own country—famine, unemployment, ever-rising cost of living, mounting taxation and other increasing military and police expenditure and restrictions on civil liberties. . . . There is food, famine in India, as you know, in Rayalaseema, Travancore-Cochin, Malabar, Sunderbans and other parts of Bengal. It was the Soviet Union and People's China who offered help to the famine-stricken people of India at a time when the American imperialist profiteers were dumping rotten wheat and spoiled cotton in our country."

Continuing his speech he pledged on behalf of the Indian communists of their loyalty to Soviet Russia and promised her dictators that they would work for the 'liberation' of India for the benefit of Moscow. He said : "We communists in India not only have great regard and affection for the great party of Lenin and Stalin but are deeply indebted to it and especially to Comrade Stalin. He has been and is our great teacher. We shall strive further towards mastering Marxism-Leninism and follow the path so brilliantly illumined by Comrade Stalin so as to serve still better our own people, to bring them rapidly into the democratic camp, led by the Soviet Union."

Mr. Gopalan's speech should be taken up by the Indian Parliament and he should be turned out from its deliberations and denationalised."

In the old days of the British regime there used to be a class of titled lick-spittles whose abject flattery of the dominant Britisher was a source of ribald mirth, along the ruling class. We thought that the tradition had gone for ever, but it seems we are wrong. The breed of Omichands seems to be a lasting curse for us. S

"India is Not Going Communist"

Sometime ago three articles appeared in *The New Leader* of New York on the Communist movement in India. Writing under the pseudonym *Cato*, an Indian political expert analysed the various aspects of Indian Communism, the Government of India's attitude towards the problem and the relationship between the Government of the U.S.A. and the people and Government of India in facing the situation. The writer concluded that Communists were gaining in India and the Government of India was not quite aware of the inherent danger and that the policy of the Government of the U.S.A. was also hesitating in fighting the danger.

The main points made by *Cato* were as follows: The Communist party saw that it was being isolated by following the 'ultra-leftist path' followed in 1948-49. The Cominform gave a new directive in January 1951 and the Party changed its tactics to a 'United front' policy therefore. The first fruits were the election gains in certain areas of Madras,

Travancore-Cochin and Hyderabad, and a few in the North-East.

The second point was that the C.P.I. and the Congress both were supporting the theory that the nationals of India had only these two paths before them, Congress or Communism.

The third point was that the intelligentsia was split in its opinion and thereby its will to resist Communism was lowered. This was partially the result of the flood of Communist literature that came before the young men and women of the country who were hungry for serious reading material. The Communist press was expanding as they had a sufficiency of funds and materials.

It was further pointed out that good use was made of New China as an example, specially before those who were disillusioned about the Soviets.

Lastly, he said, the Kashmir National Conference was heavily infiltrated and even the New Indian Cabinet was not free from blemish.

Refuting the assertions of *Cato*, Sardar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, writes in *The New Leader* of October 6, 1952, under the above caption, that Communists were "not gaining in India, or, for that matter, in South-east Asia generally." He further contradicts *Cato* and affirms that "Nehru is fighting Communism."

Exposing the fallacy of *Cato's* contention that the general elections indicated the growing strength of the Communists in India Sardar Singh says that technically speaking that is correct. "But when you look at the figures, their relevance and importance disappear." Of the 489 seats in the House of the People whereas Congress secured 362 seats, Independents 41, the Communists got only 23 seats. Moreover, if the number of votes polled by a party is an indication of its growing of strength and popularity, then the position of Communists become even less significant. Though the Socialist Party could gain only 12 seats in the House of the People, it polled more than double the votes of the Communist Party. The Communists polled 4.9 per cent of the votes while the Socialists polled 11 per cent.

Moreover, the behaviour of the Communists in the first session of the Parliament and "their use of the Big Lie technique" deprived them of any "glamour" they might have possessed and made them "objects of ridicule in the eyes of many."

Mr. Singh proceeds on to disprove *Cato's* disputation that the Communists were gaining in strength since the General elections, as was borne out by Municipal elections in Hyderabad. He writes, "*Cato* must be chagrined to find that, since he wrote his articles, in the same state of Hyderabad on September 12, the Congress party won two seats formerly held by Communists, and not in a 'Municipal' election but in State Legislature elections. In addition, two Communists deserted to the Congress party and two 'independents' joined the Congress party government.

This certainly does not show that the Communists are gaining."

Next he dispels *Cato's* fear that all discontent against the Government was likely to be canalized into Communist channels on the instance of the merger of two of India's largest non-Communist opposition parties. The Socialist Party and the K.M.P.P. between them polled 17 per cent of the total vote in the last election. Their merger and the emergence of a Socialist-Praja party would, in the words of Jayaprakash Narayan, "create a new political force of considerable strength in the country," which would act as an effective counterbalance to the Communist party.

It was true that a mass of Communist literature was to be found in India and they were "avidly read by youngmen and women hungry for serious reading material, which is not otherwise available to them." As an antidote to this Mr. Singh recommends "the publication of books on Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Franklin D. Roosevelt and others, and their sale at a nominal price all over South and South-east Asia." He emphasizes that the books must be sold and not given away. In his opinion "one reason why U. S. propaganda in Asia has not succeeded is that everything is given away."

To *Cato's* accusation that the International Industries Fair was a Communist show to which all facilities were made available by the Government of India, Mr. Singh says that the facilities were not restricted to the Communist countries only. The Fair "was open to governments and industrial and commercial firms all over the world. The blame for serving this Fair on a silver platter to the Communists lies with the American Government and American industrialists—not with the Indian Government."

Mr. Singh admits that Indians were not "aware of the danger and heinous character of international communism." He ascribes this to the fact that until recently Indians were so much occupied with the idea of getting rid of the British that they had neither the time nor the inclination to be "internationally-minded." "For scores of years we fought for our freedom, for scores of years we suffered at the hands of imperialism; psychologically, it is just too hard for us to realize that a much worse and more dangerous form of imperialism lurks around the corner."

The Latest Czech Purge

The following news-item appeared in the daily press on the 29th November :

"Vladimir Clementis, former Czech Foreign Minister, Rudolf Slansky, former chief of the Czech Communist Party, and nine other former top officials were sentenced to death in Prague on Nov. 27 last. Three others were given life sentences. They are Arthur London and Vavro Hajdu, both former Deputy Foreign Ministers, and Evzen Loebel, former Deputy Foreign Trade Minister.

The sentences—those sentenced to death will be hanged—came after six days of testimony in which the defendants confessed to worst crimes in the Communist book and implicated dozens of other top Government and party officials and foreigners in their "Jewish Bourgeois Nationalist" plot to take Czechoslovakia out of the Soviet camp.

Loebel was said by Radio Prague to have escaped death sentence because he was first arrested in November, 1949, and that he immediately confessed exposing others.

London and Hajdu were shown mercy, the announcer said, because they merely were appointees of Slansky. Slansky and General Garel Svab former Deputy Minister of Security, were said to be "most guilty" because they refused to "co-operate and confess" and thus prolonged investigation leading to the trial.

In addition to death or prison sentences all defendants were deprived of their citizenship and property.

The climax of the biggest Communist trial since the Russian purges of 1930 was given exactly three minutes on the broadcast."

Thus closes another chapter in the absorption of the Czechs into the totalitarian Bloc. The pattern is familiar. Slansky and Clementis were the main tools in the overthrowing of the former Czechoslovakian Government and in the changing over to Communism. The job being finished the human tools must be destroyed, else they might upset this government also. And the Soviets never take that risk. Therefore this purge.

The General's Victory

The American people have surprised themselves and the world. The victory of the General is a measure of his personal magnetism. On 5th November, Mr. Eisenhower was elected President of the U.S.A.—the first Republican to succeed in 20 years.

In the Senate contests, the voters were often very selective as well as closely divided; of the 12 Democrats returned, 10 were from States that gave their presidential vote to the Republicans. Five of these were southern or were border States, but one Republican won in a border State that went to Mr. Stevenson. The close division of the last Senate—49 Democrats and 47 Republicans—is repeated in reverse in the new Senate, with 47 Democrats, 48 Republicans and one independent, the self-exiled Mr. Morse from Republican Oregon. Had it not been for the death of Senator McMahon, a Democrat whose term was due to expire in 1956, and whose seat was lost to a Republican, Mr. Morse's position would have been decisive. As it is, the deciding vote in a tie will be cast by Mr. Nixon, the new Vice-President. The party position in the House of Representatives is almost a reversal of the last House. From present indications, with several results undecided, the Republicans will have a majority of about ten in the new House, a far

less imposing one than that of the 1946 Congress when 246 Republicans were returned. Mr. Eisenhower carried 38 States with 429 votes in the electoral college which formally chooses the President. Mr. Stevenson took nine States with 89 electoral votes. In the House of Representatives with a total seat of 435, the Republicans have so far secured 222 seats, the Democrats securing 212—one seat is still undecided.

Mr. Stevenson, the most conservative candidate the Democrats have chosen since 1924, is the victim, by a grim historical accident, of the accumulated resentment against the New Deal, the Fair Deal and Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman. Mr. Eisenhower had however three advantages over Mr. Stevenson. One was his own reputation and personality; the second, was the "mess in Washington." The war in Korea is the third and the most important. The stalemate in the Korean war has been peculiarly irritating to the United States, a country used to going all out and getting things finished in a hurry.

It is however being said that in choosing the man the American voters have not chosen the party. The voters did not want any drastic change of policy but what they want is more efficient management at home and more imaginative management abroad. The new President cannot bring sharp changes in either economic or foreign policies. If he tried to do so, the facts of today would defeat him. As long as the Republican Party was in opposition it could reject, or at least attempt to reject, everything Rooseveltian, but the only way for it to build a positive policy is to admit that two major elements in the Roosevelt revolution are irreversible—close co-operation with other free nations and the American version of the Welfare State, which is called the New Deal. The basic meaning of the Eisenhower landslide is that the American people have voted decisively for a turn to the right, the voters however want to conserve the progress made under Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman in the last twenty years. Undoing the past with a reactionary zeal as is being done by Mr. Churchill in Britain would bring the downfall of the Republicans in the next election. The wind of popular enthusiasm that has blown the General into the White House has swept with the hope and inspiration that Eisenhower will be the saviour in the Korean stalemate. The Americans now want peace with honour and the General's main task will be to lead the way out of the Korean impasse.

Inflation in the U.S.A.

The following was published in the *Newsweek* of November 3:

"With consumer prices soaring, the American wage-earner is like Alice in Wonderland, Dr. Sydney Steele, director of planning for the Atlas Powder Company (explosives and industrial chemicals), observed last week. It takes a lot of hard running to stay where you are.

"The buying power of the dollar slumped from 100 cents in 1939 to 56 cents last year, Dr. Steele told the New York section of the American Institute of Chemical Engineers. And if the trend continues unchecked, he commented, the dollar will be worth only 10 cents in 1990...."

The American and the Indian Elections

Mr. K. Rama Rao, in an article in the *People* of November 15, compares and contrasts the recently concluded election in the U.S.A. with that in India held earlier this year. Though the USA is two and a half times larger than India, both are big countries and India has the larger electorate.

"In the United States," writes Mr. Rao, "elections to the State Legislatures were not held this time. The voting was only for Congress and the President. In India our elections were for the State Legislatures as well as for Parliament, besides for the President subsequently. There is universal franchise in India while in the United States, unless I am mistaken, a few million of Negroes have no vote in some States..."

"The main thing to note, however," continues he, "is to the verdict of the two nations. The Republicans have won throughout in the United States in the recent elections, but their majority in the Congress is much less than the majority of the Indian National Congress Party in India's Parliament. There is thus a possibility of friction developing in the U.S. Congress, and between the U.S. Congress and the U.S. President, while in India such a chance is not only remote, but is absolutely forbidden by the conditions of today. . . ."

The victory of the Indian National Congress reflected the desire of the people for "stability and continuity and progress through the return of the Congress to office," while "the reason for the success of the Republicans is predominantly a desire for change after twenty years of Democratic rule"

Both Congress and the Republican victories were due to the popularity of the two leaders—Nehru and Eisenhower. And in both the elections women had a deciding vote.

While Nehru has shown that he can be great both in peace and war "it remains to be seen whether Eisenhower will be as great in peace as in war." It is apprehended that Eisenhower "may even extend the war (in Korea) by manipulating it into one between Asian and Asian, the process to be adopted being encouragement of Chiang Kai-shek to invade the (Chinese) mainland."

The victory of the Indian National Congress was hailed as a victory for democracy throughout the world. But the Republican victory was generally received as "the triumph of a reactionary alliance which is better symbolised by such men as McCarthy, Jenner, Taft and Nixon, Byrnes, Byrd and Dixiecrates."

The *People* is an official organ of the Congress. So the comparison is neither free nor unbiased. But we present it for all it is worth.

Asian Trade Union College

The opening of the Asian Trade Union College on November 5 in New Alipore near Calcutta is an event of immense significance in the history of Asian Trade Unionism. The college is the first of its kind in the East and trade unionists from all over Asia would be taught the basic "principles and methods of modern democratic trade unionism; and to equip them to carry on organizational work in their own countries.

"The College offers three courses of 12 weeks per year and starts with 23 students on the rolls. Of them 13 are from India, 5 from Thailand, including a woman, 2 from Malaya, 2 from Hong Kong and 1 from Japan. Four more students from Pakistan are expected to arrive shortly. The training is entirely free."

"The entire cost of the project would be meted out of the sum of about £250,000 which had been contributed by the trade union organisations of the world, affiliated to the ICFTU for this purpose," reports the *Indian Worker*.

Livestock Wealth in India

According to a recent statistics, it is estimated that India has nearly 18.15 crores of cattle which is about one-third of the total oxen and buffalo population of the world. India produces over 3.7 crores of goat and sheep skins annually or roughly one-fifth of the world's total. As the largest producer and exporter of skins, she enjoys a unique position in the world market. India occupies third position in the world as a producer of carpet wool. Its annual production is 6.58 lakh maunds or 54.53 million lbs. India is also one of the world's largest exporters of bristles, the total production of which is worth Rs. 1 crore.

During 1951-52, India exported animal products worth Rs. 55.12 crores.

The annual production of raw hides in India was estimated in 1948 at 189 lakh pieces, of which 25 lakhs were obtained from slaughtered animals and 164 lakhs from dead animals. Of the total, 142 lakhs were kids and the rest buffalo hides.

Golden Jubilee of Nivedita Girls' School



Sister Nivedita of revered memory founded the Girls' School over half-a-century ago. She established this school along the ideals she had imbibed

from Swami Vivekananda and today a devoted band of workers are carrying on, despite great financial stress, under the guidance of the Ramakrishna Mission.

Brajendranath Banerji

It is only the other day that we congratulated Brajendranath in our Notes for his being awarded the West Bengal Government Rabindra Memorial Prize in literature for the year 1951-52. A few short months have elapsed: now he is no more. Brajendranath Banerji passed away on 3rd October, 1952, at the age of 61. By his death the scholarly world has lost an indefatigable worker in the field of historical research. Born in 1891 of a Brahmin family at Hugli, he lost his parents early in life and had to struggle to earn his livelihood when still in his teens. He began his life as a typist in a mercantile firm and rose to be the head-stenographer of his department. Though he left school at sixteen he never gave up studies. History was his favourite subject. After his office-hours he was always to be found in one literary circle or another. As a disciple of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Brajendranath, a student of history, very naturally took up the Mughal period for his special study. In his spare hours he applied himself heart and soul to research-work. He acquired from his Guru, and applied it with rare skill, the scientific method in the field of research and reconstruction of history. Even his early works, *Mogul Bidushi* and *Begum Samru* show what meticulous care he took to verify facts and sift details. Hard work in office and harder labour out of it in pursuit of his study and research began to tell upon his health. He resigned his post in the mercantile firm and was immediately taken in and appointed by the late Ramananda Chatterjee as an Assistant Editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi*. Henceforth he devoted himself solely to literary pursuits. His *Sambadpatre Sekaler Katha*, a comprehensive compilation of all the important news and writings from the *Samachar-darpan* and other newspapers and periodicals of the early nineteenth century, arranged systematically and methodically, and edited with an insight, thoroughness and painstaking diligence which show the scholar, is a monumental work. He was intimately connected with the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*. His connection with the *Parishad* in various capacities, specially as its Secretary, has brought this great institution to its present state of solvency and prosperity. It is mainly due to his indomitable energy and wholehearted devotion that the *Sahitya-sadhak Charitamala* were published from the *Parishad*. In order to devote more time to historical research he sought and obtained permission from the late Ramananda Chatterjee to confine his editorial worth to the *Prabasi* alone from 1935. Banerji's works are written principally in Bengali. But he contributed many articles of historical interest to *The Modern Review*. He was our friend and valued colleague.

Arab States' Unreasonable Attitude

A small item sent from Cairo on November 15 last throws light on a species of unreason which is dangerous to world peace. Here is the news:

"The Arab League Political Committee told Germany in a note that the German-Israeli reparations agreement was a 'menace to all Arab States'."

"The note said: 'In view of the serious situations created by the intention of the West German Government to ratify the German-Israeli compensation agreement, the Arab States may feel obliged to break economic relations with Germany. They also reserve to themselves the right to take appropriate measures to safeguard their interests in case of ratifications.'"

This payment is blood-money, so to say, paid in lieu of blood spilt, to stop a feud. This surely is in accordance with Semitic law, though the adequacy may be challenged by the recipient.

Hitlerite Germany murdered millions of Jews—men and women. The peace treaty made provision for compensation for this barbarism. The State of Israel, as representative of Jews, has come to an understanding with West Germany for payment. And we think that the Arab States had no reason to take umbrage. We wonder whether East Germany (Communist) has come to any such understanding and paid anything to Israel?

Dr. Weizman

With the death of Dr. Chaim Weizman, the first President of the newly formed State of Israel, the World Zionist movement has lost one of its greatest champions. Till the time of his death he was the President of the World Zionist Organization.

He was equally successful as a scientist and politician. It was principally through his efforts that during the first World War, the British Government succeeded in the production of acetone for the want of which the British munitions supply was endangered.

It was mainly due to his efforts that the World Zionist movement could secure the recognition of the British Government. The Jewish community in Britain and America were divided on that issue. But he succeeded in overcoming all opposition.

Dr. Weizman's efforts culminated in the foundation of Israel. The famous Balfour declaration, on behalf of the British War Cabinet, on November 2, 1917, this declaration affirmed, in language as unambiguous as possible for the Conservative Government of Albion, that the British Government will aid in the efforts to establish a homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

The world knows what has followed. But in all the strife, double-dealing and misery, that were the fruits of the intrigues of the permanent officials of the British Foreign Office and the Conservative Military group, Dr. Weizman's ideals stood firm and his reputation has remained unsullied.

FRONTIERS OF INDIA

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph. D.

WHEN one studies the evolution of modern States realistically, it becomes clear that a growing State expands and absorbs weak ones as its integral parts. The technical process of expansion—either conquest, fomenting revolutions or supposed willing or forced accession—is immaterial. Ancient Hindus called the process the "Matsya" theory, which means that "a big fish eats up the little fish." This is the eternal process by which a Rajya—a small Kingdom—develops into a Samrajya, or a great Empire, and then it might develop into a World Empire.

This process of expansion does not remain limited to one direction, but goes on in all directions according to the strength and ability of the expanding power, and until it reaches defendable frontiers or comes to the close contact of the frontiers of a formidable Power which might resist any move for expansion with great effectiveness. Then the expanding Power, to safeguard its own interests, tries to avoid a collision or a costly war and becomes content with establishing defendable strategic frontiers, including Buffer States.

These Buffer States—weak ones—often not only become victims or pawns in the game of world politics, but they lose their independence either through expansion of a great Power or through agreements among great Powers. The best example of the latter process is the Japanese annexation of Korea, which was brought about through international agreements.

A school of modern thinkers assert that this process of expansion is a special characteristic of modern capitalism or capitalistic imperialist States. However, long before the rise of modern capitalism, the Egyptian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Chinese and Indian Empires followed the path of expansion. The Arab and Ottoman Empires of the middle ages, and the expanding European Powers since the sixteenth century to the early twentieth century, have pursued the same course. The history of expansion of the British Empire in India, centring from Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in all directions, is one of the classic examples of absorption of frontier States and establishment of new strategic bases for further expansion. We may here also mention that Russian expansion since the days of Peter the Great, and the American expansion, has followed the same course. The present conflict between Soviet Russia and America is due to the fact that the United States is determined to check any further Russian expansion which might make it difficult to have defendable frontiers.

II

The frontiers of a State are not necessarily contiguous to its own territories; but they change with necessities of defense of a State, or its imperial possessions, or its sphere of influence. To elucidate this point I shall mention a few instances in relation to modern history and world politics:

During the eighteenth century, when Anglo-French rivalry was the chief feature—especially during the

Seven Years War (1756-1763), Bengal and Carnatic, virtually all India, Canada and a large part of Europe, became frontiers between these world Powers. During the Napoleonic War, Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, Persia, India (especially Tippoo Sultan's Mysore), the North American Continent, and virtually the whole of Europe became frontiers of States involved in a World War. After the Napoleonic War, with the elimination of France as a rival, and British control of sea routes to India, Malta in the Mediterranean, the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, Ceylon and Singapore became India's defensive frontiers.

In the nineteenth century, Great Britain, a dominant power in India, for the consolidation of its position began to expand and establish new frontiers in all directions. In fact, the elimination of all possible rivals from Indian borders became the cardinal policy of the growing Imperial India. The Nepalese War (the Ochterlony monument in Calcutta stands as a reminder of its significance and British victory) was fought to check any possible Nepalese expansion to the south, and to reduce this strategic State to a vassal and ally to serve British imperialist interest in India. (It may not be out of place to mention that the Nepalese aid of 40,000 soldiers was one of the most important factors in suppressing the Sepoy Mutiny or Indian War of Independence of 1857). The First Burmese War was fought to check any possible expansion of a restive Burma in the direction of Assam, Arakan, Chittagong and East Bengal, and won by the British to ensure frontier defense of North-East India—Bengal being then the heart of British dominion in India. It may be emphasized that when, in 1885, Burma and France were engaged in forming a secret alliance which might have endangered the security of India's eastern frontiers, Britain declared war on Burma and brought the country under its control, and made it an integral part of India. Burma in an unfriendly hand is a menace to India.

As early as the time of Warren Hastings, Tibet received special attention of the British authorities, and Trade Missions were sent to promote British Indian interests there, and to determine the prospects of Anglo-Tibetan co-operation against any future expansion of China towards the northern frontiers of India. Students of Chinese imperial history are well aware of the fact that the Chinese, in certain periods of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, claimed suzerainty (after successful military expeditions) and collected tribute from Burma, Nepal and Tibet. The British rulers of India took precautions regarding the safety of the North-Eastern frontiers by establishing their hold on Sikkim and Bhutan and the adjoining regions, and maintaining a watchful eye over the Tibetan border.

Thus, during the early nineteenth century, a sound and fundamental policy for the defense of the North-Eastern frontier was laid down, and it still holds good. Pursuing the policy that no strong rival power be allowed to control Tibet, in 1904 a British Indian expedition, under Colonel Younghusband, was sent to check any possi-

ble Russian penetration in Tibet. For the defense of Indian frontiers, Tibet should remain a Buffer State. However, recently this policy has been abandoned to the detriment of Indian national security. When all the facts are appraised, it will be found that Indian frontiers bordering Tibet are not secure.

Lack of time will not permit me to go into the details of the evolution of shifting frontiers of India in the west, in relation to Anglo-Russian rivalry, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, it should not be forgotten that when Russia was checked at Constantinople and the Treaty of Unkair Skellasi was superseded by the Straits Convention of 1840, she moved towards Central Asia and worked hard to form a Russo-Persian-Afghan alliance. This march of Russia towards Indian frontiers led to positive action on the part of the British Indian authorities to safeguard the Indian frontiers. To forestall any possibility of a Russo-Afghan co-operation, the Afghan War was fought; and later Russia was isolated and defeated at the Crimean War, and the Indian frontiers were at least made safe temporarily.

After the defeat of Turkey in the Russo-Turkish War and the signing of the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, to protect Indian frontiers, Britain moved to undo the Treaty through international action and insisted on calling the Congress of Berlin in 1878. At first Russia refused to accede to Britain's demands, but when Britain sent Indian forces to Malta and made it clear that she would not allow Russian penetration towards Asiatic Turkey menacing India, and would even go to war to prevent such a development, then Russia agreed to participate in the famous Congress of Berlin. One of the results of this Congress was that Britain, by a secret treaty with Turkey, got control over Cyprus as a means toward defense of the Eastern Mediterranean and Asia Minor, and thus one of the routes to Indian western frontiers.

Britain's acquisition and control of the Suez Canal and virtual control of the Persian Gulf as enunciated by Lord Curzon, the formation of the Triple Entente—Anglo-French-Russian Alliance—by which Persia was partitioned between Britain and Russia, by which Britain kept the vital Persian Gulf region as her sphere of influence while Russia was given Northern Persia as her sphere of penetration and expansion, by which Russia agreed to acknowledge Afghanistan and Tibet as British spheres of influence while Britain readily acknowledged Mongolia to be within the Russian sphere—were the results of the positive policy of checking any possible encroachment by any Power in the regions of the Middle East and Northern part of India, thus safeguarding Indian frontiers.

It is needless to emphasize that one of the principal causes of World War I was to check German penetration in the Middle East through the Berlin-Baghdad railway, which would have given Germany a foot-hold in the Persian Gulf and thus threatened Indian security

in the West. In one sense, it was to protect Indian frontiers that Indian soldiers fought not only in the Middle East and Egypt, but also in France. For the same reason, to maintain British control over India unimpaired, Indian forces fought in Europe, Africa and Asia during World War II.

It may be suggested by some that what happened in the past on the frontier problems of India under the British regime, may not be applicable to the India of today, i.e., Free India. On this issue, I wish to assert with all the emphasis I can command that I am in full agreement with the teachings of the late General Haushofer, the greatest of the modern geo-politicians, as he expounded in his studies on "die Grenze", or Frontiers. *Fundamental problems and issues of foreign policies as centred on "frontiers" do not change with a change of government. India today has the same fundamental frontier problems and something worse and more difficult than those which existed before, i.e., under British rule.*

III

By the Independence of India Act of 1947, a United India was partitioned, and the Union of India and Pakistan were created as two separate States, with the present un-natural frontiers. By this partition, United India lost one-fourth of her territories and about 80 millions of her population. The partition of India has dislocated the economic unity of the continental region of India as a whole, and has thus brought about a general weakening of the country. Above all, this partition has brought into existence such frontiers as may not be easily defended if attacked by hostile forces either from the north-east or the north-west.

It is often assumed by many that India and Pakistan can co-operate in the defense of their frontiers and remain in peace, as Canada and the United States are doing today. But there are vital differences between Indo-Pakistan relations and those existing between Canada and the United States. Canada and the United States are pursuing common defence policies to such an extent that in the arctic regions of Canada joint United States-Canadian forces are operating for the defense of the continent. Canadian factories as well as American, are producing similar armaments. On the other hand, Indo-Pakistan relations are anything but cordial.

It may be pointed out without fear of contradiction that if Soviet Russia decides to move southward, Pakistan, with her present hostility towards India, cannot defend herself. Neither is it possible for India to defend herself from such an onslaught single-handed. I may be permitted to remind Indian statesmen that a far less powerful Persia, under Nadir Shah, during the early eighteenth century, invaded and sacked Delhi and took away Mughal India's peacock throne.

If Sino-Russian forces move towards Northern India—especially North-Eastern India—India with her present relations with Pakistan, especially Eastern Pakistan, where millions of Hindus are denied human rights, can-

not defend herself. It is no secret (and the Government of India must have more adequate information than I have) that from Lhasa, as well as Peking and Moscow, movements for cessation of certain parts of North-Eastern India—particularly Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and adjoining regions—and Chinese expansion in North Burma and Malaya, are in full progress. *taboo.*

IV

I venture to assert that the idea that India has nothing to fear from a Soviet Russian—Communist Chinese alliance is *mere wishful thinking*. Before the outbreak of World War II, Soviet Russia to protect her back from a Japanese attack, sought a non-aggression pact with Japan. The terms of this non-aggression pact were kept by Japan, and this served as one of the principal causes of Russian success in defending Leningrad and Stalingrad. Japanese neutrality in the Russo-German conflict saved Russia from being conquered by Germany. This point is generally overlooked by students of world politics. But this pact was deliberately violated by Soviet Russia to serve her expansionist policies in East Asia which were consistent with the policies of Tsarist Russia of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It must be very fresh in the memories of Indian leaders that Communist China, through Sardar Panikkar—Indian Ambassador at Peking who closely collaborated with the Communist Chinese regime—assured the Government of India that the status of Tibet would not be interfered with by Communist China. But this solemn promise was not kept. When Mr. Panikkar, at the request of the Government of India, was asked to draw the attention of the Government of China to this point, India was told that *she should mind her own business and China would get into Tibet*. It is somewhat amusing and alarming that when China took over Tibet, one of the spokesmen of the Government of India justified India's diplomatic defeat and asserted that Tibet did not concern India. Today there is a very sizeable Chinese army—not less than 20,000 men—in Tibet, and a new Tibetan army is being formed in the same fashion as Russia organized the North Korean army. This may some day be used against India's north-eastern frontier.

With the partition of India, not only India, but Pakistan has frontier defense problems of very great magnitude. It is my belief that future historians will be forced to record that from national and international points of view, partition of India was one of the most indefensible and outrageous acts. Both from moral and political points of view, this act of opportunism and short-sighted statesmanship cannot be defended.

I have been told that "the partition of India is a settled fact". This may be so for those who were directly responsible for the most unwise decision of 1947, planned by British statesmen and aided by anti-Indian Pan-Islamists, and accepted by honest but short-sighted Indian leaders who hoped that by partition of India they would be able to bring about better understanding with

the cessionist Pan-Islamist and anti-Indian States created at two strategic frontiers of India. To an historian it is self-evident that the partition of a country does not solve vital problems of a nation. It is also a fact that there is nothing like an absolutely settled fact in the history of a dynamic State.

For a student of history it is absolutely clear that for national and international reasons there should be a United India as it existed in 1947. The first and the immediate requisite for it is to see that both Pakistan and India should have common defense and economic and foreign policies.

Those who are engaged in defending the frontiers of the Union of India and those parts of former United India known as Pakistan, must realise that today they have virtually defenseless frontiers due to their mutual hostility, internal weakness and policy of isolation in world politics.

To be sure, the Indian Army is one of the finest in the world. But what about its equipment? Today the Chinese army is a formidable one because it is getting arms and ammunition from Soviet Russia, and Soviet technicians and Generals are helping them in many ways. If Soviet Russian aid is cut off, then the Communist Chinese army will be reduced to a third-rate one. Unless India can develop industries which may aid the cause of national defense, her frontiers will remain undefendable from any attack by a superior force. Can India carry out this task without outside aid? History teaches us that no nation, in complete isolation, can become great or maintain its independence. Even Soviet Russia in all stages of her development and expansion had to depend upon foreign support in various forms.

India has an immense sea frontier, and India must develop a sizeable Navy. This cannot be done overnight. Thus India must co-operate with such sea powers as may have common interests.

Lastly, I may mention that in the north-west, India cannot allow the existence of any hostile State between her borders and Afghanistan. In fact, Afghanistan must be an ally to defend her north-western frontiers. Similarly, Northern India cannot be defended if Nepal, Bhutan or Sikkim fall into enemy hands; and a strong enemy from Sinkiang and Tibet can effectively menace these regions.

Due to the partition of India, the frontiers of India are more or less defenseless, and such is the case with the frontiers of Pakistan. In defense of frontiers, political actions are no less, if not more, important than mere military measures. Thus it is desirable that for the defense of the frontiers of India, Indian statesmanship should solve Indo-Pakistani relations which would lead to the re-establishment of a United India. The task is not easy, but far-sighted statesmen will have to tackle this issue for serving the cause of peace between India and Pakistan and international peace.*

* A speech delivered before the Rotary Club of Delhi on October 16, 1952.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR*

By D. N. BANERJEE

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I

THE object of this paper is to deal with the influence of political ideologies on political behaviour, with special reference to the methods of their propagation and the conditions of their acceptance. As desired by the organizers of this Congress,† I shall deal with the subject, partly, from the Indian point of view. The subject, I need hardly say, is not merely one of a purely academic interest to students of Political Science, but also of some practical importance to humanity to-day, in view of the sharp, ideological differences dividing its different sections into practically hostile camps. It may, however, be noted here that it is not possible for me to deal with the subject exhaustively within the limits of a paper. I shall, therefore, only indicate salient points in connection with it.

II

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR

I shall first say a few words in regard to the question of relationship between political ideology and political behaviour.

That political ideologies exercise a profound influence on, and often shape the course of, human affairs, is almost a commonplace of Political Science. Without going into the ancient or mediaeval history of mankind, I may cite one or two events of our modern world to illustrate my point. Let us take, for instance, the influence of the ideology underlying the Social Contract Theory as expounded by Locke and Rousseau. According to Locke, the supreme power or sovereignty in a State belongs to the community as a whole. Further, as William Carpenter has briefly put it:

"Political power exists and is exercised only for the public good": and "the basis of government is consent, and the powers which are wielded by princes and rulers inhere in them, not by any absolute right founded on grant, covenant or otherwise, but on conditions in the nature of a trust, and under liability to forfeiture if the conditions are not fulfilled."¹

The influence of this Lockian doctrine is particularly noticeable in the Declaration of Independence by the United States of America on 4th July, 1776.

There are ideas and expressions in the Declaration which appear to have been taken directly from Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*.² And Rousseau who proclaimed as with a trumpet-blast the doctrines of "the equality of man" and "the inalienable sovereignty of the people," has been rightly called both "the chief prophet" and "the spiritual father" of the French Revolution—that "great awe-inspiring outburst of popular indignation in 1789 which declared in no uncertain voice that "the many should no longer be the bondslaves of the few."³ His *Contract Social* which "became the formula of the Revolutionary Creed" in France, ranks, rightly says Lecky, with Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, "as one of the two great political works of the eighteenth century which have had the greatest practical influence upon public affairs." Sidgwick, therefore, hardly exaggerates when he says⁴ that

"If any one idea; any one principle, can be said to be in itself the intellectual source of the great Revolution of 1789, it is this principle of the perpetual and inalienable sovereignty of the people" preached by Rousseau.

And referring to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens issued by the National Assembly of France on 26th August,⁵ 1789, Sidgwick has also rightly observed⁶:

"Indeed, if you want to have expressed in the form of summary resolutions the fundamental doctrines of Rousseau's *Contract Social* you have only to read one after another the earlier clauses of this declaration."

And we also find in Lecky:⁷

"That which distinguishes the French Revolution from other political movements is, that it was directed by men who had adopted certain speculative, *a priori* conceptions of political right, with the fanaticism and proselytising fervour of a religious belief, and the Bible of their creed was the *Contract Social* of Rousseau."

2. This does not mean that Rousseau's writings had no influence on the American Declaration of Independence, but that the political theory of Locke had a greater influence on it than anything else.

3. See Tozer's Edition of *The Social Contract*, Introduction, p. 1.

4. See Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. VI, 1892, p. 243.

5. See Sidgwick, *The Development of European Polity*, 1920, p. 392.

6a. According to Lodge (*Modern Europe*), the date was 27th August, 1789.

6. See Sidgwick, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

7. See Lecky, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

* A paper read at the Second Congress of the International Political Science Association held at The Hague from 8th to 12th September, 1952.

† See the foot-note above.

1. See Carpenter's *Introduction to Two Treatises of Civil Government* by John Locke (Everyman's Library); also Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*, paras. 149 and 221-229.

And what did Rousseau actually say? Among other things, he stated:

(a) "If force constitutes rights, the effect changes with the cause, and any force which overcomes the first succeeds to its rights."⁸

(b) "All power comes from God, I admit; but every disease comes from him too; does it follow that we are precluded from calling in a physician?"⁹

(c) "Sovereignty, being nothing but the exercise of the general will, can never be alienated, and . . . the sovereign power, which is only a collective being, can be represented by itself alone; power indeed can be transmitted, but not will."¹⁰

(d) "The sovereign, having no other force than the legislative power, acts only through the laws; and the laws being nothing but authentic acts of the general will, the sovereign can act only when the people are assembled."¹¹

(e) "Every law which the people in person have not ratified is invalid; it is not a law."¹²

I have given above only a few extracts from Rousseau's writings, just to indicate the explosive nature of his views. By themselves, they would be quite sufficient to justify a revolution in almost every state of Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. I am not, therefore, surprised by the reported remark¹³ of Napoleon that "if Rousseau had never lived, there would have been no French Revolution." But in that case, it must also be stated, the progress of democracy in the world would have been materially hampered, and there might not be any Referendum in Switzerland and elsewhere, ever any plebiscite and universal suffrage in any country, and any virtual abandonment of the hereditary principle in government. We really owe all these and many other democratic principles and practices largely to the influence of the political ideology of Rousseau.¹⁴

It may also be noted here that the influence of the political ideology of Locke and Rousseau is, more or less, evident¹⁵ not only upon the Constitution of the United States of America, but also upon the constitutions of its constituent states, such as Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Virginia, Wisconsin, etc. Further, we largely

owe to the influence of Locke and Rousseau the provisions for what are called the fundamental rights in the Constitutions of many other countries including India.

Another political doctrine which has materially influenced the political behaviour of men, particularly in the matter of constitution-making in different countries, is the doctrine of the Separation of Powers as an indispensable safeguard for the maintenance of individual liberty, as expounded by Montesquieu in his *Spirit of the Laws*, originally published in 1748. Unlike Locke and Rousseau, however, Montesquieu "was neither inspirer nor prophet of an Age."¹⁶

I shall now say a few words about another political ideology, namely, the ideology of nationalism, and its allied doctrine of self-determination as expounded by President Woodrow Wilson in the course of an address¹⁷ delivered on 11th February, 1918, before a joint session of the two Houses of (the American) Congress. Ever since the first partition of Poland in 1772, and in spite of the decisions of the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) which treated Europe "as if it were a blank map which might be divided simply into arbitrary districts of so many square miles and so many inhabitants"¹⁸ the principle of nationalism has proved to be a tremendous political force—a "kind of political dynamite", as Laski has put it—and materially shaped the course of human history. The inspiring Addresses¹⁹ of Fichte to the German Nation, and the soul-stirring writings of Joseph Mazzini, "the eloquent and fiery prophet of nationalism," together with the "Young Italy" Movement with "Independence, Unity, and Liberty" as its watchword,²⁰ greatly contributed to the development of the principle of nationalism and also to its effect upon human affairs. As is well-known, to this principle of nationalism we primarily owe the break-up of several empires and the emergence of many sovereign States during the last one hundred and fifty years.

Addressing the Italian working-men, Mazzini had said,²¹ among many other things:

"Without Country you have neither name, token, voice, nor rights, no admission as brothers into the fellowship of the Peoples. You are the bastards of Humanity. Soldiers without a banner, Israelities among the nations, you will find neither faith nor protection; none will be sureties for you."

Again:

8. See Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (Tozer's Edition), Book I, Chapter III.

9. See *ibid.*, Book I, Chap. III.

10. See Rousseau, *op. cit.* Book II, Ch. I.

11. See *ibid.*, Book III, Ch. XII.

12. See *ibid.*, Book III, Ch. XV.

13. See Lecky, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

14. See *ibid.*, pp. 266-67; also Lowell, *Government and Parties in Continental Europe*, Vol. II, pp. 238-246.

15. See *Year Book on Human Rights for 1940*, United Nations, Lake Success, New York, 1947, pp. 322-415.

16. See Joseph Mazzini, *The Duties of Man and Other Essays*, Everyman's Library, p. 272.

17. In reply to the addresses of the Imperial German Chancellor and the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs at that time.

18. See Lodge, *A History of Modern Europe*, 1914, p. 629.

19. See Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, English Translation by Jones & Turnbull, 1922.

20. See Delisle Burns, *Political Ideals*, 1929, pp. 174-96.

21. See Joseph Mazzini, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-57.

"Before associating ourselves with the Nations which compose Humanity we must exist as a Nation. There can be no association except among equals; and you have no recognised collective existence."

Further :

"Your Country is one and indivisible... Your Country is the token of the mission which God has given you to fulfil in Humanity. The faculties, the strength of all its sons should be united for the accomplishment of this mission... Your Country should be your Temple. God at the summit, a People of equals at the base. Do not accept any other formula, any other moral law, if you do not want to dishonour your Country and yourselves."

These words stirred the souls of many other subject peoples and provoked them to actions for their national freedom. It may be interesting to note here that in its early days the Nationalist Movement in India was, as will appear from what follows, largely inspired by the writings of Mazzini, and that, later on, the doctrine of self-determination as expounded by President Wilson, materially strengthened this movement for national independence. Thus we find Surendranath Banerjea who is rightly regarded to-day as the Father of Indian Nationalism and whose political activities had begun long before Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the political stage of India, writing in his *Reminiscences* :²²

"Upon my mind the writings of Mazzini had created a profound impression. The purity of his patriotism, the loftiness of his ideals, and his all-embracing love for humanity, expressed with the true eloquence of the heart, moved me as I had never before been moved. I discarded his revolutionary teachings as unsuited to the circumstances of India and as fatal to its normal development, along the lines of peaceful and orderly progress; but I inculcated, with all the emphasis that I could command, the enduring lessons of his noble life, lived for the sake of others, his lofty patriotism, his self-abnegation, and his heroic devotion to the interests of humanity. It was Mazzini, the incarnation of the highest moral forces in the political arena—Mazzini, the apostle of Italian Unity, the friend of the human race, that I presented to the youth of Bengal. Mazzini had taught Italian unity. We wanted Indian unity. Mazzini had worked through the young. I wanted the young men of Bengal to realize their potentialities and to qualify themselves to work for the salvation of their country, but upon lines instinct with the spirit of constitutionalism. I lectured upon Mazzini, but took care to tell the young men to abjure his revolutionary ideals, and to adopt his spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion in the paths of constitutional development. I persuaded Babu Jogendranath Vidyabhuson and Babu Rajani Kanto Gupta, both distinguished Bengalee writers, to translate into our language the life and work of Mazzini in the spirit of my addresses, so as to place them within the reach of those who did not understand English. I soon popularized Mazzini among the young men of Bengal."

22. See Surendranath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making, Being the Reminiscences of Fifty Years of Public Life*, 1925, p. 43.

After a long struggle for freedom, India has acquired to-day the status of a "sovereign democratic republic." And one of the factors that have contributed to this, is certainly the inspiring writings of thinkers like Joseph Mazzini.

I have briefly dealt above with the ideology of nationalism and its influence on political behaviour. But this ideology of nationalism has not proved to be an unmixed good for humanity. It is true that "a sane nationalism, when it understands itself," points, as Stawell has rightly said,²³ "the way to internationalism as its completion." And there is really no inherent incompatibility between nationalism as such and internationalism. Unfortunately, however, as things now stand, and perhaps owing to some inherent perversity in human nature, once nationalism succeeds in achieving its object of national independence, it often tends to degenerate, and to foster both economic and political imperialism, "intolerance, militarism, and war." Thus it becomes a menace to civilization. Humanity has to guard itself against this kind of false, diseased, and perverted nationalism which Professor Hayes²⁴ has rightly characterized as "a form of mania, a kind of extended and exaggerated egotism." Some of the best thinkers of the world such as William Penn, Abbe Saint-Pierre, Rousseau, Bentham, Kant, Laski, and Tagore have deeply felt this and have each shown a way to international peace and security. The result has been the emergence of a new ideology, namely, that of internationalism. This ideology has so far found institutional expression, first, in the form of the League of Nations, and, afterwards, in the shape of the United Nations, and has thus influenced the political behaviour of nations. Let us pray and hope that this ideology of internationalism, rather than "the swollen armaments" of nations, will prove an effective guarantee of international peace and security, and that time will soon come when nations "shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks," and when they "shall not lift up sword" against one another, "neither shall they learn war any more." Indeed, we must, as Laski²⁵ has warned, learn to think (and, I would add, also to act) internationally, or we shall perish sooner or later.

Mention may also be made in this connexion of the ideology of utilitarianism or "the greatest happiness principle as a basis of social reconstruction", and of the ideology of liberalism²⁶. These two ideologies—they are often complementary to each other, although they may sometimes be contradictory—have profoundly influenced the political behaviour of men

23. See Stawell, *The Growth of International Thought*, Home University Library, p. 7.

24. See his "Essays on Nationalism", Chap. VIII.

25. See Laski, *Nationalism and the Future of Civilization*, 1932, p. 27.

during the last one hundred and fifty years. Their influence has been particularly pronounced in the field of legislation.²⁶ For instance, Bentham who was the commanding figure of the Utilitarian Movement in England, was primarily "a great legal philosopher and a reformer of the law," and "the object of his lifelong labours," says Dicey,²⁷ "was to remodel the law of England in accordance with utilitarian principles." And what was the result? We have the testimony of Sir Henry Maine²⁸ who says: "I do not know a single law reform effected since Bentham's day which cannot be traced to his influence." Among others, his disciples James Mill and John Stuart Mill also have exercised a great influence upon English thought and political action by their writings.

Nor can we ignore here the influence upon the political behaviour of men, of the ideology of what is commonly known as the Idealist or Absolutist Theory of the State, particularly as it is associated with the name of Hegel. Among other things, the ideological inspiration of the First World War (1914-18) and of the Fascist Theory of the State with all its implications, may be traced to the Hegelian conception of the State.²⁹ Hobhouse, therefore, hardly exaggerates when he says³⁰ that it was a mistake to have passed by "the Hegelian exaltation of the state as the rhapsodical utterances of a metaphysical dreamer."

"The whole conception," he continues, "is deeply interwoven with the most sinister developments in the history of Europe" since it "has, from first to last provided by far the most serious opposition to the democratic and humanitarian conceptions emanating from eighteenth-century France, sixteenth-century Holland and seventeenth-century England".

And in the bombing of London during the first World War he "witnessed the visible and tangible outcome" of the "Hegelian Theory of the god-state."^{31,32}

Finally, I should like to say a few words about the ideology of communism. Whether we like it or not, it is one of the most powerful forces in modern politics. It is, directly or indirectly, responsible for the creation to-day of a state of fear, suspicion, and tension amongst nations, and for their race for armaments. It has, with its doctrine of abolition of private property, its Economic Interpretation of His-

tory, its Theory of Class Struggle, its assurance of ultimate victory therein for the "dispossessed" or the "proletariat," and with its promise of the cessation of all exploitation and of a consequent era of plenty, prosperity, peace, and happiness for the masses, not only created sharp differences of opinion within nations, but also practically divided the civilized world into two hostile camps which may at any moment come into a terrible clash and thus start a Third World War to the destruction of our civilization. It is not possible to examine the case for and against communism, or its economic basis, within the scope of this paper. There is much in it that is commendable; but there is also much in it that is really loathsome and reprehensible. This much, however, I should like to state here that communism believes in, and advocates, violence for the achievement of its object. Thus we find in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*³³ that

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims," and that "they openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

Thus communism implies, as Laski has shown,³⁴ both an ideal and a method.

"As an ideal," he says, "it aims at a society in which classes have been abolished as a result of the common ownership of the means of production and distribution. As a method, it believes that its ideal can be attained only by means of a social revolution in which the dictatorship of the proletariat is the effective instrument of change."

And this social revolution is to be effected with the help of violence, if necessary.

I have briefly discussed above the influence of some political ideologies on political behaviour. But I should also refer here, incidentally, to the effect of political facts on political theories and ideologies. Indeed, as Professor Sidgwick has shown, there is an intimate relationship between political facts and political ideas.

"Nothing," says Professor Laski, "is more useless, because nothing is less revealing, than to separate the political philosophy of any thinker from the circumstances in which it was born. Rousseau is only intelligible, to take a supreme example, in the context of eighteenth-century France. . . . Every great thinker is in part the autobiography of his age."³⁵

However, I leave this point here as it is not the subject-matter of this paper.

III.

PROPAGATION OF IDEOLOGIES AND CONDITIONS OF THEIR ACCEPTANCE

I shall now deal with the question of methods adopted for the propagation of ideologies, and also of the conditions that help their acceptance. In the past

26. See Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion in England*, 1930, Chap. IX.

27. See, for instance, Dicey, *op. cit.*

28. See Dicey, *op. cit.*, Chap. VI.

29. See Graham, *English Political Philosophy from Hobbes to Maine*, 1926, p. 180.

30. See Willoughby, *Prussian Political Philosophy*; also Hobhouse, *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*, Lectures, I and II; also Maxey, *Political Philosophies*, Chs. XXX-XXXIII.

31. See Hobhouse, *op. cit.*, Lecture 1.

32. See *ibid.*, Dedication.

33. By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

34. See Laski, *Communism*, 1930, p. 11.

35. See Laski, *On the Study of Politics, An Inaugural Lecture* on 22nd October, 1926, Oxford, p. 12.

Coercion and intimidation often played a very important part in the dissemination, and also in the matter of acceptance, of religious, moral, and political ideas. And some thinkers have justified this application of force for such purposes on the ground that "the wise minority are the rightful masters of the foolish majority."³⁵ For example, while examining John Stuart Mill's *Essay on Liberty* Sir James Fitzjames Stephen has observed³⁶ that

"If Mr. Mill's view of liberty had always been adopted and acted upon to its full extent—if it had been the view of the first Christians or of the first Mahommedans—everyone can see that there would have been no such thing as organised Christianity or Mahommedanism in the world."

Further,

"Mr. Mill and his disciples would be the last persons in the world to say that the political and social changes which have taken place in the world since the sixteenth century have not on the whole been eminently beneficial to mankind; but nothing can be clearer than that they were brought about by force, and in many instances by the force of a minority numerically small, applied to the conduct of an ignorant or very partially informed and for the most part indifferent majority. It would surely be as absurd to say that the Reformation or the French Revolution was brought about freely and not by coercion as to say that Charles I walked freely to the block."³⁷

But whatever might have been the case in the past, any application of force to-day for the propagation of any particular ideology, either by any official or by any non-official agency, would be universally condemned. As MacIver has rightly observed,³⁸ while dealing with the question of "force in the control of opinion":

"Force comes as a brutal alien into a sphere that is not its own, where it cannot regulate or convince, where it cannot stimulate or direct the healthy processes of thought, where its presence is destructive of good as well as of evil.... Opinion can be fought only by opinion. Only thus is it possible for truth to be revealed. Force would snatch from truth its only means of victory. Force can suppress opinion, but only by suppressing the mind which is the judge of truth."

Force being out of question, propaganda appears to be the only rational method for the dissemination of an ideology. And that is the reason why recourse is had to-day, for the diffusion of ideologies, to such instrumentalities of propaganda as the radio, the film, the daily and periodical press, the platform, educational institutions, fairs and exhibitions, religious and cultural associations, musical entertainments, symbolism, street parades, demonstrations, slogans, cheap publications, pamphleteering, painting, wall-posters, posters on running vehicles, etc. We

have really entered upon an Age of Propaganda. In a very illuminating chapter in his *Prussian Political Philosophy*, Professor Willoughby has shown³⁹ to what extent, before and during the First World War, the Governments of the German States controlled education from the primary school to the University stage, with a view to inculcating in their subjects the political views which their rulers desired them to hold. And in his *One World* Wendell Willkie has shown to what extent opinion was controlled in Russia when he visited this country during the Second World War.

"One of the most interesting and important parts of this (Soviet) machine", writes Wendell Willkie,⁴⁰ "seemed to me to be the newspapers, like every other part, under government control." "The press in Russia", he writes further, "I came to believe, is the strongest single agency in the hands of the government for short-term purposes, just as I believe the schools are their strongest agency in the long run. The present government of Russia has had both the schools and the press in its control now for twenty-five years."

It is also worthy of note here what Graham Wallas has aptly called "the facts of human nature."⁴¹ That is to say, we must, in any discussion of socio-political questions, take into account how human nature actually works in politics, how our actions are often determined by our impulses and instincts rather than by our reason, and also the manner in which the crowd behaves or can be made to behave. He has warned us against exaggerating what he calls "the intellectuality of mankind."

"Politics", it has been rightly said "is only in a slight degree the product of conscious reason: it is largely a matter of subconscious process of habit and instinct, suggestion and imitation."

Nor can we ignore in this connexion the importance of propaganda, often euphemistically described as a "campaign of education," "the work of enlightenment," "political education", etc., as a great instrument of policy to-day both in internal and in international politics. After all, we must not forget that, more or less, the masses in every country are, to quote the words of Rousseau, "a blind multitude, which often knows not what it wishes because it rarely knows what is good for it."⁴² Moreover, as Hitler, himself a great master of propaganda, has observed:⁴³

"The receptive ability of the masses is very limited, their understanding small; on the other hand, they have a great power of forgetting." Further, "an immense majority of the people are so feminine in nature and point of view, that

35. See James Fitzjames Stephen, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, 1874, p. XVII.

36. See *ibid.*, p. 18.

37. See J. F. Stephen, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

38. See MacIver, *The Modern State*, 1928, p. 153.

39. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, Ch. VIII.

40. See his *One World*, 1943, pp. 54-55.

41. See Graham Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics*, 3rd Edition.

42. See Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Tozer's edition, Book II, Chap. VI.

43. See Hitler, *My Struggle*, The Paternoster Library, Chap. VI.

their thoughts and actions are governed more by feeling and sentiment than by reasoned consideration."⁴⁴

He has also been quoted as having said :

"By clever persistent propaganda even heaven can be represented to a people as hell, and the most wretched life as paradise."⁴⁵

Political parties fully know all these, and deliberately use the instrument of propaganda for the manipulation of popular impulse and thought, with a view to manufacturing the so-called public opinion in support of the objects they have in view. In India, too, as in other democratic countries, different political parties carry on their propaganda on behalf of their respective ideologies. But the way in which the communistic propaganda is being carried on here is really surprising. Apart from the Press, the platform, slogans, street parades and demonstrations, and even some subversive activities in some isolated parts of India, now effectively held in check, cheap communistic literature, published by the "Foreign Languages Publishing House" in Moscow, has simply been flooding the country. Moreover, there are some weekly local publications, both in English and in Indian vernaculars, dealing with different aspects of life in the Soviet Union. Being a Democracy India allows the sale of such publications, although such a thing—I mean the sale of any anti-communistic literature—is inconceivable to-day in the Soviet State.

"In our state, naturally," says Andrei Vyshinsky⁴⁶, "there is and can be no place for freedom of speech, press, and so on for the foes of socialism. Every sort of attempt on their part to utilize to the detriment of the state—that is to say, to the detriment of all the toilers—these freedoms granted to the toilers must be classified as a counter-revolutionary crime.... Freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of meetings, of street parades, and of demonstrations are the property of all the citizens in the U.S.S.R., fully guaranteed by the state upon the single condition that they be utilized in accord with the interests of the toilers and to the end of strengthening the socialist social order."

I have dealt above with the importance of propaganda for the diffusion of ideologies. But, as Professor Carr⁴⁷ has said, the power of propaganda to manufacture opinion is not unlimited. Even Hitler admitted this. A propaganda, for instance, in favour of a particular ideology cannot be permanently successful unless, first, it is in some conformity with facts, and, secondly, unless it appeals "to some universally or generally recognised values." "False statements of fact are bad propaganda", and, after all,

there is an "inherent strain of idealism in human nature."⁴⁸ (For example; a propaganda for the acceptance of the communist ideology by a people cannot, except during a short period of distress, misery, suffering and frustration, succeed unless there is a grave, deep-seated social injustice which cannot be removed otherwise.) This points to the necessity of a critical and impartial examination of our social system. "The existence of a nation divided permanently into rich and poor is," Professor Laski has rightly said, "incompatible with the attainment of social justice." Besides, we must bear in mind the warning of James Madison⁴⁹ that "the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property", and that "those who hold, and those who are without property, have ever formed distinct interests in society." Precisely one hundred years ago, even John Stuart Mill, author of the *Essay On Liberty*, went so far as to say in his *Principles of Political Economy*:⁵⁰

"If . . . the choice were to be made between Communism with all its chances, and the present (1852) state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence, that the produce of labour should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labour cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessities of life; if this or Communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of Communism would be but as dust in the balance."

Further :

"The laws of property have never yet conformed to the principles on which the justification of private property rests. They have made property of things which never ought to be property, and absolute property where only a qualified property ought to exist. They have not held the balance fairly between human beings, but have heaped impediments upon some, to give advantage to others; they have purposely fostered inequalities, and prevented all from starting fair in the race."

In view of these weighty views, the ideology of communism which, as I have already said, has some good features as well as some very ugly features, is a challenge to show that "its ideals can be realised by alternative means." Professor Laski is not, therefore, wrong when he says⁵⁰ that "nothing is gained, in any discussion of communism, by treating it as a wicked doctrine;" that, "like any other system of

44. See Hitler, *op. cit.*, Chap. VI.

45. See Carr, *Propaganda in International Politics*, Oxford, 1939, p. 27.

46. See his *The Law of the Soviet State*, 1948, p. 617. This work is really a joint product of Vyshinsky and a team of collaborators.

47. See Carr, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-32.

48. See *ibid.*

49a. See *The Federalist* (Hamilton, Madison and Jay), No. X.

49. See Book II, Chap. I, Sec. 3 (Ashley's Edition, 1929, pp. 208-209).

50. See Laski, *Communism*, 1930, pp. 238-39.

belief, its rise is the outcome of its environment, and its acceptance by large bodies of men is no more unnatural than their acceptance of other creeds; and that even those who reject communistic principles must admit the large degree of truth in the indictment that is brought against the present social order with its glaring inequalities on every side. Democracy in the political sphere has really no meaning in a country if there are poverty, misery and squalor, hunger, thirst and starvation, and disease, ignorance and intemperance in it, on a large scale. There should, it has been rightly said, be "a civic minimum" of food, clothing, shelter, and education for every citizen in a country. (Of course, this will perforce lead to a social control of the growth of population and to a compulsory family planning.) We should not forget here that a spoken word or a written word cannot produce a permanent effect upon a people unless they are suffering from some serious, legitimate grievances and unless they are psychologically prepared for it. (The true remedy, therefore, for the danger of the acceptance of a subversive creed by any considerable number of men,

lies in the removal of all their legitimate grievances and in the establishment of an equitable social order. At the same time, I should like to observe that it is not at all necessary to have recourse to any violence for bringing about a social change in these days of adult suffrage. "Hate and fear and violence" will, we must bear in mind, only create an "environment" of which the children are, equally, hate and fear and violence.⁵¹ We must not forget:

"They that take the sword shall perish with the sword".

Finally, we must not indulge, as Mill has warned,⁵² in "the folly of premature attempts" at "social transformation". There is nothing inherently wrong "in the essential constitution of human nature". "Education, habit, and the cultivation of the sentiments, will make a common man dig or weave for his country, as readily as fight for his country." These are very wise words of a great rationalist thinker and social reformer and we should do well to pay heed to them.

51. See Laski, *Communism*, p. 244.

52. See John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography*, Chap. VII.

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LINES TO AN UNBORN CHILD

By F. R. STANLEY

Angel unborn, a thousand years hence,
When birdsong and starlight still weave their music in your heart,
Remember us. Remember there were some
To whom the earth and its cities, its glory and gold,
Were like the moth's borrowed incandescence,
Or the shrivelled bud that has felt winter's claw.
We who loved with a beautiful madness,
Where amaranth and holly, heather and primrose?
The dream-world of spent passions and lost faces?
For once we lived among beautiful thorns,
Hoarding our treasures for the morrow; for the morrow—
Here an evening scene, a holding of hands,
A pledging of faith and of love that binds:
Or the transient beauty of a falling star;
A name that sent us wand'ring back
Through lotus-lands of memories;
A wish, a prayer breathed 'twixt closed lips,
When God's light footstep sounded on the lawn.



PARRINGTON AND THE JEFFERSONIAN TRADITION

By MERRILL D. PETERSON,

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ONE of the monumental studies of the American mind, which should be read by every student of American culture, is Vernon L. Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927-1930). A Kansas Populist, a Harvard graduate, a contemporary of three other great historians of this century F. J. Turner, Charles Beard and Carl Becker, Parrington spent most of his life a virtually unknown Professor of English at the University of Washington. After fifteen years' solitary labour, he earned his reward; for *Main Currents* was an inspiring text to a whole younger generation of intellectuals engaged in an exciting rediscovery of the American past. The book is vulnerable at several points—its inconsistencies and confusions, its mistaken judgments of major artists, its Jeffersonian ideology—and recently Parrington has been severely criticized from different quarters. I am not primarily concerned with the book's failings, but rather with its major theme, which is American liberalism, with an adventure in the liberal tradition by a passenger identified with the voyage, critical of the course and wary of the destination.

Various classified as literary, intellectual or political history, *Main Currents* defies conventional labeling. While it is all of these, its great symphonic theme is the rise and decline of Jeffersonian liberalism in the United States. Parrington's interest, he said in introducing Volume I, was not *belles lettres* but the genesis and development in American thought of ideas reckoned traditionally American, not the dainty fare of genteel poetasters but the old-fashioned beef and puddings of masculine intellects and material struggles. Great figures in American thought had been ignored or misunderstood because belletristic historians, who were notoriously impatient of any incursion into matters of fact, had narrowly catalogued them as poets or polite essayists. Following the broad path of political, economic, and intellectual development, rather than the formally belletristic, Parrington dealt with forces and ideas anterior to literary schools and movements, and with materials that ramified into theology, politics, and philosophy. Never shirking the responsibility of evaluation, he openly avowed a "liberal rather than conservative, Jeffersonian rather than Federalistic" point of view. (I, i). In the middle of Volume III, which he did not live to complete, Parrington reaffirmed his major thesis.

"It is," he said, "perhaps, not extreme to interpret the political history of America since 1790 as largely a struggle between the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the spirit of the Constitution, the one primarily concerned with the rights of man, the other more practically concerned with the rights of property." (III, 285)

These were the rival traditions as Parrington understood them, and his work was a liberal's study of these two traditions in the broad currents of American thought.

Not in 1790 but deep in the colonial past the opposing traditions took form. The line of liberalism ran through Roger Williams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson. Against their democratic visions, Parrington placed the contrasting figures of John Cotton, Jonathan Edwards, and Alexander Hamilton.

"The Carolinian Seeker and the Jacobean theocrat, the colonial democrat and the colonial Calvinist, the Physiocratic republican and the capitalistic financier, embody in concrete form the diverse tendencies of primitive America." (I, vi)

The difference between the Puritanism of Cotton in Boston and the Puritanism of Williams in Providence was more than theological; each had its own specifications of the Utopia to be erected on Atlantic shores. Whether the New World was to be patterned on the reactionary Calvinism of the Old, with its deterministic theory of history, its pessimistic view of man, its coercive and elitist politics, or on the generous ideals contained in Luther's conception of Christian liberty, the congregational polity of the Separatists, the natural rights doctrines of the Whig revolution—this was the great issue, first fought out in the seventeenth century's thorny paths of theological disputation but thereafter to divide the secular American mind.

Roger Williams was the first hero of liberal America. Combining the Christian gospel of love and brotherhood and the democratic theory of individual rights and popular rule, this exile from Massachusetts Bay incarnated the two major strains of the liberal tradition. He was, in Parrington's view, essentially a political philosopher, not a theologian, devoting his life to a great democratic experiment. It mattered not to Parrington that Williams's real passion, like Cotton's and Hooker's was the purity of religion, which he hoped further to secure by separating church from state, the corporation of saints from the corporation of the unregenerate mass guided by "Satan himself." Williams's theology was Calvinistic, and whatever political liberalism—freedom of religious conscience, separation of church and state—crept into his thinking was designed to serve religion. Rhode Island, although more democratic than Massachusetts, was a fairly typical Puritan commonwealth, the suffrage limited to freeholders, the leadership aristocratic, the state coercive. That there were seeds of democracy in Williams's Rhode Island cannot be denied, but so there were in the Massachusetts theocracy. Puritanism and Roger Williams could be correctly understood only in religious terms, which Parrington's Jeffersonian-Hamiltonian dialectic and his eighteenth century vocabulary could not comprehend. Placing Williams in the colonial background of the Jeffersonian tradition, however, gave new ranges of meaning to the later struggles for democracy in America.

Not the challenge of liberal theory, Parrington

declared, but "the silent pressure of environment" was the decisive factor in the ultimate defeat of the Puritan oligarchy. American democracy was a native growth of favourable material conditions—the abundance of free land, the broad diffusion of property, the individualist psychology of the frontier. Native experience created an instinctive, unconscious liberalism, making Jonathan Edwards an anachronism and Benjamin Franklin the new American. With the approach of the revolution, "the liberalism that before had been vaguely instinctive quickly became eager and militant," and Jefferson drew on the old world philosophy of Locke "to express and justify certain tendencies then seeking adequate statement." (I, 191, 190)

Late in the eighteenth century, Parrington continued, "French romantic philosophy," domesticated by Franklin, Jefferson, Paine, and their followers, provided the primary intellectual sanctions of the native liberalism toward which colonial experience had driven. From Rousseau, the Physiocrats, the Philosophers, the English radicals of the French Revolution came the humanitarian theories which sustained and clarified emerging American ideals: human perfectibility, equalitarianism, inevitable progress, agrarianism, decentralized government, popular sovereignty. While this philosophy was congenial to the great body of yeomanry, who won the revolution and followed Jefferson to victory in 1800, the rising middle class of the eastern towns, hoping to create a civilization after its own ideal, patterned a different philosophy after English Whiggery.

"Realistic and material rather than romantic and Utopian, it was implicitly hostile to all the major premises and ideals of the French school. It conceived of human nature.... as acquisitive; and it proposed to erect a new social and political philosophy in accordance with the needs of a capitalistic order. Its aspirations were expressed in the principle of *laissez faire*, and in elaborating this cardinal doctrine it reduced the citizen to the narrow dimensions of the economic man, concerned only with buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest." (I, v)

Parrington saw this ideology of the expanding business community as counter-revolutionary. On the ruins of the old clerical and Tory aristocracy arose the Puritanized commercial class, the Whig aristocracy of property, which signified "the most revolutionary change in three hundred years of American experience." (I, 192) Although the Whig merchants, lawyers, and gentlemen—men like John Dickinson—joined the rank and file of Americans to secure independence, they were out of sympathy with the spirit of popular liberalism. They stood where the English Whigs had stood in 1688, fearful of Tory taxation because of its threat to "property and the rule of property in America." (I, 222). Reluctant rebels, they countered the revolutionary movement by subverting republican government to the acquisitive interests of property in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and the Hamiltonian Federalist party.

The anatomy of these rival philosophies, as they

found expression in the Plutarchian figures of Jefferson and Hamilton, requires further examination. Of fundamental importance is Parrington's distinction between the "realism" (or "materialism") of the Hamiltonians and the "romanticism" (or "idealism") of the Jeffersonians. When Parrington wrote that "the Hamiltonian principles lie at the core of the problem which has proved so difficult of solution by modern liberalism" (I, 293), he referred to the Hamiltonians' realistic understanding of economic forces underlying politics and testified to the continuing challenge of the conservative tradition in the United States. That self-interest is the mainspring of human ambition, that power follows property and government exists for its protection, that the state should use its powers to extend the field of profitable operations and safeguard exploitation, that it should therefore be so constituted as to check popular rule and assure the ascendancy of the propertied class—these were axioms of the seventeenth century Whig politics upon which the Founding Fathers erected a centralizing constitution "favorable to capitalistic development and hostile to social democracy." (I, 273). In the hand of the Federalist leaders every ounce of the original liberalism contained in Whig doctrine was removed and the Leviathan state was in the making. Answering Federalist apologists from John Marshall to Albert J. Beveridge, Parrington asserted that Hamilton's true historical role was not the "savior of nationality" but the "creative organizer of a political state answering the needs of a capitalistic order." (I, 294, 306). He was eminently a practical man, building on the solid bedrock of past experience and current fact, devoid of sentiment, contemptuous of theorists, unmoved by Utopian dreams or humanitarian promises.

"If the material power and splendor of the state be the great end of statesmanship—as Hamilton believed—no just complaint can be lodged against... (his) policy; but if the well-being of the individual citizen be the chief end—as Jefferson maintained—a very different judgment must be returned." (I, 306)

Until the French Revolution, Parrington said, the democratic philosophy was little understood, with the result that the Whiggish middle class of the East won the field. The disparity of intellectual equipment between agrarian and capitalist groups was always to plague American liberalism, and this was one of the handicaps Jeffersonian Democracy had to overcome. So great was the impact of the French Revolution, according to Parrington, that it provided a body of democratic theory, which gained great currency under the stimulus of revolutionary enthusiasm, and reversed the Federalist movement toward Leviathan. Jefferson became the skilful organizer of the inchoate popular discontent, leading the agrarian masses to victory in 1800. Thereafter, the ideals of democracy derived from France and sifted by American experience were the goals of liberalism. Parrington recognized in his confusion that English liberalism and French "radicalism," as he sometimes distinguished it,

were but two phases of a single historical phenomenon. But the passionate social idealism of the French thinkers, sweeping away all hoary traditions and envisioning a wholesome social order founded in reason, nature and goodwill, was in marked contrast to the cautious liberalism of the English trading class.

"A pronounced individualism characterised both movements, French and English; but in the one case it was humanitarian, appealing to reason and seeking social justice, in the other it was self-seeking, founded in the right of exploitation, and looking toward capitalism." (I, 272-3)

Jefferson's thought was "an amalgam of English and French liberalism, shaped by the conscious influence of the American frontier". (I, 344). The French humanitarian influence, Parrington believed, was revealed as early as 1776, when in the Declaration of Independence Jefferson substituted the idea of "the pursuit of happiness" for the Lockean "protection of property," thus breaking decisively from the Whig theory of natural rights. Jefferson was an idealist, inspired by the Enlightenment, leavening the "materialistic realism" of the times. One suspects that Parrington's glowing tribute to the Virginia democrat—"a perennial inspiration," "by far the most vital and suggestive" of the great thinkers of his generation, "one to whom later generations may return most hopefully" (I, 355-6)—sprang from the belief that Jefferson alone harnessed a romantic vision to social and political realities. He was, to be sure, a theorist and visionary; but, contrary to his critics, his theories and dreams were rooted in American experience. Old World theory was always judged in the light of existing American conditions. Speculative whims were subordinated to practical considerations. Physiocratic theory with its agrarian economics, for example, appealed to Jefferson as "little other than a deduction from the open facts of American life." (I, 346). All history taught that the movement from simplicity to complexity, from dispersion to concentration, from economic independence to economic dependence created a psychology and an institutionalism leading to an authoritarian state, controlled by a ruling class for exploitative purposes, heedless of common well-being.

"This great lesson in social drifts he (Jefferson) brought home to America. There had been created here the psychology and institutions of a decentralized society, with a corresponding exaltation of the individual and the breakdown of caste. In the broad spaces of America the old-world coercive state had dwindled to a mere police arrangement for parochial duties; the free citizen refused to be regimented; the several communities insisted on managing their affairs by their own agents. Such was the natural consequence of free economics; but with the turning of the tide would not the drift toward centralization nullify the results of earlier American experience and repeat here the unhappy experience of European peoples?" (I, 345)

Because of the Hamiltonian system, this was no idle fear. Jefferson was realist enough to know that from economic freedom came political freedom; and in America,

where that freedom belonged to a simple agrarian society, he was necessarily hostile to all the agencies of privilege, consolidation and coercion Hamilton was erecting.

"To preserve government in America from such degradation, to keep the natural resources open to all, were the prime desire and object of his life." (I, 356)

Concluding his first volume with the triumph of Jeffersonian Democracy, Parrington pondered the results of two hundred years of American history. Jefferson could look back with satisfaction on the disintegration of old world tyrannies and superstitions in the solvent of a free, expansive society, for "the drift was all in the direction he was facing." (I, 397). But Parrington was skeptical. Although religion and politics had been liberalized, the aristocracy was still in secure possession of all the forms and agencies of cultural expression, which were peculiarly remote from the full-bodied democratic life of the people. More important were the driving forces of capitalism and industrialism, which even Jefferson and the agrarian host could not halt. From Parrington's twentieth century perspective, it seemed clear that Hamilton, not Jefferson, owned the future: "he blazed the path that America has since followed." (I, 306). Jefferson's noble effort to save the democratic ideal from degradation to capitalist economics was, Parrington sadly reflected, "foredoomed to failure." (I, 356). While capitalism rolled onward, a fog of romanticism enveloped the Jeffersonian tradition. Jefferson and such Virginia disciples as John Taylor had been poised on agrarian economics. But Jeffersonian philosophy was soon blown into a somewhat nebulous idealism. Of course, as Parrington pointed out the influence of the French liberals, who held aloof from all vulgar materialism and who aimed at universal rather than class goals, were partly responsible for this separation of value and fact, ideal and reality.

"In seeking much they overreached accomplishment, for they had behind them no disciplined, class-conscious group pursuing definite ends." (I, 271)

Although "the Jeffersonian movement was a long and effective training school in the economic basis of politics" (II, 13), an overreaching Utopianism entered the liberal tradition, making it heedless of the power of property, causing it to forget that the Constitution was English rather than French, immersing it in an abstract equalitarianism, which left it ill-equipped to wage successful war on plutocracy.

Inspiring, hopeful and humane, liberalism was foredoomed because of its innocence of the realities of power. In his third volume, writing of the new adventure of liberalism in his own time, Parrington sharpened his point. The conception of the political state as determined by economic forces, he wrote, underlay the thinking of the English school and was accepted as axiomatic by the Founding Fathers.

"It was the main-traveled road of political thought until a new highway was laid out by French engineers, who, disliking the bog of economics, surveyed another route by way of romantic equalitarianism. The logic

of the engineers was excellent, but the drift of politics is little influenced by logic, and abstract equalitarianism proved to be poor material for highway construction. In divorcing political theory from contact with sobering reality it gave it over to a treacherous romanticism. In seeking to avoid the bog of economics it ran into an arid desert." (III, 408-9)

Parrington insisted always that "Jefferson was not so foolish as many of his disciples have been" (III, xxix); but, alas, there was an inherent tendency in the liberal tradition toward "profitless romanticisms," which constituted the dilemma of the latter-day Jeffersonian.

Volumes II and III of *Main Currents* are studies in the disintegration of Jeffersonian liberalism. In the Middle Period (1815-1861), liberalism fell under the custodianship of several different sectional and economic groups, receiving from each a distinctive ideology in which original Jeffersonian principles were gradually lost out of the reckoning.

The Jeffersonian heritage, especially its agrarian theory, was best represented in the Old Dominion, whose leaders made the last vigorous stand against the centralizing industrialism of Northern Whiggery. Here in Virginia, during the twilight of the liberal eighteenth century, when French romantic ideals ran parallel with native experience and the classic standards of taste inherited from Augustan England harmonized with a generous plantation tradition, lived as fine a race of republican gentlemen as America ever produced. But around 1830 Virginia was thrown on the defensive by the coonskin Jacksonian Democracy, by radical abolitionism, and by the imperious advances of capitalism. The French influence faded. The nostalgic and picturesque romanticism of Scott replaced the revolutionary romanticism of Rousseau. Isolated from fresh humanitarian currents of thought, the once creative Virginia mind stagnated. All that remained of Jeffersonian thought, shorn of its democratic ethic, was a rigorous constitutionalism employed in defense of planter and sectional interests. Southern leadership passed from Virginia to South Carolina. John C. Calhoun undid the work of Jefferson, setting class economics above abstract humanitarianism, attacking the foundations upon which the democratic movement had rested, substituting for its libertarian and equalitarian doctrines conceptions wholly alien to it. Another great southern statesman, Alexander H. Stephens, reduced the Jeffersonian philosophy to the compact theory of government, and supposed that in defending it, with corollaries of state rights and decentralization, against consolidating nationalism, he was defending liberal democracy. It was indeed one of the tragedies of American history, Parrington said, that "the principle of local self-government should have been committed to the cause of slavery, that it was loaded with an incubus certain to alienate the liberalism of the North." (II, 92). But to convert what for Jefferson was a legal contrivance for the pursuit of democratic ends into the all-embracing end itself was surely an error.

Experience on the western frontier taught the worth of certain Jeffersonian principles—individual liberty, social equality, popular rule—long after they had ceased to be fashionable in the South. Jacksonian Democracy embodied this pioneer individualism, crude and vulgar, careless of humanitarian values, bedeviled by a misty equalitarianism which shrouded the ugly reality of materialistic exploitation. A naive Jeffersonianism, it was challenged by the Whiggery of Henry Clay, prophet of the new West.

Jackson's democracy was "a spontaneous expression of the frontier spirit," Clay's Whiggery "a calculating expression of the maturing settlement.... The one was agrarian *laissez faire*, the other was exploitative and paternalistic. The followers of Jackson wanted the state kept simple and frugal, the followers of Clay wanted it to engage in ambitious programs of internal improvement; and from these antagonistic principles emerged a bitter feud between Democracy and Whiggery that in Western townships revived the old alignment of agrarian and Federalist of earlier times." (II, 138-9)

The economics and psychology of western settlements assured the triumph of Whiggery, and the West became "the special repository of the new middle class spirit." (II, 140). Civilization in the Ohio Valley was built upon speculative land values. To capitalize on the wild lands became the great object, which required a boom psychology, all the evil machinery of credit, dependence on the cash market, abundant aid from the federal and state governments to lay out roads, build court-houses, charter banks and corporations. This of course "played havoc with the older Jeffersonianism." Agrarian cupidity replaced Jefferson's agrarian ethic. The idea of progress, which Condorcet and Jefferson had interpreted in humanistic terms, became a rationale for materialistic aggrandizement.

"Jefferson thought always in terms of the agrarian producer in a stable economic world; speculation was not in the philosophy; unearned increment was a crop he never calculated on; and in sympathy with an older liberalism he would reduce the state to the narrow role of policeman." (II, 142)

But just as the spirit of Calhoun was victorious in the South, so the spirit of Clay—a kind of democratized Hamiltonianism—triumphed in the West. The weaknesses of Jacksonian Democracy (and unlike so many liberals, Parrington was acutely aware of these) were in part responsible for the transition.

"Both political parties contented themselves with an egoistic individualism that took no account of social ends, forgetful of the humanitarian spirit that underlay the earlier democratic program." (III, xxiii).

The third strategic area of ante-bellum liberalism, in Parrington's analysis, was New England. The Middle Atlantic states, ruled by the urban capitals of trade and only casually brushed by the inspiring idealisms that stimulated intellectual activity in other sections, were inhospitable to liberalism. There were of course the Coopers, Bryants and Greeleys, who were vigorous advocates

of different articles in the Jeffersonian creed. But the typical product of the Middle East was Washington Irving, detached, sentimental, void of social conscience or of loyalty to American aspirations, finally drifting back to Federalism. New England, on the other hand, was enjoying an intellectual renaissance, resulting from the impact of the romantic revolution upon the native Puritan mind. Although Parrington thought it the best expression of the liberal faith in its time, he emphasized its parochial character and its predominantly ethical passion, which together mitigated its influence and its practical potential. Isolated and retarded for over a generation from the mainstream of American experience by the twin authorities of the minister and the merchant, who stubbornly enforced the decadent loyalties of Calvinism and Federalism, New England, when it finally awoke, spoke in a language most of America could not understand. What was significant about the Unitarian and Transcendentalist revolts was their substitution of a social conscience for the old Puritan private conscience. Their ceaseless, sensitive probing of this social conscience issued in philosophic protests against the evils of industrial society, radical reform movements, and ventures in Utopia. In their social idealism, these rebels shared the Jeffersonian spirit; but they gave it a rarified metaphysical form and were, in the main, indifferent to political and economic determinants—to all but the soul of man. The Unitarianism of William Ellery Channing, the Transcendentalism of Emerson, the philosophical anarchism of Thoreau, the militant reformism of Theodore Parker, the Utopianism of Brook Farm—these were “the last flowerings of a tree that was dying at its roots,” (II, 271) the tree of eighteenth century romanticism. Their moral passion fathered searching social criticism and dreams of a more loving commonwealth. But the roots were in decay, there was no sustaining realism—only soaring intellect and refined conscience. Like George Bancroft, who applied transcendentalism to the writing of American history, they had lost their economic bearings and they drove forward too confidently into the seas of idealism trusting to the self-reliant individual. So the realists did not understand, and the great figures of the New England renaissance were “isolated and lonely in the midst of men, seeking always a larger fellowship, awaiting those fleeting moments of illumination that should light up the meaning of life.” (II, 384).

Parrington found it not too surprising that after the subsidence of the transcendentalist ferment, New England life and letters fell under the “reign of the genteel.” Literary culture, moral earnestness, introspection, absorption with the problem of evil, the separation of ideals from realities—these traits had always characterized the New England mind, and even the renaissance strengthened them. In the hands of lesser men—Oliver Wendell Holmes, Hawthorne, Longfellow, James Russell Lowell—the Emersonian gospel eventuated in a “refined ethic,” uncritical, dedicated to the creation of a lite-

ature of innocence and purity, which would be a bulwark of good manners, good morals, and good government. What after all was Hawthorne, who committed the heresy of spinning romance out of the problem of evil, but “the extreme and finest expression of the refined alienation from reality that in the end palsied the creative mind of New England?” (II, 450). And what after all was James Russell Lowell, who epitomized the genteel tradition in politics with its cult of purity in office, but the representative of dignified and moralistic Victorian liberalism, inaccessible to solid American realities? (II, 472).

Thus, Parrington seemed to say, liberalism suffered a triple defeat in the Middle Period. Although the principle of democracy was established in the popular mind, although Jeffersonian ideals survived in certain quarters, and although social conditions sustained a free, equalitarian society, subtle forces were at work impairing the future of liberalism. In the South, Jeffersonian agrarianism was prostituted to the slavocracy. In the West, Jacksonian Democracy lost ground to middle class Whiggery, which spread its gospel through the East as well. In New England, a promising idealism lacked roots and faded out in the genteel tradition. After the Civil War, which marked the end of Jeffersonian America, liberalism was thoroughly routed by the triumph of exploitative capitalism and the advance of mechanistic science. This, and the search for a new liberalism suitable to the twentieth century, was the theme of Parrington's incomplete third volume.

Parrington began with a brilliantly graphic portrayal of the Gilded Age. He interpreted it as “the ripe fruit of Jacksonian leveling”—robust, vulgar, naive, acquisitive—in a society that had suddenly discovered its tremendous opportunities for wealth and exploitation.

“Freedom had become individualism, and individualism had become the inalienable right to preempt, to exploit, to squander. Gone were the old ideals along with the old restraints. The idealism of the forties, the romanticism of the fifties—all the heritage of Jeffersonianism and the French Enlightenment—were put thoughtlessly away, and with no social conscience, no concern for civilization, no heed for the future of the democracy it talked so much about, the Gilded Age threw itself into the business of money-getting.” (III, 17)

Whiggery, “the expression in politics of the acquisitive instinct,” captured the democratic ideology, and the people were betrayed into believing that industrial freedom and progress were the essence of the democratic faith. This was the supreme irony, which made Hamilton and Clay, rather than Jefferson and Emerson, the actual prophets.

In such a setting, Walt Whitman appeared to Parrington as the “Afterglow of the Enlightenment.” But chapter titles are misleading. Parrington's Whitman was more than that, for “the Enlightenment as it had come to him through the Jeffersonian heritage was supplemented and spiritualized by the Enlightenment as it had

taken form in passing through the transcendental mind." (III, 77). The Jeffersonian and Jacksonian movements, but especially the latter, had forgotten the great ideal of fellowship in their quest for equal rights. "In the struggle for liberty and equality the conception of fraternity had been denied and the golden trinity of the Enlightenment dismembered." (III, 76). For all its emphasis on Christian love and brotherhood, even the transcendental democracy had produced the hermit Thoreau, "no symbol of a generous democratic future." (III, 76). Amidst the disintegration of individualistic liberalism, Whitman envisioned a new integration of the ego and the mass, of freedom and solidarity.

"Not in distinction but in oneness with the whole is found the good life, for in fellowship is love and in the whole is freedom; and love and freedom are the law and the prophets." (III, 77)

It was a noble conception, Parrington thought, washing away all the meanness that befouled pioneer individualism; and Whitman was "a great figure, the greatest assuredly in our literature." (III, 86). Striking an elegiac note, Parrington observed how grotesque Whitman's expansive visions must seem to the modern men of petty faiths.

The Whitmanesque strain in liberalism was poetic, but closely related to it were the more prosaic prophets of a democratic economics, Jeffersonian in aspirations but keyed to the challenge of urban-industrial society. Henry George, author of *Progress and Poverty*, was such a prophet. Parrington described him as "a Jeffersonian idealist" and the ultimate expression of the native tradition of Physiocratic agrarianism. The deeper purpose of his great book was "to humanize and democratize political economy," a science which had become narrow and pessimistic. But like so many earlier idealistic liberals who thought in the eighteenth century terms of abstract justice, George did not see "the wider range of economic determinism—that changes came only when the existing order has become intolerable to great classes, and the grip of use and wont is loosened by the rebellions born of exigent need.... An arch-idealist, Henry George would hasten the change by appeal to reason . . . forgetting that reason waits upon interest, and the day of its freedom is long delayed." (III, 136). Committed to "an old-fashioned agrarian democracy," George was ill-equipped to cope with an ambitious industrialism. The same judgment was passed, but with considerable severity, upon the more numerous genteel liberals. Their ardor for civil service reform epitomized a moralistic approach to politics, and their basic assumption that political evils were traceable to bad men or faulty machinery showed how far they had strayed from the sober realism of an earlier day. "The old liberal was fighting the battles of capitalism with weapons as antiquated as the old cap-and-ball musket." (III, 164)

Although the second half of Parrington's final volume, entitled *The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America*, is very fragmentary, it seems clear that he found the main sources of modern criticism, from which evolved

new liberal strategies and goals, in the agrarian revolt of the late nineteenth century and in the rise of naturalistic science. The intellectual revolution effected by scientific habits of thought had its counterpart in the altered pattern of life brought about by the advance of industrial technology. Both forces created tremendous dislocations in American society, which, however, were most pronounced on the agricultural Middle Border.

"For six generations the pattern of life had been woven by the impulse of dispersion that in scattering men along a wide frontier had disintegrated the philosophies and rejected the social order from the old world, transforming America into such a society of free men as the Enlightenment had dreamed of—decentralized, individualistic, democratic." (III, 189)

But the drift was increasingly toward centralization, with its reactionary compulsions toward conformity, standardization and monopoly.

In the works of Henry and Brooks Adams, Parrington found strong support for his Jeffersonian belief that a centralized society calls forth a coercive state controlled by the business class. This had been the American experience, and Brooks Adams's theory that civilization exhausts itself in accelerated movement toward concentration of population and power confirmed it. Decentralization and multiplicity produced the imaginative and contemplative mind—the mind Henry Adams studied in *Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres*.

"Whereas centralization, with the rubbing away of singularity by daily contact and the greater rewards that lie open to activity, breeds automatically the economic mind—a mind that is necessarily unimaginative, practical, competitive, acquisitive, skeptical, preferring administration to creation and setting exploitation as the single object of activity. And since centralization offers increasing rewards to greed, the economic mind subdues the imaginative, and the money lender with his control of wealth rises to mastery. As he expropriates the resources of society he inevitably dominates the political state." (III, 228)

Such was the theory the Adams brothers derived from their ventures into ancient, medieval and early American history. Parrington could not accept the full measure of their skepticism, but his chapters on the "House of Adams" are among the most deeply moving in the entire work.

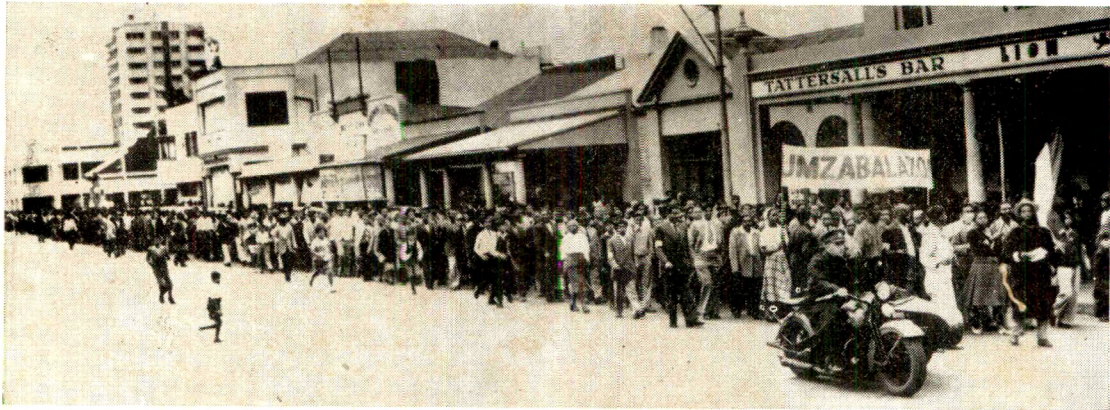
The last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed agrarian America's final struggle against the law of concentration. It went into battle as ill-equipped intellectually as it had been in the struggles against the Constitution and the Whig party. "It was reaping the harvest of the long Jacksonian slackness," content with the abstract principle of democracy, mindless of capitalism's encroachments under the covering myths of progress and a democratic Constitution, providing indeed the rope for its own hanging by its mad lust to devour the continent. (III, 257-62). The Middle border's literary image of itself was fogged by sentiment. The prosperous, folksy, equalitarian heart of America—the "valley of democracy" as one novelist named it—this was the standard self-image. But as Hamlin Garland and other writers began to portray the bitterness and disillusionment of the farmers, so a



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru being welcomed by the Girl Volunteers on the occasion of his arrival at Imphal



The passive resistance movement against unjust racial laws of the South African Government is being carried on with vigour but with complete non-violence in Natal



The eleventh batch of passive resisters is led by Mr. Cassim Amra, a member of the Executive of the Natal Indian Congress



The eleventh batch of passive resisters of Durban consisting of Africans and Indians is about to break the Apartheid regulations in the Berea Station, Durban

more critical and realistic attitude also took hold in politics. Through a succession of third parties originating in the Middle West, the common people endeavored to wrest the government from the plutocracy and turn it once again to the realization of democratic ideals. These party movements—Greenbackism, Populism, Progressivism—Parrington thought were in the Jeffersonian tradition; for they had as their common mission the assertion of the rights of the common man against a class that had ignored or distorted the idealism of the Declaration of Independence and repudiated in practice the principles of democracy. Their influence spread into the South and into the East, spinning the thread of liberalism that ran through the years between the Gilded Age and the first World War. At first the ideology was native agrarian, and therefore unequal to its task; but at the end of the century it was strengthened by the collectivistic theories of urban labor and reform groups and by the new criticism of progressive intellectuals.

"Through it all runs increasingly a note of sobering realism. After a hundred years political romanticism was slowly dying in America." (III, 258)

The agrarian revolt was doomed to failure—the farmers were swallowed up in the middle class and concentration was accelerated. Only in the recovery of the realistic spirit of the eighteenth century, which the Progressive Movement (1903-1917) signalized did Parrington see a ray of hope for liberalism.

This "critical realism" sprang from the naturalistic science which began with Darwin.

"Provincial America had been theological and political minded; but with the staying of the dispersing and the creation of an urban psychology, the ground was prepared for the reception of new philosophies that came from the contemplation of the laws of the material universe." (III, 190)

Between 1870 and 1900 the broad movement of science-conditioned thought passed through "two sharply differentiating and contradictory phases." (III, 190). In the seventies, biological evolution was reckoned a scientific sanction for the ideals of the Enlightenment. The authority of science dignified anew the abstract eighteenth century ideas of progress, individual rights, and providential guidance. Herbert Spencer was the apostle of this genial Victorian optimism, and his great vogue in America, Parrington believed, was accountable to the stubborn American attachment to traditional ideals. "The final effect of the synthetic philosophy was not to overset but to confirm the major postulates of the Enlightenment." (III, 199). Restating in scientific terms the speculative ideas upon which liberal democracy was erected, Spencer completed the work begun by Locke and brought to conclusion "the greatest intellectual Movement of modern times." (III, 201). In spite of Spencer's bourgeois social Darwinism, Parrington declared that Spencer's "final deductions tally so closely with earlier theory as to warrant a disciple of Jefferson in becoming a disciple of Spencer." (III, 199)

The Victorian compromise with the new universe disclosed by science collapsed around 1890, and a fresh generation saw through the romantic glow that had enveloped it. Spencer had seen a benevolent determinism at work, continuous and purposive progress, a slowly encompassing harmony of all things. Spencerians had facetiously overlooked the consequences of their naturalistic and deterministic vision of the universe; for in such a universe men could not be the free children of God but only pawns on nature's chessboard, and the humanistic ideals of the Enlightenment were hopelessly antiquated. The young generation, taking the postulates of science at face value, reshaped its social philosophy in harmony with a deterministic pessimism that denied purpose or plan in the changing universe of matter. "Purpose had disappeared from the grim face of the material universe, and they found themselves in the coils of a determinism that was more likely to prove malignant than benevolent. The idea of progress slipped quietly from their minds, and in its stead was only a meaningless and purposeless flux of things." (III, 203). Parrington saw here a return to the dark spirit of the Puritans and the materialistic pessimism of the Hamiltonian tradition. A conception so coercive, he said, denied "all the aspirations of traditional social philosophy, surrendering society to a new regimentation and reducing the individual to an impotent victim of things as they are." (III, 193). The disillusionment it brought to the American mind could be studied in *The Education of Henry Adams* and in the naturalistic fiction of Theodore Dreiser, who, as the spokesman of an America falling once more under the shadow of pessimism, loomed large in "the darkening skies of letters."

Paradoxically, Parrington saw renewed hope for liberalism in the intellectual revolution effected by science and industrialization. Over and over again he had emphasized the crucial dilemma of American liberalism: because it was a *faith*, derived from abstract premises assumed to be self-evident and dedicated to ideal humanitarian ends, it shied away from disagreeable realities and declined to yield *its truths* to pessimistic authorities, whether of philosophy, science or political economy. There was a kind of genteel tradition within liberalism, a great separation of the realm of value from the realm of fact, of higher aims from lower processes. With the foundations of the old liberal faith crumbling under their feet, liberals took their bearings afresh, substituted investigation for speculation, and in the scientific spirit of sober realism set about the serious business of laying new roads to traditional liberal goals.

Parrington died before he could write any of the detailed sections he had planned on the movement of liberalism in the fruitful Progressive years. However, his outlook on this "great stock-taking venture" is suggested in his projected outline, scattered notes, and the brilliant *Chapter in American Liberalism*. A vast and varied intellectual and political ferment, drawing to its center journalists, artists, scholars, and politicians, Progressivism stirred the mind and conscience of America

to their "lowest sluggish stratum." There were of course genuine political and social gains, but "the substantial result of the movement was the instruction it afforded in the close kinship between business and politics—a lesson greatly needed by a people long fed on romantic unrealities." (III, 407) Liberalism's rediscovery of the economic basis of politics yielded the knowledge that there could be no true democracy until the industrial economy was subordinated to the common interest.

"Democratic aspirations had been thwarted hitherto by the uncontrolled play of the acquisitive instinct; the immediate problem of democracy was the control of that instinct in the common interest. Economics had controlled the political state to its narrow and selfish advantage; it was for the political state to resume its sovereignty and extend its control over economics." (III, 403)

Charles A. Beard's *The Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (1913) was the outstanding achievement of this movement of thought. Revealing property as the master force in every society, Beard scraped away the layer of patriotic myth that covered the Constitution, proved that it had been conceived in a spirit designedly hostile to democracy and, therefore, that the drift toward plutocracy was but an inevitable unfolding from its premises which no idealistic tilting at windmills could counteract. With the clarification of its philosophy and the adoption of a more realistic economic orientation twentieth century realism reached flood-tide.

"Then," Parrington recalled, "the war intervened and the green fields shriveled in an afternoon. With the cynicism that came with post-war days the democratic liberalism of 1917 was thrown away like an empty whiskey flask." (III, 412)

From the war came the pessimistic science of psychology—"the moron emerged as a singular commentary on our American democracy"—and then the theories of Freud. "If the mass—the raw materials of democracy—never rises much above sex appeals and belly needs, surely it is poor stuff to try to work up into an excellent civilization." Realistic science had thus delivered another blow to the Jeffersonian dream of democracy. Sinclair Lewis's *Babbalanja* was the representative man of the twenties; "the symbol of our common emptiness," the final product of pecuniary middle class values. Parrington, the elder liberal, who had early been warmed by the rich afterglow of the Enlightenment and had later seen the promise of new and greater dawns, at last found himself with his liberal contemporaries in "the unhappy predicament of being treated as mourners at their own funerals." (III, 401). He concluded his *Chapter on American Liberalism* on a melancholy note: "It is a discouraging essay." (III, 413)

The sources of Parrington's despair lay in his inability

to reconcile traditional liberal values with social and intellectual demands for a "critical realism" that seemed to deny them. Liberal values and hopes were held on faith. They could not be committed to the arbitrations of science. But—and this is the central tension that runs through the pages of *Main Currents*—societies of men functioned according to material processes which only the discipline of fact characteristic of scientific knowledge comprehended. Impaled on the horns of this dilemma, Parrington searched anxiously in the realm of fact for knowledge tending to confirm the liberal faith. Never, however, was he satisfied with what he found. While counting the recovery of the realistic spirit of earlier times the most encouraging development in twentieth century liberalism, Parrington recoiled from its implications. A more realistic political economy, converting the centuries-old theory of economic determinism into an instrument for the realization of democratic objectives, promised the marriage of Jeffersonian ends to effectual Hamiltonian means. But the critical principles underlying the entire book belied this possibility. How was a materialistic, class-conscious social philosophy, which looked toward a strong centralized industrial state, suddenly to become a strategy for liberalism? Neither the confidence of Beard and Veblen that industrial technology held the key to a more wholesome social order nor the assurance of socialists that the urban proletariat was the democratic "fairy godmother" persuaded Parrington. He looked not to the industrial engineers, not to the proletariat, but rather to "the intellectuals, the dreamers, the critics, the historians, the men of letters" for true revelations of American life. The new science of psychology had a sobering effect on liberalism, providing more realistic estimates of the human materials with which liberalism had to work. But Parrington was contemptuous of the beardless young men who, like H. L. Menckens, had discovered Nietzsche and Freud and proceeded to poke fun at democratic values. He begged that we not too hastily abandon our traditional Jeffersonian faith in the common man—a faith derived from the eighteenth century conception of environment and education, not heredity and sex, as the creative force in determining character and shaping civilization.

We can only speculate on how Parrington would have felt about the prospects of liberalism in our own time. It seems probable, however, that he would have found little new hope in the liberal adventure known as the New Deal or in the ever-expanding network of international obligations exposing America to alien forces and ideologies or in a literature gravitating between a too pessimistic naturalism and a too unrealistic exoticism.

LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THIS has been a week of excitements. It began with a new session of Parliament. Next came the results of the American Presidential Election. And close on its heels came our Parliamentary by-election at Wycombe—an election in a small enough place but one of large political significance.

From my office windows on Tuesday we saw the very colourful procession at the Opening of her first Parliament by our young Queen. An American lady who was present was thrilled by the beauty of the pageantry—the kind of thing that is still done better in England than anywhere else in the world. The Queen and her husband, the Duke of Edinburgh, rode in the Irish state coach accompanied by a Sovereign's Escort of the Household Cavalry. As so often happens on these occasions, the sun came out just in time. Sunshine glittered on gilded coach and polished breastplates, the Abbey bells rang out, and the guns boomed a slow, measured, salute. When the Queen drew near to the House of Lords the Guards lowered their colours and the band played the National Anthem. Over and over again we saw the Queen raise and drop her hand in acknowledgment to the cheering crowds. It was the Queen Mother who originated this most attractive gesture. Former Queens have been content with bowing merely, but this play with the hand, as someone has said, "looks as if the Queen were scattering invisible flowers."

The election of General Eisenhower as President of the United States has brought great satisfaction to his many friends in this country. When he was Supreme Commander in the late war he showed, to a marked degree, a wonderful gift for welding different peoples together so that there was no feeling of the "foreign-ness" of anybody. Indeed so characteristic was this of him that the heads of many European States, with whom he came in contact during his war service, recall this circumstance to-day as they send him their messages of congratulation. And it is not only the high-ups who hold General Eisenhower in warm remembrance. The man in the street remembers the speech he made when he received the freedom of the City of London and the crowds called him out on to the balcony of the Mansion House. On that occasion he showed he had what Kipling called "the common touch", that trick of identifying oneself with one's neighbour. He told the delighted Londoners that he was now one of them and had as much right to be down there yelling with them as they had!

Someone in the eighteenth century made a great mistake when he asserted that "Measures not Men"

were the point in politics. He was putting the cart before the horse. America certainly to-day has voted for a man rather than for measures. President Truman thought that "measures" would win. In their twenty years of office the Democrats have done a lot for poor people and right up to the last President Truman said his Party would win because 'there are more poor people than rich people.' (Not a very statesmanlike straw, this, to cling to.) And the bosses of the three principal Trade Unions directed their members to vote Democratic on the same principle. But the appeal to self-interest failed. So did President Truman's astonishing and hysterical attempts to discredit General Eisenhower. Upon these the General commented: "An evil tongue is found only in disappointed men."

What is the great disappointment that has so transformed President Truman? At the last Presidential Election, when Press and Gallup Polls alike were against him, and even men in his own Party entreated him to stand down, he fought on undismayed—a small lone figure increasing in moral stature all the time. This time, in attempting to destroy General Eisenhower, he has only succeeded in destroying himself. He has been a liability to his Party, distracting attention from the excellent and realistic speeches with which the Democratic Candidate was reaching out to the electorate and indeed to all men of good will. President Truman put on a Samson act and we would all like to know why.

In this country the only discordant note I have seen is in the *Tribune* which is the paper that supports Mr. Aneurin Bevan. (His wife is on the Editorial Board.) The Bevanites generally care nothing for Anglo-American friendship and no doubt, had Governor Stevenson been elected, his victory would have been hailed as merely the lesser of two evils. As it is, the manner of the comment is most objectionable. It describes General Eisenhower's success as "a tragic set-back to the cause of human decency and political sanity all over the world."

The Bevanites are fulfilling to the letter the prophecy that was made about them when, during the last session of Parliament, they voted against the Labour Party's resolution on Disarmament. It was said then that Mr. Bevan would destroy the Party's chances in the country, would deliberately send it into the wilderness until such time as (he hoped) he could bring it back with himself as leader. Well, the sojourn in the wilderness has begun.

And here we come to the Wycombe by-election.

This constituency was a marginal one. For years it had been nursed by the Labour Candidate, a popular and able man. The sitting Tory, a son of the late Lord Astor whose death occasioned the by-election by raising the son to the peerage, had strong local interests. He had won the seat last year from the present Labour candidate by a small majority. But even so the Labour candidate was confident he would win again this time. And now the Astors were gone. Everything now depended upon the floating vote, which included the Liberal vote, since no Liberal candidate was standing. And what happened? The Tory candidate, who was not a local man, not only won, but he increased the Tory vote. The Tory vote too had been increased at another recent by-election, at Cleveland. Both contests had this in common: that they took place within the last three months; that is, since the Labour Party Conference at Morecambe when the Bevanites won their striking gains on the Party Executive. 'I would have won,' said the Labour Candidate at Wycombe, 'if three months ago the dice had not been loaded against me.' . . . Three months ago the dice was loaded with Bevanism; and the electorate, or its moderate elements, dislike and distrust Bevanism.

What is the Labour Party going to do about Bevanism? At the moment they are tackling it in a quite ridiculous way. It is futile to suppose, as they seem to do, that a militant group within their ranks can be kept down merely by passing Party resolutions. The Bevanites were told recently, by a majority resolution of the Parliamentary Party, that they were to hold no more group meetings. Yet, on the very day on which Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, the former Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, was congratulating himself in public that the Parliamentary Labour Party had decided to stop organised group meetings within the party, Mr. Aneurin Bevan was addressing behind closed doors, a meeting of five hundred people organised by the Co-operative Press. What does it matter how the Bevanites behave inside the Party when they are free to do what they like outside? If the Labour Party had any courage—and if the Bevanites had any political honesty—the two incompatible bed-fellows would part company. Each no doubt would go into the wilderness for a time but the more candid amongst their followers would feel mightily relieved. And the unfortunate Labour candidate, when he had to contest an election, would no longer be vulnerable to the charge of being a Mr. Facing-Both-Ways. (At a Tory meeting at Wycombe, when a mention of Mr. Attlee raised a few cheers, the Tory speaker countered with: 'And now one for Mr. Bevan'!)

Before leaving this question there is one other thing that must be said. The Labour Party leadership is making a great mistake in not taking the Bevan bull by the horns. Mr. Bevan is not only an

extremist, he is an embryo dictator. He would like to stop his followers' eyes and ears as eyes and ears are stopped behind the Iron Curtain. If he remains in the same mood, God help the cause of a free press in this country should he ever be returned to power. This is what he said recently at Cambridge (which produced the Puritan dictatorship in the seventeenth century and has produced some of the recent traitors who took themselves off to Russia):

"Don't let us be distracted from our work by sensationalism in newspapers. Remember that the great daily newspapers are evil institutions. The Press of Great Britain is responsible for a great deal of mal-education at the present time. Therefore, if you must read them, turn quickly to the back page and read the sporting page."

Read the sporting page . . . gull the people with bread and circuses.

Dictatorship is an evil and morbid thing and disappointment is in store for those who seek relationships with a dictator. The Western Powers had set some hopes on Tito in Jugo-Slavia. It was reported that he had embarked on a policy of decentralisation and that seemed to promise some measure of local freedom. But now we hear that Tito is planning an assault on the Catholic Church. The Sixth Congress of the Jugo-Slav Communist Party has been in session this week. In his report to the Congress Tito made a violent attack on the Vatican which he accused of interfering in Jugo-Slavia's internal affairs. Worse still, a new Clause is to be embodied in the Communist Party's Statute and it states that 'membership of the Communist Party is incompatible with a confession of faith and with the exercise of religious rights.' (It will be noted that the word is 'rights' not 'rites'.) The Western Powers have given moral and material support to Jugo-Slavia in her resistance against Russian imperialism. But how can we continue to succour a Dictator who makes a categorical attack on religious freedom?

Dictators came into fashion after the first World War. These people, who take the law into their own hands, are one aspect of the lawlessness generated in the chaos of war. Since the second World War another kind of lawlessness has become rampant in Britain—that of the armed thug. Everyone here is flummoxed by this problem. How has it arisen and what is the best way to tackle it?

The first thing to notice is that this is, alas, a problem about young people. Nearly forty per cent of all convicted criminals, we are informed by a headmaster writing in the *Daily Mail*, are not older than seventeen. It is an eye-opener! The influence of the home, evidently, counts for very little with this forty per cent. (Mr. Butler, incidentally, attributes 'a great deal of the present crime and moral decadence' to the shortage of houses. A proper family life, certainly, must be very difficult in the over-crowded rooms to which so many people are condemned. If

he is right, in his view, he must take some comfort from the figures which his colleague, Mr. Harold Macmillan, has just given as to the progress of his housing programme. "All the figures are up—houses completed, houses building, houses started.")

But there is another and most disheartening feature about this youthful delinquency. Many disinterested people in this country—and notably Miss Margery Fry of the Howard League for Penal Reform—have set great hopes on the ameliorative work of the Juvenile Courts. These Courts sit in informal fashion, the atmosphere is sympathetic, and the attempt is made to guide and influence the child offender rather than intimidate him with the prospect of punishment. But the experiment has failed in a big way. Perhaps the magistrates have often been the wrong type: it is desperately easy, in such cases, to take the easy, sentimental approach. Anyway, far from heading the child off from crime, these courts seem instead to have convinced him that it pays.

For the thugs of to-day are the child delinquents of a few years ago. Listen to a London Magistrate on the subject. Every year, he says, he has to read and consider the records of hundreds of young thugs. And he adds:

"I have been appalled to find that in at least *eighty per cent* of the cases the offenders had been before these juvenile courts, which, in my opinion, are cradles of criminals."

It is a relief to turn from this dismal problem to the few bright spots that there are in the home news. First of all there is the Queen's Speech with its welcome news that there is to be comparatively little new legislation. In recent years, as someone has remarked, we have become a people more planned against than planning. And this jibe, in fact, contains a very bitter truth. Private enterprise, private building, private travel—at every turn we are hemmed in by regulations. But at last we are beginning to see what is happening to us.

A most important book has just appeared and the author is Professor G. W. Keeton, Dean of the Faculty of Laws at University College, London. He gives it the ominous title *The Passing of Parliament* and his thesis is that we are governed now not by Parliament but by the Civil Service. His book is reviewed this week by Sir Carleton K. Allen, Q.C., under the all too explanatory title "Liberty Has Degenerated Into *Licences*."

A million officials, it appears, now rule over fifty million Englishmen—one governess for every fifty

infants.' This is a staggering state of affairs. But it is worse still when these figures are analysed. In agriculture, for instance, there is now one official for every twenty farmers.

The worst feature of this tyranny is that the legality of its decisions cannot, in the vast majority of cases, be tested in a court of law. As Sir Carleton points out, a farmer can be dispossessed, without appeal, by a committee of his neighbours; a doctor or dentist can be ruined professionally, without appeal, by the decision of a Minister—a decision which is, in reality, the decision of an anonymous official (of which more later); a property-owner can be cast into the street for the sake of an 'improvement scheme' or be forced to surrender his house 'for a derisory site value'—and so it goes on. Nor should we forget the case of the tax-payer who can be 'mulcted' by retrospective legislation.

Professor Keeton is not the only person who is trying to wake us up before it is too late. In this same review a book, entitled *Government By Decree*—the author is Mrs. M.A. Sieghart—is also quoted. Mrs. Sieghart insists that 'No liberty is safe without a court to guard it.' And in this contention lies our best hope of escape. Before very long we must establish an Administrative Court of Appeal.

And as for the anonymous official, who can unmake men and hide behind a Minister who has only the facts put before him to go on, his anonymity—his immunity—must cease. The subject who feels himself injured must have the right not only to defend himself but to arraign his accuser. The mysterious thing is that we have not had such a Court from the very beginning of the time when we first began to go in for government by decree and delegated legislation. (If we leave it much longer an infuriated people will see to it that, when we *do* get the Court, we can be as 'retrospective' as we choose.)

I must close with a glance at what seems to me to be the most delicious piece of unconscious irony I have encountered for a long time. The Coventry City Council is going to oppose the application for a licence to re-build their blitzed Cathedral. Says the Chairman of the Corporation's Planning and Redevelopment Committee: "We should not like to see the cathedral started at the expense of what we consider higher priorities such as schools and a new police station." Higher priorities.... Truly the Welfare State is making a most awful hash of trying to live by bread alone.

Westminster, London, 8th November, 1952.



THE MULTI-PURPOSE RIVER-VALLEY PROJECTS IN INDIA

By N. P. BHOWMICK,

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III

IV INDUSTRIAL ASPECT OF THE PROSPECTS

Industry to flourish and have firm foundation, as has been already stated and usually known, must be situated close to an area so that the essential raw materials, cheap power, cheap water and transport must be easily accessible. It is most interesting and exciting to note that most of the regions where multi-purpose river valley schemes have been projected have rich forest-reserves, also most of India's mineral deposits and other raw materials. Thus, these multi-purpose river valley projects offer almost unlimited and ideal opportunities for industries to be developed which have been conceived of late.

The effect on local consumption by the utilization of the water resources is important, as industrial centres like the plain of Lombardy are no longer operating their cotton mills and silk mills by steam power, but are now dependent upon electric power from transmission plants. There is an economic evolution when it is considered that almost all of the coal consumed in Italy is brought in bottoms from England.

Few areas in the world have been blessed with such rich and varied mineral deposits as the Damodar Region. Three quarters of our known coal deposits are located in this valley; in and around it are concentrated the exceptionally rich iron ores of India; much of world's best mica is produced in this area; there are substantial deposits of bauxite, kyanite, chromite, copper, limestone, clay, also some manganese; minerals of high strategic value have recently been located here.¹⁴ Even if the minerals produced from the Damodar Valley area under operation compared to their total production in India is considered, the industrial importance of this region will be clearly evident.

TABLE VII¹⁵

Production of Minerals in Damodar Valley Region			
Minerals	In per cent of all-India production (approx.)		
Coal	80
Iron Ore	98
Copper Ore	100
Kyanite	100
Chromite	70
Mica	70
Manganese Ore	10
China Clay	45
Fire Clay	50
Limestone	20
Asbestos	45
Building materials other than limestone	10

14. V. R. Khedker: "Mineral Resources of the Damodar Valley and Adjacent Region and Their Utilization for Industrial Development," *Geological Survey of India*, December, 1950.

15. *Ibid*, p. 238.

The neighbouring area round about the Koshi river is similarly rich in natural resources.

The Mahanadi Valley is known to contain a variety of economic mineral deposits varying in size from replacement pocket lenses and fissure fillings up to extensive beds. It is extremely unfortunate that though this region is infinitely rich in minerals it has been very little surveyed by geologists and mineralogists. However the following may be mentioned here:

Metallic Ores—Iron, Manganese, Aluminium, Chromium, Vanadium, Titanium, Copper, Lead and Graphite.

Fuel—Coal of the Bituminous variety.

Flux—Limestone.

Refractories—Kyanite, Quartz, Fire-clay.

Other minerals—Mica, Asbestos, China-Clay, Ochres (Yellow and Red).

Ballast materials.

Similarly, in the absence of detailed Botanical Survey exact evaluation of forest products is not possible. But it is known to contain large amounts of Sabai grass and bamboo (both valuable for paper and newsprint); lac, resins and silk cocoons, mahua for alcohol, barks and roots for tanning purposes and medicines and kend leaves for manufacturing native cigarettes. Light timber, fire wood and cotton is grown in Chhattishgarh, which is situated at the upper catchment area of the Mahanadi. The areas where the above are located and the possible industries that could be developed utilizing locally available raw materials have been indicated below. (Vide Figure No. 1).¹⁶

The Godavari authority in Hyderabad envisages a great industrial-cum-agricultural scheme within the region of possibility. An industrial area has been selected with Mancherial as centre with a proposal to tap the natural resources within a region of about 100 miles and to establish both heavy and light industries. The planners hope that "Mancherial some day will become the Manchester of India. The area chosen for industrial development is a very fine one indeed. It has large coal reserves and has quantities of limestones suitable for the manufacture of cement, and has soap-stone, fire-clay, timber, cotton and above all, iron ore."¹⁷

Similarly, much hope is fostered by the planners around the Tungabhadra Project. "Considerable experimental work has been carried out on the suit-

16. K. G. Bagchi: "Problems of Reclamation of Orissa," *Science and Culture*, February, 1947, Vol. XII, pp. 348-369.

17. Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung Bahadur: *Hydro-Electric Survey of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions*, Public Works Dept., 1938.

ability of black cotton soil for irrigation. It is now established that the soil will not develop alkalinity or otherwise deteriorate so long as the water supply is controlled and care is taken to see that there is no

But the influence of hydro-electric power in any scheme of industrialisation is much more important than it has been dealt hitherto. It has been firmly established now that not only from the view of operation but from the perspective of installation too the lay-out and design of an industrial unit with hydro-electricity as its motive power is far economical compared to the other alternative, namely, thermo-electricity. To demonstrate certain fundamental aspects of the influence of hydro-electric power on the lay-out and design of industrial plant we quote below the experience of some countries which based their industrial evolution specifically on water-power.

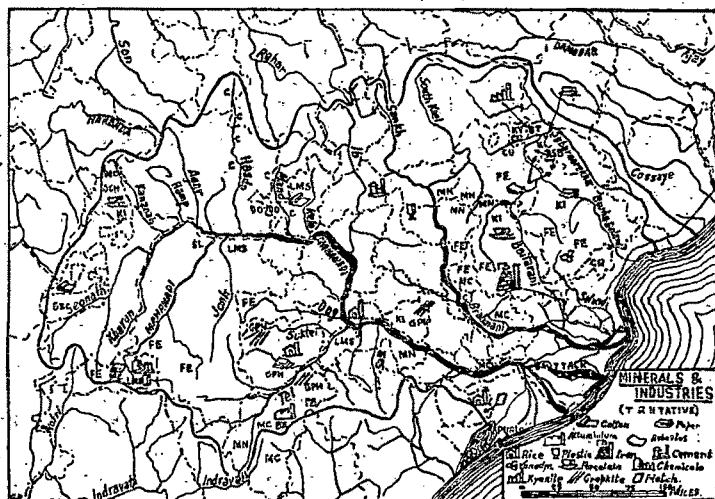


FIG-1 Minerals have been shown in abbreviated letters. The location of industries are merely rough approximations.

Now, the power-consuming industrial processes can be broadly subdivided under the following heads:

over-irrigation. The yield under controlled irrigation is expected to be 3-4 times that under unirrigated conditions. A variety of long-staple cotton, evolved at Coimbatore, thrives extremely well in the ceded districts and a yield of 1200 lbs. per acre is expected. The tract is likely to develop into the main source of supply of long-staple cotton doing away with the necessity for importing long-staples from Africa for feeding Indian textile industry. Special steps have been taken to instruct the cultivators in the technique of dry cultivation under irrigation. The area is rich in iron ore, and red and yellow ochres. There is also some copper and gold. Industries utilizing these minerals, oil and sugar industries, paints and varnish industries will be developed in this area.¹⁸

Incidentally, it can be mentioned that the four mineral belts as has been conceived by mineralogists lie in the zones in the hydro-electric sites.¹⁹ (Vide Figure No. 2).

18. *Journal of Scientific and Industrial Research*, May, 1945, Vol. III.

19. M. V. Wazalwar: "Utilization of Low Grade Indigenous Raw Materials for Metallurgical Industries," *Science and Culture*, November, 1946, Vol. XII, No. 5, pp. 230-236.

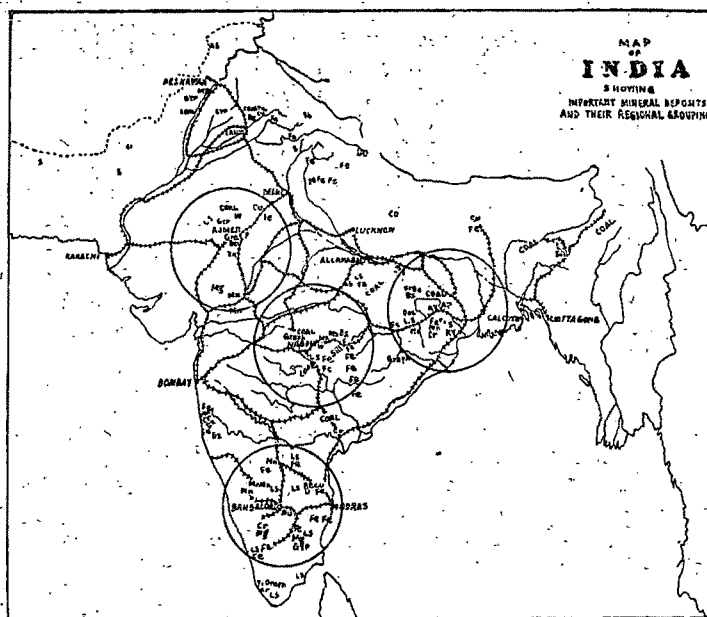


FIG-2

- (i) Mechanical or electrical energy consumers :
 - (a) General machine drive
 - (b) Motion of transport craft
- (ii) Heat or electrical energy consumers :
 - (a) Direct Heating
 - (b) Indirect Heating
- (iii) Exclusive electro-power consumers :
 - (a) Electro-chemical processes
 - (b) Electro-metallurgy.

(i) (a) *General machine drive*: Though necessarily not the largest, this is the most common and numerous power consumer. Hydro-electric power, and with it the grid distribution system was undoubtedly responsible for the origin of the present-day general adoption of the individual electric drive, which has shown an enormous improvement over the initial shaft and belt transmission gear, developed in connection with the steam engine. Electric single drive has now become an acknowledged standard also in industries based on thermal power.

(b) *Motion of transport craft*: The fascinating problem of efficient storage of electrical energy within a small space and involving little weight has not yet been solved. As a result the vast majority of prime movers for all possible means of transport are of the fuel-consuming type. The high investment cost linked with electric drive justifies its introduction only on lines with very considerable traffic density and is in operation in Bombay and Madras Provinces with a fair degree of success. The position is bound to undergo change later when due to increased industrial and commercial activity the demands on transport will multiply and electric traction will automatically become economically justified.

ELECTRO-CHEMICAL PROCESS

Electrolysis is by far the most important electro-chemical process, widely used in the caustic soda, aluminium, nitrogen and fertilizer industries, and since it cannot be replaced by a purely thermal process it led to the development of quite standard lay-outs of plant with hydel-power as the motive in operation.

The situation is different altogether with fertilizer plants where the elementary components such as pure hydrogen can be produced either by water-gas process or on a hydro-electric basis. The comparative economy of these processes depends on the initial investment, but to a greater extent on the price relation between coal and water-power. Whereas, generally the coal prices are subject to fluctuation and rather inclined to increase gradually with the course of time, one of the most outstanding features as has been already dealt with, of hydro-electricity is that once a power scheme is in operation and its writing-off period decided, the price per unit can remain constant, and at a later stage it falls, irrespective of the variation in the price of other commodities.

All these fundamental considerations led Norway, Canada, Northern Italy and Switzerland to develop enterprises of this category around big generating centres of cheap hydro-electricity.

Direct Heating: Innumerable main and auxiliary processes in industry are dependent on the maintenance of certain temperature levels, whereby a continuous addition of thermal energy is required. Direct heating without the intermediary use of steam is preferably utilized in the high temperature range,

and its most important application in the field of metallurgy. Melting and remelting of metals, specially in the iron and steel industry, consume enormous quantities of heat energy. In India, the present aspects are not favourable to such development, unless the price relation between coal and electric energy undergoes a substantial change or use can be made of cheaper secondary or waste energy, as the following figures prove:

Hydro-electric energy: 1 kWhr—3,412 B. Th. units.

Maximum consumers price 0.20-0.25 anna.

Fuel energy: 0.275 lb-3,412 B. Th. units.

High grade coal consumers price at Rs. 25-30 per ton—0.049-0.059 anna.

Thus, in view of the foregoing, electrical energy should prove to be more expensive because, for equal heat content, it can be regarded as a higher potential form of energy.

The success of electro-metallurgy with hydro-power in certain countries is due to the fact that the coal prices there are comparatively higher. However, it must to a certain extent be regarded as a special branch, famous for its production of special high quality and alloy steels. It is, therefore, not necessarily a mere alternative to coal-based plant, but completes the range of steel production. As such, the establishment of electro-metallurgical industry in India's water-power centres will certainly be justified.

EVAPORATION

Large-scale evaporation for concentration of this solution with or without ultimate crystallization forms part of a greater number of industrial manufacturing processes. The ordinary well-known multiple-effect vacuum plant is adopted as a standard for all evaporating purposes in the big industrial countries. Table VIII gives the industries which comprise evaporating plants in their lay-out.

TABLE VIII

Industries with evaporating plants in their lay-out

Industries	Normal	
	Evaporation of	evaporating capacities (lbs/hr.)
Miscellaneous	Water distillation	Various
Nitrogen industry (fertilizers and explosives)	Various	10,000-100,000
Cellulose factories	Sulphate liquor	10,000-130,000
Aluminium works	Aluminate liquor	22,000-270,000
Rayon factories	Spinning bath	7,000-22,000
Paint factories	.....	2,000-30,000
Potassium works	Potash tye	22,000-70,000
Salt refineries	Salt brine	8,000-200,000
Caustic-soda works	Soda tye	10,000-70,000
Sugar mills	Sugar juice	120,000-300,000

In areas, specifically using hydel-energy, however, it has now been completely superseded by thermo-compression, working on the heat-pump principle. In countries like Norway, Switzerland, and Austria, as well as in regions like Northern Italy, Southern Germany, and the South of France, practically all indus-

trial evaporation is now-a-days performed by thermo-compression plant. The adoption of this more recent type of plant which has been particularly designed and developed for hydro-power presents very fascinating possibilities of improved economy and therefore of cheaper production in this field. Numerous thermo-compression plants are in operation outside India in all fields referred to above, and particular attention will here only be given to the latest achievements in the sugar sector. The first sugar factory on this basis was built in Switzerland in 1945 and has not only proved a thorough success on the thermal plant, but has further resulted in remarkable improvement in operation too.

The adoption of thermo-compression plant for future sugar mills in India is bound to terminate the present wasteful burning of bagasse which will then be available as a welcome and cheap raw material for paper and fibre-board manufacture.

ECONOMY OF THERMO-COMPRESSION

The investment for a thermo-compression plant can, for the sake of comparison, be taken as equal to that involved in multiple-effect equipment. In fact, it is on the whole found to be slightly lower in cost, so that subsequent estimates remain on the safe side.

The evaporation of aluminate liquor will be taken as an example for comparative economy between coal based multiple-effect and thermo-compression lay-out.

Mr. P. A. Steffel, in a paper entitled *Water Power and Layout of Industrial Plant in India* before the Fourth World Power Conference presented the following data :

TABLE IX

Alumina (Al ₂ O ₃) production	60,000 tons/annum.
Raw aluminium production (approximately)	20,000 tons/annum.
Necessary evaporation of aluminate liquor	200,000 lbs/hr.
	Triple effect Quadruple effect Thermo-compression
Total steam consumption, including heating-up and auxiliary purposes, (tons/hr.)	45 35 7
Energy consumption of com- pressor and auxiliaries (kWhr/hr.)	... 5,500

On the basis of the foregoing estimated figures, and on the assumption of equal investment, the graph given in Fig. III has been calculated. It determines the price relations under which thermo-compression proves more economical, and furthermore allows the

yearly economy to be read directly as well as the capitalized saving in favour of thermo-compression for varying coal prices and rates of hydro-energy.

Similar graphs can, of course, be drawn for all industrial evaporating processes after investigation of their particular thermal conditions. The amount of energy required per ton of evaporation varies very substantially with the individual concentration and boiling characteristics of the thin liquor in each case.

From the table given below, an idea could be formed as to the power requirements of varied basic and consumer industries (*vide* Table X).

With the hydro-electric resources harnessed, a great industrial programme is therefore well within the

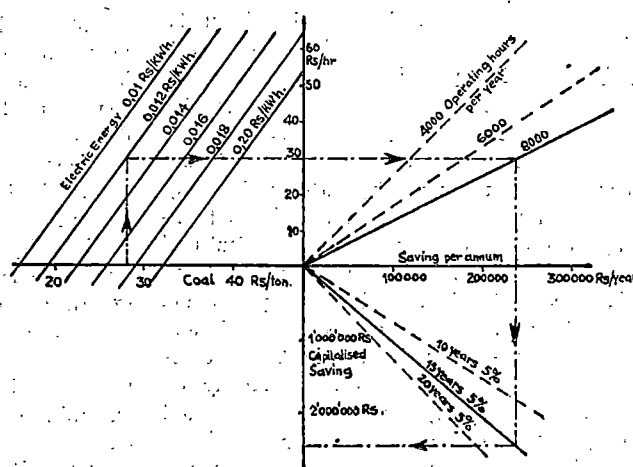


FIG-3

COMPARATIVE ECONOMY OF THERMO-COMPRESSION VERSUS TRIPLE-EFFECT PLANT. (ALUMINATE LIQUOR. EVAPORATING CAPACITY 92 TONS PER HOUR.)

range of possibility, and all that is necessary is a well-laid policy with this objective, to be planned and carried out, say during the next 10 years, when power production, industrial development and agricultural expansion could be so co-ordinated that we may soon reach the level of the progressive countries in the world.

TABLE X

Cement (150 tons/day)	1000 kW
Rayon (5 tons of viscose rayon per day)	800 "
Electro-chemicals (for the manufacture of carbons and graphite electrodes, carborandum, carbide, etc.)	3000 "
Caustic soda (10 tons/day) Electrolytic process and chlorine products	4000 "
Aluminium (2500 tons/year)	7500 "
Aluminium conductors (4500 miles/year)	550 "
Ceramics (2½ tons of chinaware/day) (Electric Tunnel Kiln)	350 "
Enamel ware (2000 pieces per day) (Electric Muffle Kiln)	300 "
Cold storage for the fisheries (25 tons of fish/week)	350 "
Textiles (36000 Spindles)	1000 "
Titanium Pigments (5 tons/day)	300 "
Paper (3600 tons per year)	250 "

Tea (20 million lbs/year) (For motive power only) 1200 „
 Fertilizers and chemicals (50000 tons of Ammonium sulphate per year) 3500 „
 (For high pressure synthesis and other motive power purposes).

"Another large industry which offers a good solution by calling for an enormous supply of energy is the Nitrogen Fixation industry.* At 5 tons of nitrates per annum to 100 acres of arable land, this industry in itself would absorb an appreciable portion of the whole hydraulic energy of the Union—farming, mining and electro-chemical works give a high load factor (80 per cent to 90 per cent), and are usually associated with hydro-electric concerns whose financial success depends much on a high factor. But the scheme of nitrogen fixation by seasonal power is still under consideration, as the economic effect of the irregularity of the supply in the idle period that occurs has to be studied."

ASPECT OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

Enforced idleness to the vast multitude of our population who are living in nearly 500,000 villages for the greater part of the year when there is no farm-work and application of primitive tools in agricultural operations must contribute in no small measure to India's pitiable condition in all spheres of production evinced today. The importance of better tools and implements to improve production can hardly be over-emphasized and the Indian farmer works mostly by hard labour and personal skill, with little or no aid from modern power-driven machinery and in accordance with traditional technique—such supplementary energy as is provided by animal power may add to the economy and efficiency of his work. This condition not only prevails in agriculture but also in the sphere of cottage industry as well. What this means in terms of the productive economy, to put figuratively, can be appreciated only if it is remembered that one unit of electrical energy (1 kWhr) is approximately equivalent to ten units of human energy, i.e., to the work done by 10 adults in one hour. Thus we find today that many of those cottage industries, which not in the very distant past occupied a pre-eminent position in Indian economy, are on the verge of extinction. Nature does not want to keep alive those who do not move forward. Some of our old workers and industries have already disappeared and others are disappearing. Dyers have almost disappeared, the oil man is living in a precarious condition. It is only in the textile trade that a good many old workers still survive.

"Lenin's famous formula equating socialism with a sum total of Soviets and electricity has now passed

into history. As a means of modifying the social and economic environment progressively, Lenin relied on two things: electrification and co-operation. The first of these, he thought, would change the economic face of the country, village and town alike. Such electrification, spreading a new industrial revolution from the urban centres to the countryside, was to transform the environment of the peasant, his habits and his psychology, and revolutionise the old rural economy. We need not be communists in order to accept the central core of this thesis. For there is no doubt that, apart from the economic utilisation of power, electricity changes intimately and profoundly the way of life of a village or a town. It is, in more senses than one, a source of light."²⁰

Rural electrification, small as it is, is confined mainly to certain areas in Madras and Mysore. Madras has 140,000 consumers while Mysore has about 55,000 consumers. In the U.P., rural electrification has been developed in some parts, mainly for tube-well pumping.

Rapid industrialization in India, without simultaneously giving effect to schemes for full employment in the villages, is fraught with very serious economic repercussions. It must be fully realised that the experience of the West in industrialization is not necessarily for us to follow, and that our schemes of development should have direct relation to the prevailing conditions so as to make use of the local talent and initiative to the maximum extent. Nevertheless, if our deserted, wrecked and wretched villages, which have been in the past and still are the pivot of Indian economy have to be rehabilitated, rapid electrification of the villages is the only way-out today.

The spread of electricity to rural areas is, however, beset with serious and challenging problems, such as heavy capital expenditure, low permissible tariffs, poor and/or long-delayed returns on investment. These are difficult, no doubt, but not insoluble.²¹ Private enterprises may hardly be expected in lending their guiding hands and the responsibility naturally devolves on the government of a satisfactory solution.

The next question obviously arises: will the demand of our rural population for electricity justify the heavy expenditure which have to be necessarily incurred in bringing electricity to rural areas? The experience of the Government of Madras in the matter of electrifying its villages gives a conclusive answer to this end. The Madras State Electricity Department not only compels the agriculturist to purchase electricity and not water, but also compels him to own and operate the pump set, thereby passing over to him the responsibility of running the unit economically. In addition, the State also sees

* The Planning Commission estimates that the fertilizer requirements of the country will be at 2 million tons of nitrogen and 1 million tons of phosphates for the next five years. While there are plants to manufacture super-phosphates and also raw materials for fused and calcined phosphate there has been none so far to manufacture nitrogenous fertilizers.

20. G. L. Mehta, Member, Planning Commission: "Electricity and National Development," *Output*, May-July, 1952, pp. 12-16.

21. N. P. Bhounick: "Rural Electrification in India," *Investor, Industrial and Agricultural*, No. 1951.

that its own investment in both generation and distribution systems is assured of a minimum economic return. This it secures by laying the condition that every new applicant for power supply from scattered areas should secure a minimum number of consumers from his neighbourhood if his application is to be considered at all. The eagerness of the rural areas could be partially gauged from the fact that 20,000 applications for irrigation supply alone are pending with the State's Electricity Department mainly for want of generating capacity.

However, the creation of greater abundance in use of the natural energies is dependent not so much on scientific and engineering achievements as on suitably organising our affairs. Hydraulic power might be too expensive when the whole capital is sunk in a plant of the "continuous power" capacity. It is reported that with a plant capacity of 90,000 H.P. the Shannon Power Scheme is able to supply 153 million units in the driest year, 288 million units in a normal year and 373 million units in a wet year; so that the variable flows are being utilised not only from season to season but from year to year. By a Parliamentary Act the Electricity Supply is to furnish light from the Shannon Works to all villages with 500 inhabitants or more, unless economically impossible.

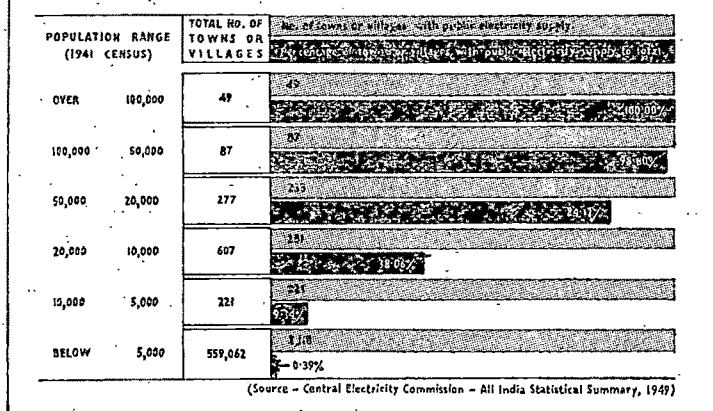
In practically all countries of the world the flows of streams vary enormously throughout the year, and the discontinuous power available for 6 to 8 months is much greater than the continuous power obtainable on "ordinary minimum flow." At present there is a vicious circle of industries that requires power and of power looking for an assured outlet; and neither side is inclined to make a move unless certain of the co-operation of the other. It is here that the particular advantage of water-power comes in: with water power any sales which fill up the hollows in the load-curve without affecting the peak must be profitable at whatever rate they bring in. Water power with its long transmission lines offers, by its inherent characteristic opportunities, a large circle of consumers to be supplied without proportionately larger expenses being incurred. With a more rapid electrification of the rural areas, the amenities of modern civic life would be available to a larger section of population and result in the growth of many prosperous localities. With it, the dispersal of industries would follow, thus drift of population to the urban areas will also be checked.

Mines produce great wealth but they are even-

tually worked out; factories and mills rise and fall, but they are intimately dependent on what happens with the farm. The dependable resources are the fields and the pastures and the timber lands. The utilisation of power in areas to be served by multipurpose schemes is, therefore, an important ingredient of the larger plan for national development.

Our ex-Congress President Dr. Pattabi Sitarayya in a message said: "Thirty crores of people in India means sixty crores of hands—and skilled hands at that. They offer occupation to millions,

FIGURE IV. ELECTRICITY SUPPLY IN INDIAN VILLAGES



particularly in a country where the home is the abode of Beauty and Art is the handmaid of utility. Where the crafts flourish, there prosperity dwells, unemployment vanishes, waste is converted into wealth, and brains and emotions co-operate under the restraining leadership of will. The sanctity of the home is preserved. Moral values are conserved in society and the outpouring of the human soul on works of art woven into utility elevates the nation's culture to the highest altitude. The co-operative spirit does the rest of the work. Work becomes worship and becomes capital and functions as the eternal wealth of the world. Labour and life by their confluence enrich the stream of national self-realisation and self-competence.

"All this may sound 'windy, vapoury rhetoric.' So it does to untutored ears and untrained susceptibilities. But when one transcends into an atmosphere where labour and life do collaborate, one realises that all this talk about crafts and culture is not mere phantasmagoria."

Obviously, our future largely depends on the extent this outlook is achieved in practice.

The co-ordinated development of electric power with increased emphasis on power supplies in the rural areas is the essence of the Electric (Supply) Act, 1948. It is hoped that with the formation of the

Provincial Electricity Boards and the Central Water and Power Commission not only the electrification of the rural tracts will receive a spurt but will also lead to the systematic and integrated development of the country's resources.

CONCLUSION

While seeking permission of the Congress to create TVA, President Roosevelt remarked :

"Many hard lessons have taught the human waste that results from lack of planning. Here and there a few wise cities and countries have looked ahead and planned. But our nation has 'just grown.' It is time to extend planning to a wider field, in this instance comprehending in one great project many states directly concerned with the basin of one of our greatest rivers.

"This in a true sense is a return to the spirit and vision of the pioneer. If we are successful here, we can march on, step by step, in a like development of other great natural territorial units within our broder."

And the complexity of such a scheme embracing so many aspects is immediately apparent. Proper phasing, careful planning and economic execution are obviously keys to their success. But from the scrutiny of even the scanty and scrappy reports available on our river valley projects a number of points stand out which will naturally be viewed with great apprehension and it is therefore no wonder that the public is getting very sceptical and consequently callous, and it is a very dangerous sign indeed. Since all those points could not be entered into details here, the more important points will simply be touched upon.

At a time when economy should be our watchword in every sector of our national activity, it has been reported that this is the most neglected item both in administration and in the execution of the river valley projects. The grand Anicut across the Cauvery River in Madras was built a thousand years ago. Khosla's theory on the design of structures on permeable foundation has made a revolutionary progress in the field of designs whereas in America, which is in the forefront in all such activities, designs are still based on Lane's theory which is nothing but an empirical approach to such a fundamental and intricate problem in design. And still the country is requisitioning the services too frequently of multiple consultants, which not only drains us directly in the form of extra high salaries but also by the indirect impact on the progress of work. The Corporations which have been formed are made responsible to carry out the work of these projects ; it is also being observed that a member in the administration is not necessarily an engineer. It needs little imagination to appreciate that to administer an engineering project a degree of experience in that line is absolutely essential. Hence, it is not surprising that the working of most of our projects is turning out to be defective.

Big gaps between estimated site expenditures and estimates prepared, of a project contemplated of late, when submitted to a batch of American engineers, suggesting modifications economising expenditure by one crore of rupees, very badly reflect upon the capability of the personnel entrusted with such magnificent tasks. It must be clearly borne in mind that high capital cost both as a cause and as a consequence will impose very serious restrictions in formulating a tariff policy conducive to the country's requirements.

Most of our multi-purpose river valley projects have been modelled on the Tennessee Valley of the United States, and the guiding principles of TVA which led to its monumental success could be very gainfully recalled. Gunther summarise them as follows :

"The quality of personnel is very high. TVA picks its employees with as scrupulous care as any corporation ; its standards are at least as high as those, say, of the United States Steel Corporation or, in a different field, the University of Chicago or Harvard University . . .

Autonomy. TVA makes its own decisions and makes them promptly. It is in first and last analysis subject of course to control by Congress, but in the field and in day to day administration it is wholly its own boss. Nobody has to ask permission from a distant bureaucracy in Washington. Nobody breathes down anybody else's neck.

Decentralisation, a point that needs important emphasis. TVA is very big, also it is very small, in that every unit has its root in the immediate local problem. . . .

No interference with private business interests. TVA spreads the socializing concept, but does not threaten anybody. There is no attempt to dominate. Nobody in the valley thinks it has a foot behind the door. Man and Nature work together, so do government and private property.

No politics. This factor is absolute and paramount. All TVA appointments are in the exclusive basis of merit and experience ; there are no political jobs of any kind, patronage does not exist, and no employee may undertake any kind of political activity at any time.

Above all, the nature of the job. People are happy because they are doing something creative, something bigger than themselves. You cannot impose from above the kind of loyalty TVA gets from almost every worker."

But there are still some more vulnerable points, which if not properly guarded right from now, the resultant effect will jeopardize the country's economy. For example, with the production and harnessing of hydro-electric power there will be a rapid mechanisation of productive processes and the substitution therefore of the animate by the inanimate energy is bound

to throw many out of employment. This means that besides the intricate question of underemployment of teeming millions there will come up the question of redundant labour. This is a very important point indeed. Again, unless there is a very thoroughly worked out scheme of stages by which both industrial and agricultural advances are properly co-ordinated, it may result in not a few jolts from the mere output of more and more hydel energy. It is becoming increasingly known that whereas the technical problems of engineering are being energetically worked out in our projects, these subtler problems of economic advance seem to occupy very inadequate attention of the administration.

Furthermore, the consumer is the common man. Therefore, in the final analysis our success, as has already been stated, to a very large extent depends how rapidly and efficiently we organise our internal affairs so that by the time these projects come into operation, the response from our consumers is immediate and irrevocable. The responsibility of the technologists and engineers is, of course, accepted. Nevertheless, all these considerations simultaneously demonstrate the responsibility that devolves upon the country's administration in making this magnificent endeavour a glorious success, with which is intimately linked the crying problems of our country urging for solution.

The sheer waste of tens of crores of rupees in the name of that somewhat funny "Grow More Food" campaign is still too fresh in the memory for anyone to forget. Heaven forbid if we are defeated this time too, which involves hundreds of crores of our impoverished millions' dearly-earned money, the fun will be too dangerous for the country to withstand. To emphasise the gravity of the situation we can only quote the relevant portion of a communique recently appearing in the *New York Times* communicated by Mr. Chester Bowles, the U. S. Ambassador in India :

"If I may paraphrase a saying of the great Gandhi, we who have never felt hunger should remember that to the hungry democracy comes in the form of bread.

"Within the next four years, the history in Asia will reach a turning point. It will be a turning point not for Asia alone, but for the whole world. The pivot of this turning point is India. Within these coming four years, democratic India must prove to her own and Asia's millions whether or not democracy can solve the staggering problems of an Asian people.

"What is required in India is grass-roots, village by village attacks upon poverty directed by and participated in by the Indian people themselves. The Indian people must feel the success that arises from their own efforts to solve their own problems in their own way."

(Concluded)

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ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

In Memoriam

By ADRI BANERJI, M.A.

Dr. Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy was the son of Sir Mutto Coomaraswamy Mudaliar, a cultured Ceylonese barrister, and his English wife. Sir Mutto was interested in Buddhism and was first to translate into English *Dathavamsa*, the Ceylonese chronicle on the tooth relic of Lord Buddha, and *Sutta Nipata*. He was also a member of the local Legislative Assembly. In this rare and happy atmosphere, Ananda Coomaraswamy was born on 22nd August, 1877. Two years later Sir Mutto died. The burden of bringing up this fatherless child fell upon his mother. With what care and success she discharged her responsibility, the intelligentsia all the world over can testify. By his death on 20th September, 1947, we the people of the two hemispheres have lost a scientist, scholar, poet, philosopher, religious reformer, artist and art-critic, the like of whom this generation may never meet again.

SCIENTIST

A. K. Coomaraswamy received higher education in the University College, London, and curious as it may seem, in a scientific subject—Geology, in which he ultimately obtained a D.Sc. degree. Twice in this century, we have seen two great personalities trained in scientific subjects earning universal applause as litterateurs. The first of these was Coomaraswamy and the second is Pandit

Jawaharlal Nehru. While Dr. Coomaraswamy tapped the dammed-up unfathomable waters of religion, philosophy, mythology and art, Pandit Nehru has brought about a new thought epoch by introducing a new method of writing autobiography and through his approach to the writing of history as a dynamic process of thinking.

With his brilliant academic qualifications Ananda Coomaraswamy was immediately appointed Director, Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon (1903). The *Reports* published by him are proofs of this remarkable analytical qualities of his mind. In 1904, in his *Annual Report* he heralded the future publication of his monumental researches on the re-assessment and use of the Sanskrit and Pali words and technical terms in works of art and culture, by writing a paper on the indigenous Ceylonese terminology about minerals and precious stones. While engaged in the arduous work of a scientist in a government department Coomaraswamy's youthful energies did not remain content with the useless pursuit of official glory and prestige. Nobody could have blamed him for such an attitude. Son of rich and distinguished parents, educated abroad, his mind might have allowed him to mould his destiny in the lounges of the Anglo-Ceylonese circles, in the enervating atmosphere of the fashionable society,

in the pomp and splendour of a departmental head. But the genius in him, the patriot in his European-trained mind revolted. Just as the distinguished Hewavitarne family had contributed a Dharmmapala to salvage Buddhism, so the soul of this son of a Ceylonese Knight and an English lady, experienced an agony at the loss sustained by nationalist Ceylon, due to the decay of the socio-economic structure of her life, particularly the decline of her traditional arts and crafts. The sense of frustration and the inherent danger underlying the exotic culture that was imposing itself on the heedless Ceylonese society at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, moved young Coomaraswamy deeply. He founded the Ceylon Reforms Society to awaken his countrymen and warn them of the danger of this headlong rush towards theawning chasm which meant the death of the ancient Ceylonese civilisation. He published the *Ceylon National Review* to rouse his fellow countrymen and initiate them to a love and appreciation of their own arts and crafts, literature, history and tradition, and what is more, to their own particular pattern of life, to their rich heritage and ancient culture that remained neglected. Such a revolutionary mind would certainly find even a well-paid colonial job irksome. So, in the memorable year of 1906 Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy released himself from the bondage of the Directorship of the Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon to dedicate himself to the cause of humanity and knowledge.

OUR UNOFFICIAL AMBASSADOR

At this time of his life, he came into contact with some English friends who had formed the same idea about the British arts and crafts which were gradually becoming extinct. Industrial Revolution with its smoke, soot, filth and vulgarity, with its ever shifting existence and peculiar socio-economic life, with its greed, avarice, nepotism and disease, had changed the face of rural England. With it had disappeared the middle-class English culture broad-based upon rural economy. Dr. Coomaraswamy was an welcome partner or collaborator, in the Broad Campden group. Here, inspired by the enthusiasm of this cultural society was published *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art* (1908). This work which dealt with the arts and crafts as well as the structure of society in Ceylon, would alone have earned immortality for him, if he had not cared to write anything else. The art which seemed to be dead, meaningless and contemptuous in the eyes of the 'educated' never found a greater advocate of their dumb cause. The theme received further elaboration in his *Indian Craftsmen* (1909).

Already in 1906, he had come under the influence of the great sages of Indian nationalism like Sri Aurobindo, Tilak, Gokhale, Bepin Chandra Pal, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji and others. While the urge in India took to various channels and ways, both pacific and violent, in Dr. Coomaraswamy it transformed itself into a desire to interpret the art, philosophy and culture not only of India and Ceylon but of the

ancient East. The establishment of its ancient civilisation on a scientific basis and its vindication became not an obsession but the mission of his life. He commenced, as our cultural ambassador at his own expense, explaining to a world, which was slowly awakening to the realities, casting away its prejudices and bias, the message of Indian culture in general and the lesson it had for the West. He took upon himself to elucidate the meaning and significance of the forms and designs of Indian Sculpture, Painting and Architecture. While he was thus engaged in establishing their claims in foreign lands, he did not forget the needs of his own people. His *Essays on National Idealism* testify to his extreme passion, not yet spiritualised by introspection, to make his fellow-nationals realise the importance of their ancient treasures, and look upon them not as relics of a barbaric and uncivilised past but as something great and full of meaning, significance and symbolism. He realised in an era of darkness, when renescent Asia was slowly groping through the empty corridors of time to find out her soul, that the Indian tradition of religion, philosophy, society and moral laws are essential truths. Later in life he was to carry on further by discovering European parallels particularly those of Meister Eckhart (*Transformations in Art**).

RETURN OF THE PRODIGAL

In 1909, Dr. Coomaraswamy paid a visit to India and travelled extensively to make a personal acquaintance with the great monuments of Indian architecture and seemingly vast treasures of arts and crafts. He stayed for three weeks as a guest of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore in his palatial Jorasanko home. Here he came into contact with three other seers of renaissance movement in Indian art: the late Gogonendranath Tagore, Abanindranath Tagore and that young Brahmin scholar O. C. Gangoly. In 1910, Dr. Coomaraswamy paid a second visit to India at the invitation of the India Society of Oriental Art. He was very rightly entrusted with the organisation of the Art Section of the Allahabad Exhibition of 1910. This was an opportunity and a cause which appealed to the great Coomaraswamy; while it brought to his door the enviable experience of success in his mission. He travelled to every nook and corner of northern and southern India, collecting a vast amount of materials, hitherto lying neglected. These labours of love resulted in his two famous publications *Indian Drawings* (2 vols., 1910-12) and *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon* (1913).

INDIAN PAINTINGS

The work he performed for the Allahabad Exhibition opened a new chapter in the life of Dr. Coomaraswamy. The mind, that was busy unravelling to a mystified and credulous world, the beauty of forms in sculptures and aesthetics in the design of ancient Indian monuments, suddenly found a new door ajar, while meandering in the logomachy of arts. The glories of Indian paintings and

* This the present writer reviewed in *The Modern Review*.

the vindication of their system of colour, light and shade, as well as linear composition, dawned upon his sensitive mind. Conscious of the joy at the discovery of a magic world, to interpret and to conquer, his mind danced in the ecstasy of this new source of beauty. This is evident from the two volumes of *Rajput Paintings*. These works express a freshness of approach and a critical mind that entitle them to be regarded as more of works of poetry than serious treatises on art-criticism. The main charm of the *Rajput Paintings* appears to the present writer to be the fusion of folk elements with classic traditions of Ajanta, Ellora and Bagh. This is not a new idea, we had seen it in the classic age of the Guptas—a sublime and happy integration of folk elements and folk culture with the classic style.

In the case of Rajput paintings the central theme like an archetype was the Vaishnava poetry. The result was in the Master's own words :

"In these paintings are reflected all the Hindu women ideals, both physical and spiritual. The heroine's eyes are large as any lotus flowers, her traces fall in heavy plaits, her breasts are firm and high, her thighs are full and smooth, her hands like rosy flowers, her gait as dignified as an elephant's. When Radha hears the message of Krishna, the drawing recalls the *Annunciation* when she meets his eyes, her own are dropped and veiled, when she meets himself, the power of movement leaves her limbs, they stand like a painted picture, or a golden statue and she knows the whole lie in a day. The typical examples of Rajput Paintings like every other expression of mystical intuition, have for us this lesson, that what we cannot discover at home and in familiar events, we cannot discover anywhere. The whole land is the land of our own experience. All is in all; and if beauty is not apparent to us in the well-known, we shall not find it in things that are strange and far away. Those that represented Krishna-lila in these paintings understood the union of love and renunciation in life and the secret of limitless life in this world."

That these were merely poetic embellishments possible only in a very high sensitive and spiritual level is not quite correct. It occurred in our human society with its drab everyday vulgarity. Take for example, the Romance of Charlotte Boof and the incorrigible but immortal Goethe. It occurs even now, where love is not fulfilled by physical union but by spiritual union. Because, as Sarat Chandra Chatterjee told us : True love is that which does not glory in the bodily union but attains supreme happiness in renunciation.

THE DEPARTURE

While there was no lack of appreciation, there was another school which refused to see the magic wand of Dr. Coomaraswamy. He was exploring a virgin world and tumbling down too many idols from their high pedestals. Scholastic jealousy and controversy is as dangerous as political rivalry. Just as it creates friends in unexpected corners, it also creates undying hatred and enmity which sometimes transcend all limitations of courtesy, civility and decency. The country was being ruled by the British, who had their own scholastic ideas about the origin and character of Indian Art. The idea of a former Director

of an Asiatic colony gadding about the whole world vindicating the ancient heritage and culture of a dependency, rousing his countrymen to a just sense of pride and knowledge with regard to the traditional arts and crafts of their own country, singing their immortality, could not have drawn the favourable grace of the ruling class in India. The great native princes would not naturally be interested in an enterprise that would not bring them the patronising smiles of the senior officers of the paramount power.

India, of pre-World War I, was not sufficiently rich to undertake the financing of the great project that lay in his mind. He wanted that the priceless art-collection of his, should be housed permanently in some suitable centre in India. No institution had the means to shoulder the gigantic task. Finally, the famous American art connoisseur came to his aid, and took over his vast collection for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and what is more, appointed him as the 'Keeper' of that section. For full thirty years (1917-1947) this sage, seer and savant presided over the destiny of this collection, so that it still remains the biggest single collection of Hindu, Jain, Buddhist and Islamic Arts of India in Europe and America. From this *sanctum sanctorum* emanated the most magnificent volumes on Indian art, mythology and folk culture. In a moment, the traveller, the collector, the missionary, the free lance turned a serious museum-man, and in museum technique, museum methods, in display, arrangement and interpretation of his collection, he exhibited the same mastery skill and originality, as he had done with the mineral wealth and craftsmen of Ceylon and later of India. Like a never-ending swift stream, appeared papers, articles, contributions, Manuals, Hand-books, Guides, Catalogues, etc., based upon the collections in his charge. The most monumental work however was the *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (1923-1926).

SETTLES ABROAD

After this Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy decided to settle down far away from his native palm-groves where the surging surf of the Indian ocean thundered and spouted at the feet of the Adam's Peak. He was not to hear again the parrot chirp and the cuckoo sing amidst the graceful and tall cocoanut trees with its eternal nectar, and the Singhalese maidens with their multi-coloured *saris* going to the *viharas* to worship the Tathagata. He had lived and felt for them. His heart-beats had pulsed at their lost horizon. He and his father had regretted the loss of rhythm, poise and colour in their lives and fought successfully for their resurrection. He purchased a small villa in a matter-of-fact ultra-modern Boston suburb and lived there the rest of his days. But neither distance nor environment, could deny to him the pleasures and pursuits of life, which he was determined to follow. There were fresh worlds to discover, new horizons to explore, virgin landscapes to gaze on. Here, far away from the noisy throngs of the great American cities, the savant of Ceylon immersed himself in ancient Nordic myths like

Volsund, Icelandic Eddas, the writings of Plato and Plautinus and works of the mediæval European scholasticism like Meister Eckhart and Thomas Aquinas. With his insight and intuition he discovered the fundamental unity underlying all religions. His researches in Christian monastic philosophy won for him fresh laurels so beautifully summed up in his *Paths That Lead to the Same Summit*.

LAST PHASE

In his life-long wanderings amidst literature, art and philosophy of the nations on this earth, Dr. Coomaraswamy had like the ancient *Rishis* become not only well-versed in the Brahminical *Vedas*, *Brahmanas*, *Upanishads*, *Vedantas* and *Puranas*; but like Max Muller and Rhy Davids had drunk deep from the eternal springs of the Buddhist *Vinaya*, *Nikayas*, *Tripitakas*, *Suttanta* and *Abhidhamma*. He had also become a master of the Jain Canonical texts. Thus, after 1938 he devoted his aged energies to the interpretation of Vedic thoughts and symbolism. His *New Approach to the Vedas*, *Inverted Tree*, *Angels and Titans*, *The Vedic Doctrine of Silence*, were like new fountains that gushed out from an ancient spring. His interpretations of Vedic symbolism were greatly appreciated. His work went to show that though the Indian tradition is the essential truth, yet, it was not a unique statement of the universal truth. His position was more that of an orthodox Hindu than that of a painstaking modern scholar. Just as the youthful Coomaraswamy, in a different age and different region of the earth, had striven for the resurrection of the Ceylonese life; in the well-earned dusk of a life spent in the pursuit of knowledge, he wanted to bring back to the Indians, maddened with gutter politics and striving for the poison fruit of the Industrial Revolution, the courage of conviction based on their tradition which is the *adhyatmic basis* of life. He also wanted to point out the fact that truth of the oldest texts could be demonstrated by the most vigorous modern methods.

AN APPRECIATION

One of the most charming features of that great mind was the complete forgetfulness of his own greatness. Scholastic snobbery is a dangerous and vicious quality, but the seer of Indian renaissance in Europe was completely free from it. Lesser mortals, small officials, College Professors that I have met in the two generations of living in an international scholastic circle, were not free from this vice; but the great Dr. Coomaraswamy, with his beard, shallow brown complexion, poring over the accumulated learning of the two hemispheres, knew no such complex. Young and old, teenagers and short-sighted Professors, beginners and savants, all could approach him, write to him and what is more, criticize his theories. There was always a gracious understanding, sympathy and word of encouragement for all. To him every publication, be it a sumptuous volume, or a small

contribution however meanly printed and whatever the standing of the writer, had some value. He would take the writer's views as seriously as that of any Harvard or Cambridge Professor with an international reputation.

Indian researches in those days were sharply divided into two camps over the question whether the lowest member of the Mauryan Capitals were Lotus or the Iranian Bell. In 1930 a select band of young Indians used to congregate in the room of the late R. P. Chanda in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where the deceased gentleman in spite of all his stern school-masterly code was a great attraction. Amongst them was A. K. Mitra (now Dr. A. K. Mitra, of the Department of Anthropology), who had accompanied Chanda to Sarnath, Mathura and Khiching excavations and was his favourite in those days. While in training under him Dr. Mitra published a paper questioning Dr. Coomaraswamy's identifications of the base of the Capital as 'Lotus.' A copy was sent to the savant for opinion. A lesser mortal would have probably taken to silence and contemptuous treatment of the publication. I have seen many Indian scholars having recourse to this method. Not so however the scholar of Boston—verily he was a *gurudēva* who sympathised with the daring of this beginner unknown to fame. He published a long and patient contradiction of Dr. Mitra's contentions, and what is more, presented him with all the copies of his publications.

In 1930, I published a very short account of the beautiful Parmara Temples, situated at a place called Nemawar, in the Indore State and had the audacity to send him a copy. Months had elapsed and I myself had forgotten all about it, when one morning sitting in my Calcutta house, I was very much surprised to find an envelope from the Boston Museum of Fine Art. Opening it I found a letter in a few lines from the greatest authority on Indian Art and Architecture. "You have developed an undoubted insight into the real spirit of the subject. It is a pleasure to observe such hereditary aptitude for research." Since that time till 1942, I often corresponded with him on every conceivable subject, I only wish that the communal hooligans who burnt my father's library in Calcutta in 1946 had spared those letters.

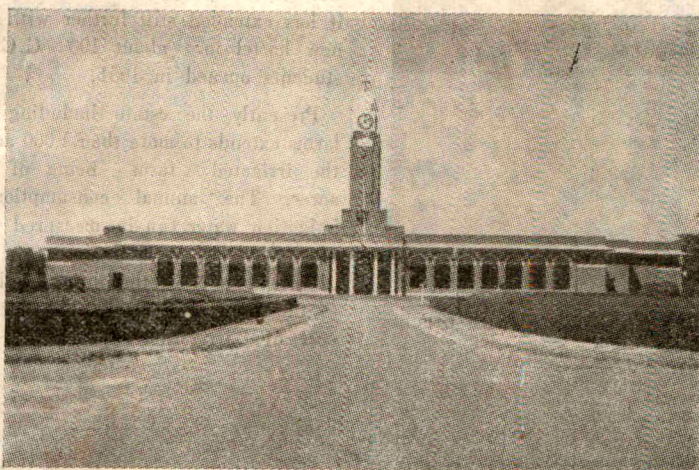
Dr. Coomaraswamy had the intuition to catch the underlying significance of oriental designs and sculpture. He was probably the first scholar to realise the fundamental unity underlying the aesthetics of the East. The result was his *Dance of Siva*, *Visvakarma*, *History of Art in India and Indonesia*. Particularly, in the last treatise, his treatment of a varied subject which called for encyclopaedic knowledge, was so brief yet so meticulous and full of understanding of the contacts and reactions of the various schools of India sculpture on each other *vis-a-vis* sculpture in Greater India that one regrets the disappearance of the volume in the market.

ROLE OF NEW PUSA TO SOLVE OUR FOOD PROBLEM

By MURARI PROSAD GUHA, M.A.

A stay at New Pusa (New Delhi) induced me to write this article. The Indian Agricultural Research Institute or as it is shortly called I.A.R.I. is the best Institute for Agricultural Research in India and is equipped with the biggest Agricultural library in Asia (containing 200,000 books and 1200 journals on Agriculture). The brief details of the origin of the Institute are drawn from historical records.

The fund for carrying out the Scheme was enhanced by the generous gift of £30,000 from a Chicago philanthropist Mr. Henry Phipps and thus at Pusa in North Bihar the Agricultural Research Institute and College (later renamed Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research—Imperial Agricultural Research Institute—Indian Agricultural Research Institute) was established in 1905.

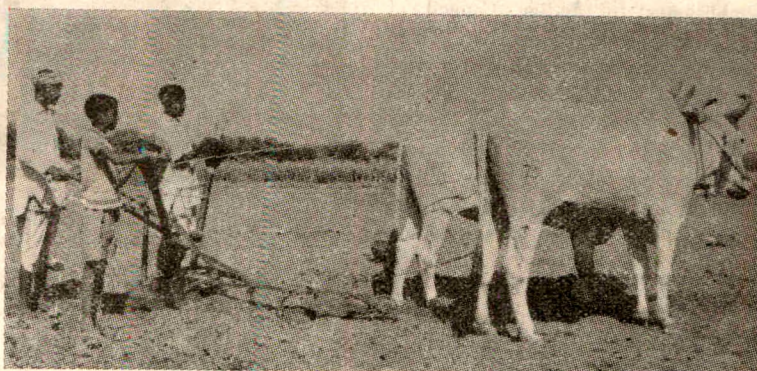


The Library of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute with its beautiful clock-tower and the park in the foreground

The Institute with all the departments was housed in a magnificent building and was furnished with a laboratory and a library and bore the name of Mr. Phipps. It had an area of 1,358 acres and was situated at the bend of the river Gandak about 6 miles from Pusa Road Station on the O. T. Rly.

Teaching was confined to short courses until November, 1923, when Post-graduate courses of two years' duration without any syllabus was started. This continued until 1945. In July, 1945, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research convened a meeting of the Directors of Provinces and States and of a number of eminent Scientists for advising what additional Post-graduate courses of training in the different branches of

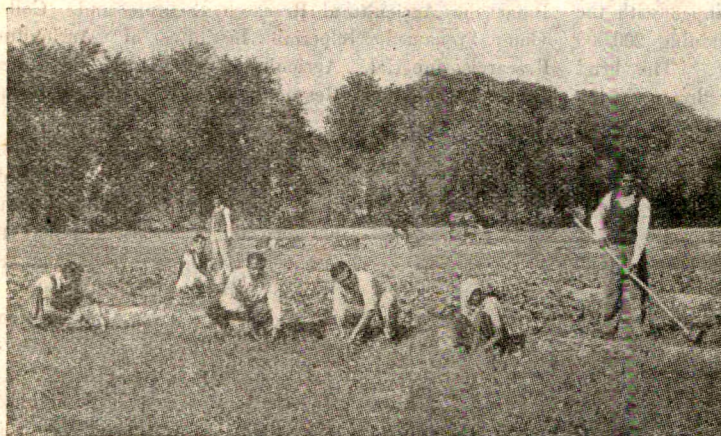
With the Famine Commission Report of 1866 the first proposal for the Department of Agriculture in India originated and the Departments of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce started to function from June, 1871 but was abolished in 1878 in the absence of any progress. The Famine Commission of 1880 urged to establish Agricultural Departments in the provinces for (i) Agricultural enquiry, (ii) Agricultural improvements and (iii) Famine relief. The Imperial Department of Agriculture was first formed in 1881 and steps for their formation in the provinces were taken in 1882. Other steps for other appointments and improvements followed the report of the Famine Commission in 1901. In 1903, a scheme submitted by Curzon was approved by the Secretary of State for the establishment of (1) an Experimental Farm, (2) an Economic Botanic Garden, (3) an Agricultural College, (4) a Research Institute, and (5) a Cattle-breeding Farm.



Placement of more than one fertilizer simultaneously in potato rows. The bullocks and the ploughmen are so trained that they always move in straight lines

Agricultural Science should be provided and syllabus followed. And from then now on students have been admitted in 18 different branches of Agricultural Science—such as (1) Agriculture, (2) Genetics and Plant breeding, (3) Cytology (4) Physiology, (5) Economic Botany, (6) Soil Science and Agricultural Chemistry, (7) Soil

Science, (8) Agricultural Chemistry, (9) Soil Microbiology, (10) Entomology, (11) Toxicology, (12) Ecology, (13) other advanced aspects of Entomology, (14) Mycology and Plant Pathology, (15) Virus, (16) Agricultural Engineering, (17) Agricultural Economics, (18) Sugarcane breeding.



The author (*extreme right*) working in his plot along with others

The Royal Commission suggested, "Pusa should be developed as a first class centre for advanced training and research in Agriculture" and the suggestion has borne fruit.

The head of this Institute used to function as the (Agricultural) Adviser to the Government of India till the establishment of Indian Council of Agricultural Research in 1930. There were appointments thereafter of a large number of advisers of different branches of agriculture.

On 15th January, 1934 a disastrous earthquake which took a heavy toll in North Bihar damaged the Institute beyond repair and a deep fissure throwing sand and water ran through the estate and through the length of the building

The Central Government wanted to shift it to a central place such as Delhi. The present site situated about 5 miles to the west of the New Delhi Railway Station was selected in October, 1934. The foundation-stone was laid by Lord Willingdon in February, 1935. Land Acquisition, etc., was completed by May, 1935 and the shifting was completed in October, 1936. And then on 7th November, 1936 the present Institute, locally known as the "Pusa College," was formally opened by Linlithgow.

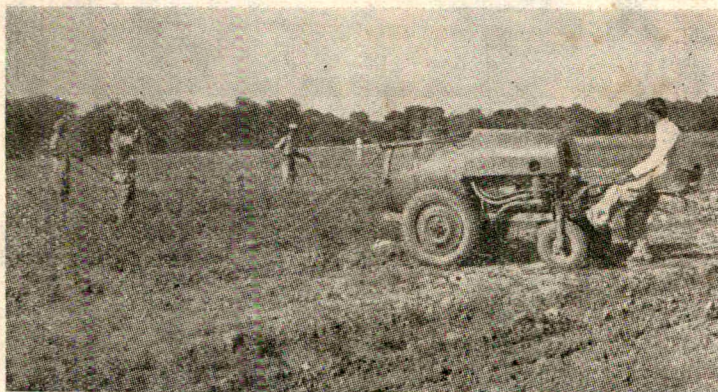
Again with fresh vigour work was started and now with the six divisions of (1) Agronomy, (2) Botany, (3) Chemistry and Soil Science, (4) Entomology, (5) Engineering and (6) Mycology, agricultural research

has advanced further in India, even foreign institutes recognizing its worth.

Earlier hostel accommodation limited the admission. After the construction of the new hostel with an accommodation for 100 students in 1946-47, admission has been opened up for more students. The one-storied old hostel with an accommodation for about 2 dozen students still remains open but for only short-course students and research-scholars, etc.

With the merger of the Central College of Agriculture with I.A.R.I. it has extended still further with the new hostel for about 100 C.C.A. students opened in 1951.

Presently the estate including the farms extends to more than 1,000 acres, the irrigated farm being of 350 acres. The annual consumption of irrigation water can be measured with meteres placed at intervals at the end of the hume-pipes that bring it down to the farm now-a-days. The average cost of irrigation per acre per



Spraying of tobacco decoction in potato fields to control aphids (carriers of virus diseases) with a modern power sprayer

annum is as follows :

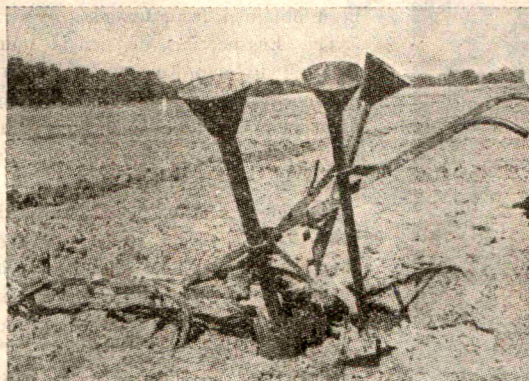
1946-47	Rs. 35- 2-6
1947-48	47-15-0
1948-49	39-10-0
1949-50	37- 6-0
1950-51	25-11-6

The site may appear a little high but the area about Delhi is dry like bone with scanty rainfall, last year there being almost no rainfall.

Every year, from all parts of India new students come to specialize in different branches for the benefit of their States and the old and trained students or Associates of this Institute return to their States to implement the new knowledge.

In the Agronomy section one will find students studying the best sowing time, the best size of and the best

manure for potato, or the water requirement of the potato under different conditions and also the maximum dose of manure that can be best utilized. Plant protection measures in the form of roguing of virus-affected plants and spraying of tobacco decoctions to control aphids or virus-carriers or other insects, are followed as routine practice. Experiments are carried on to determine if spray irrigation of potato with "Rain Marshall Pump" is more economic from the irrigation point of view and if it also improves the yield.



The horse hoe with adjusted metallic 'pora' for placement of fertilizers

Seeds are sown by students with the help of mechanical seed-drills simultaneously sowing 7 rows of wheat with adjustable seeding distance and also of the *desi poro* of hollow bamboo pipe with wooden funnels adjusted behind the plough like the funnel-adjusted horse-hoe used for simultaneous placements of more than one fertilizer inside the soil, at the same time preparing the furrow for the planting of the tubers of potato. The placement of fertilizer is very important for potato, as with shallow root-system it can better utilize the manures and fertilizers placed close to but not on the tubers. Other similar experiments are being conducted with wheat, cotton, berseem, etc. Work on some important trace elements like boron, molybdenum, etc., are in progress. The underlying idea of all the experiments being the best utilization of land and the proper maintenance of its fertility level with maximum production in the unit area.

Our cattle population speaks of our utter negligence for their maintenance, they being uneconomic for us are eating away a great portion of our food. In olden times there were pastures for cattle but now we never think of them. There are plenty of grasses and legumes indigenous to our own country. Some imported grass found suitable from the production and nutritional point of view can be easily grown in our fallow lands to get some fodder for cattle at the same time improving the soil. The Agrostology section has definitely established this. The protein content of some of the important grasses and legumes studied was found to be as under :

Name	Protein content		
	Young	Preflowering	Flowering
Grasses			
1. <i>Setaria palmaefolia</i> (Dahpatia)		16.61	10.07
2. <i>Panicum repens</i> (Silokar)	14.22	4.39	3.63
3. <i>Cenchrus ciliaris</i> (Anjan)	5.30	11.88	11.87
4. <i>Phalaris minor</i> (chidia bajar)	19.04		13.98
Legumes			
1. <i>Vicia hirsute</i>		37.91	



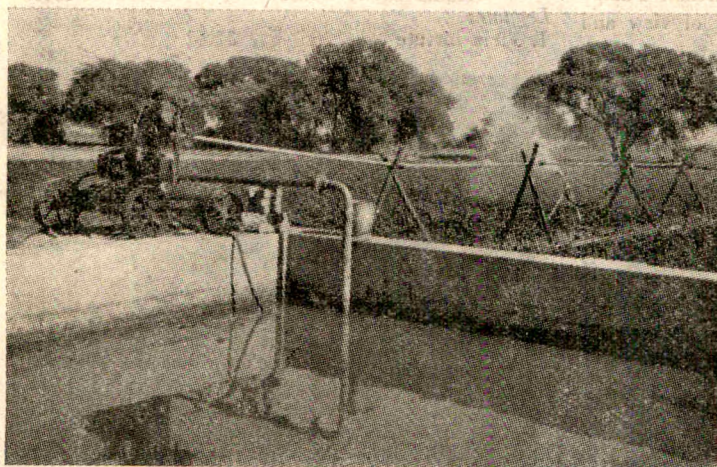
Roguing of virus-affected potato plants

The Botany division has evolved some new hybrids by breeding which combine economic with useful character such as more yield and resistance to disease, etc. The N.P. 710 is the finest wheat in the world with many special characteristics. Breeding work has progressed much in the case of (1) Tomatoes, (2) Mustard, (3) Sesamum, (4) Linseed (disease overcome by crossing), (5) Chillies, (6) Cowpea (for wilt resistance in particular), (7) Maize (now we hear about hybrid maize).*

Here also the nitrogen requirement of wheat and its time of application is being studied. By means of wheat-weedicide experiments it has been found that application of chemicals checks weeds at one-third the cost of manual labour. But the use of chemicals to control weeds is better practised in larger compact acres under same crop as in U.S.A. where manual labour is short and also

* Offspring hybridized and then selfed.

costly. By means of wheat-lodging experiments it has been found that high doses of nitrogen and high seed-rate induce lodging, and lower seed-rate with application of potash only prevents it. And they are observing many factors to find out how to check lodging definitely. Trials for drought resistance and rust resistance in wheat are also going on.



Spray irrigation of potato fields with Rain Marshall pump

The Agricultural Chemistry and Soil Science division deals with soils and soil nutrients. They try to locate the hunger of the crop and according to the requirement it is remedied. Soils from all parts of India are being analysed and they are being mapped by survey. The harvesting of crop from time immemorial has impoverished our soil and now the soil chemists are finding for us the way to replenish mother earth. In collaboration with the Agronomy division they are trying to find the way to best utilize the land and how it can be managed, how crops should be rotated to maintain the *status quo*. They also advise how to control or check soil erosion to reclaim waste lands and also how to utilize the resources of irrigation projects.

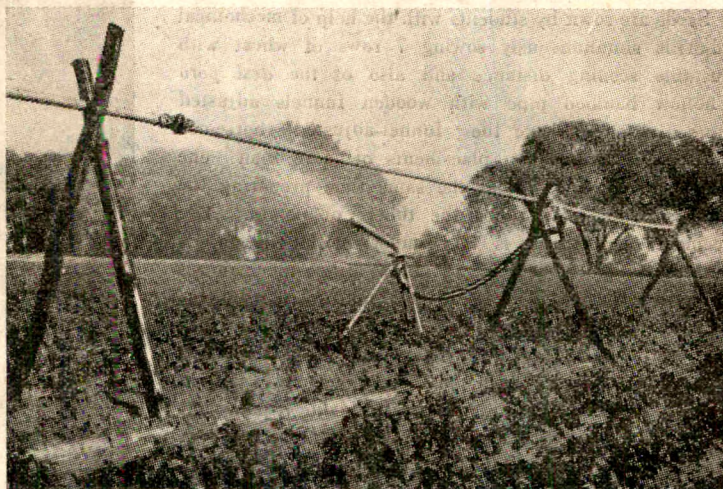
With the new knowledge of new insecticides we are now in a better position to combat pests and the invasion of the locust swarms that destroy our food. Entomology deals with all this. Of course the old knowledge of tobacco decoction is still in use along with D.D.T. and other methods although the method of application has improved much, it has advanced from hand-sprayers to power-sprayers. Similarly, the old method of drum and torch to control locusts is supplemented by insecticides. Along with them the knowledge of biological control is

getting momentum. Sugarcane-borer is controlled by *Trichogramma evanescens scminutum*—a useful wasp. This parasite released at the rate of 5000 per acre can control the borer attack if continued for 8-10 weeks depending on the intensity of attack. Cost of control comes to about Rs. 12 only.

Similarly potato aphids (carriers of virus disease) are controlled biologically by grubs of coccinella and maggots of syrphid flies. For potato-moth control one larval parasite *Bracon jelechiae* has been obtained from Canada.

The Engineering division is doing its best to improve our agricultural implements with its modern knowledge of economising time and saving drudgery of our lone fighter in the food front—the poor farmer.

Mycology division deals with the plant-diseases, their study and their control. Instead of fighting with chemicals only, the raising of disease-resistant varieties by breeding and selection is going on. The relation of temperature, rainfall and humidity with particular diseases is also studied. In the U.S.A., with the



Close-up of the field and spray equipment

knowledge derived from such studies, warning service for potato blight, etc. has been started and it may be tried in our country also where knowledge will be complete here. In the sub-station at Simla virus-free seed potatoes are being raised and distributed throughout India. Also all Indian and many foreign varieties of potatoes are being studied there as well as here at New Pusa.

Our poor country with poor resources can ill-afford to miss the advancement of knowledge of how to

improve our soil, how to improve our crop and how to check its deterioration and diseases and pests. It can ill-afford to miss the knowledge of improvement of the *desi* plough which can scarcely turn over the six-inch soil, leave aside nine inches.

A great seat of learning is thus formed, and we must utilize to our best advantage the piled-up knowledge of our predecessors. We must know

what they have said and what others say. One takes much time to forget the knowledge of techniques applicable to foreign soils derived from foreign studies before reconciling himself with the surroundings of his own homeland. We must utilize our best talents to learn the best technique, with relation to our own soil and climatological factors instead of foreign environments, to produce more food. (*Illustrations by the author*)

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CHICAGO : SECOND CITY IN THE UNITED STATES

By ALBERT HALPER

CHICAGO is the second largest city in the United States. Only New York City has a greater population. Nearly 4,000,000 people live in Chicago, according to the 1950 U. S. Decennial Census. Located deep in the interior of a nation, Chicago does not—like London or Paris or Rome—have a lengthy, sensible history, always moving in the same direction. Chicago is a heaving, complex place, shifting and unpredictable. It is never dull; it is seldom tranquil. Its tempo, its rawness, and its beauty have a tremendous impact upon the visitor. Youngest of the world's very large cities, America's mid-western metropolis is vibrant and vital and has in its polyglot population people from all corners of the globe.

Different from all other American cities, Chicago is big in many ways. It has the greatest concentration of railroads on earth. In a single day 1,500 passenger trains roll into its terminals; the daily score of freight trains is almost literally countless. Chicago is the chief livestock and packing-house center of the United States, the biggest grain market, headquarters for the nation's mail-order business, and a leader in the printing trades.

Even in its weather Chicago follows its own pattern. It has all four seasons well defined, each with its own emphasis. In winter the snows are deep and the temperature drops below zero Fahrenheit. In summer the heat is over-powering. The city's climatic changes often are abrupt and violent. In August it can be as balmy as May. Rain can fall in cascades or the sun can shine for weeks in spring. Autumns may be unbelievably beautiful or plunged in gray winds for days.

Because Chicago has so many railroads, its citizens are never far from tracks or out of range of the sounds of locomotives. Some of the grade crossings, as they approach the city's heart, look almost a mile wide. The freight trains so frequently seen have come a long way, from the ends of the continent, carrying the goods of commerce—food, clothing materials, ores, woodpulp. Reading the names of the railroads painted across the boxcars in ringing, evocative

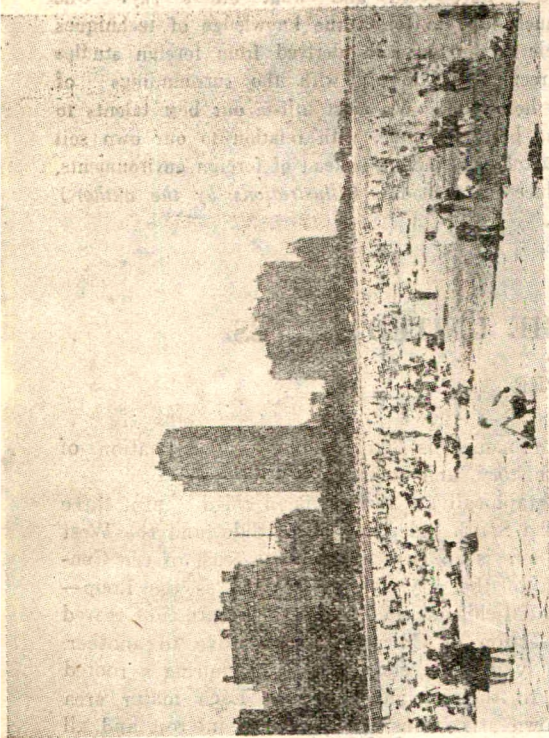
American names is like reading a combination of poetry, history, and folklore.

Geographically, Chicago is divided into three parts; the South Side, the North Side, and the West Side. There is no East Side because east of the Central area of the city—widely known as the Loop—lies Lake Michigan. People who are born and reared in one section of Chicago seldom move to another. They stay in one general area, acquiring a rooted identity to their neighbourhoods. Each major area has its own attractions and points of interest and all depend on the Loop.

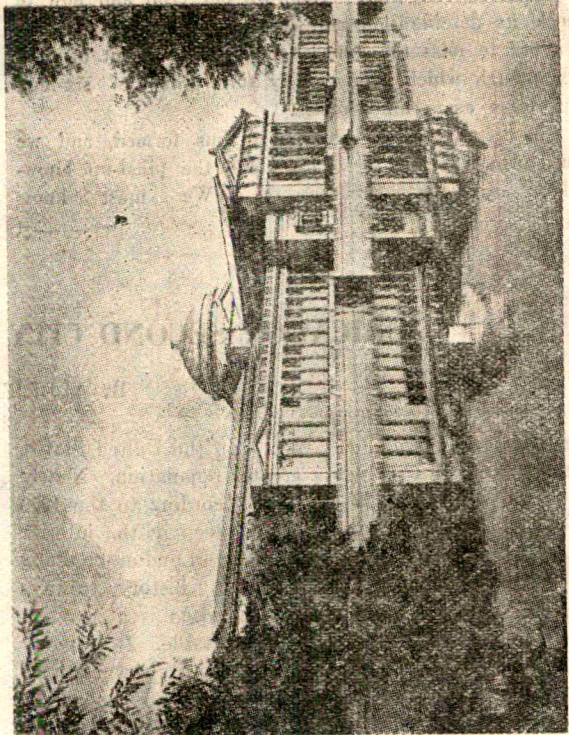
Within its borders Chicago is a kind of miniature United Nations. For instance, it has a greater Polish population than any other city in the world except Warsaw. It has many people whose parents came from Italy, from Sweden, from Germany, from Japan, from Syria, from Eire. For many reasons, geographical and industrial, Chicago attracted hundreds of thousands of new Americans during the years of greatest immigration into the United States. Absorption of many and varied cultures is one of the reasons for the vitality and interest of the city. Yet despite the variety of its inheritance, Chicago remains a friendly place and one to which its children return with enthusiasm.

The buildings of Chicago hold great interest for the visitor. The first skyscraper was built there. To eyes accustomed to much greater buildings in the 1950's, that structure which first embodied the principles which made the erection of 199-story buildings possible looks small, but it was the necessary forerunner of New York City's Empire State Building and the United Nations Secretariat. Chicago always has had private construction showing daring and handsome designs. Its Merchandise Mart is one of the world's greatest commercial buildings, with a floor area of more than 4,000,000 square feet. Many of its buildings are lighted at night, so the city is dazzling after dark.

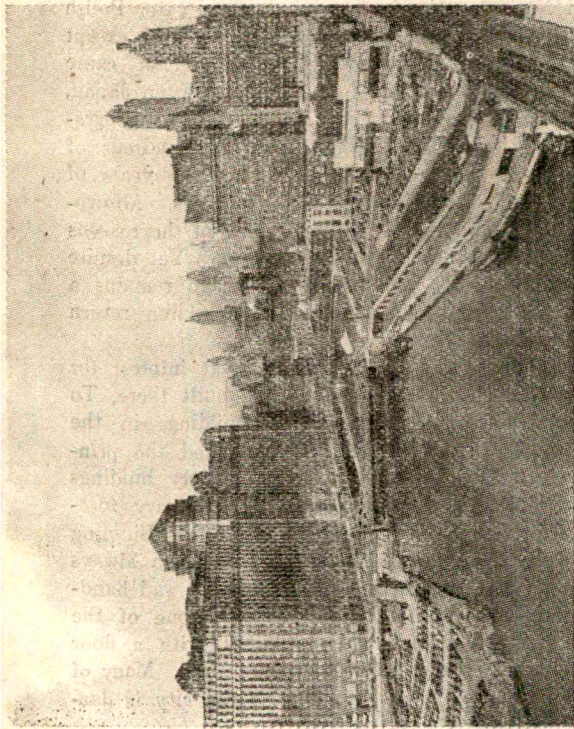
Chicago has been greatly influenced by great personalities, sometimes for ill, often for good. Hull



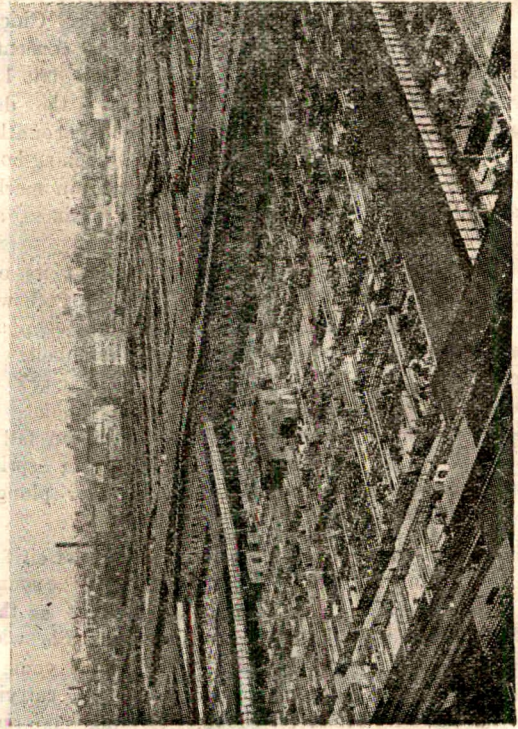
Playground for thousands of people in the summer is Lake Michigan Beach in Chicago



The building of the Museum of Science and Industry is one of the most interesting places to visit in Chicago



One of the greatest commercial buildings in the world is the Merchandise Mart on the Chicago River, shown at left in this picture



Through these pens and buildings of the Union Stockyards in Chicago, reach millions of head of livestock every year

House is a monument to a great woman, Jane Addams, who believed in the basic rights of every human to certain fundamental dignities and spent a lifetime working for her beliefs. The city has attracted many writers and artists who have tried to capture in words or pictures the spirit of Chicago. It has produced more than its share of brilliant popular musicians, although many of them have moved to other cities. The Art Institute of Chicago, with its famous art school, is one of the world's foremost art museums.

With two major league baseball teams, the city has its share of sports figures. Entertainers have developed there who have gained international recognition in the theatre, the motion picture industry, the radio and television broadcasting studios. The Chicago Civic Opera is an important part of the musical life of the city, and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra is widely known.

The city has some unusual geographical features. Lake Michigan, along which the city lies, influences the climate, the business, and the sports of the city. Along the lake front is a great park where people walk on summer evenings after their work is done. At dusk, dozens of small sailing craft come into

anchorage after giving their owners a pleasant day's outing on the lake. The Chicago River wanders through the city; it is a river like no other for its flow has been reversed by man. As a part of the system of waterways which permits ships to travel from the Gulf of Mexico port city of New Orleans up the Mississippi River and certain of its tributaries, through a connecting canal, and by way of the Chicago River to Lake Michigan, the stream now runs in a direction opposite to the one it formerly took.

Chicago has several great daily newspapers. There are three major universities, of which the best known is the University of Chicago, which every year draws many international students. There are many churches and several seminaries and training schools for the clergy of several denominations.

All this leaves much unsaid—leaves the tumultuous city of Chicago without a crisp and final definition. Perhaps a reason is that Chicago is a place with many faces, to be seen by many people, each looking for and finding a different face. It is, however, one thing to all viewers—a city with a future. Also, once seen, Chicago is never forgotten; most visitors hope one day to return.—From *Holiday*.

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Dr. Taraknath Das
The great Indian revolutionary has come to visit his home-country after forty-one years



Brajendranath Banerji
He was awarded the Rabindra Memorial Prize in literature for the year 1951-52 just a few months before his death

B. September 21, 1891

D. October 3, 1952

STAMMERING—ITS CAUSE AND CURE

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

THE Stammer Clinic run by Dr. M. S. Rami both at Cama Lane, Ghatkopar, and at Arthur Bunder Road, Colaba, Bombay, continues to be an ever-growing blessing and inestimable boon to stammerers, stutterers and all those who suffer from defective speech. In the beginning it was well-nigh impossible for me to believe that bad stammerers who have suffered for two or three decades could be cured within four to six weeks without surgery, hypnotism, psycho-analysis, carbondioxide therapy and medical drugs. But the facts and figures I collected from the Bombay Stammer Clinic convinced me that Dr. M. S. Rami has now a pioneering, unique and simple method of curing stammer through radical re-education of voice and speech.

Of the few cases of really bad stammering, I have watched the progress made by a certain Kamalendra Singh, a college student from Agra. On May 14th I saw him coming as a raw material for Dr. Rami to work upon and straighten. He would stammer so badly on some words that it would take him twenty to thirty seconds to pronounce them. I saw him three weeks later, when half of the voice re-education process was over. He could speak without stammering, although his intonations and words were very slow. At the end of the full course of six weeks none could detect that Kamalendra Singh was a life-long stammerer at all. I have verified for myself many such cases and some conclusions I have arrived at after basing them on the data collected from Dr. Rami's Clinic. I am setting down with the hope that it may prove to be a boon and hope for all stammerers everywhere.

In India, the Stammer Clinic at Ghatkopar is unique. Patients come to this place from distant parts of India, from the Himalayan regions to the sea-washed shores of the subcontinent. The singular eminence of the Stammer Clinic, I think, is due to the simple, natural and homely way in which Dr. Rami cures his patients, whom he calls his "pupils." Dr. Rami has now won such a reputation as the wonder-healer of all stammerers that even speech-specialists and psycho-analysts of leading hospitals in Bombay and elsewhere send their patients to Dr. Rami for treatment. Besides the hundred per cent cure which the Clinic guarantees to the patients, I think, the personal touch, attention, simplicity and conscientiousness of the hard-working healer, Dr. Rami, is one of the reasons that made the Ghatkopar Stammer Clinic so famous and attractive to every patient who has visited the place and has undergone the treatment.

A SELF-HEALING DOCTOR

It may interest the readers to know that the

protagonist of the new technique of curing stammering, Dr. Rami was himself a bad stammerer in his boyhood and youth. From the age of eight Dr. Rami developed a sort of acute stammering which increased ever since. Self-conscious of the criticism and adverse remarks of his class-mates and play-mates, Dr. Rami went from bad to worse as years rolled on. At the age of twenty-three we find the young man as a student in Japan, enrolled in the faculty of dentistry, seriously handicapped by his speech defect.

In India, Japan, East Africa and wherever Dr. Rami has been he tried several methods to obtain relief from his stammering. It is said that Dr. Rami even tried to stand for hours in the river up to his neck and, filling the mouth with pebbles, shout at the highest pitch. This is one of the superstitious methods prevalent among the common people. It is after trying all such methods that the idea occurred to the Doctor that he should try to control breath so that air may pass in a strictly measured way through the voice box and vocal chords while speaking. Accordingly, he devised a curved palate fitter with a hole which was meant to regulate the passage of air and consequently for controlling the speech. He fitted the device into his mouth and began thoroughly to re-educate his speech, beginning from the vowels. This pioneering method through which Dr. Rami got himself cured completely became at last an inestimable boon to hundreds who later on thronged the clinic, where stammerers become normal men and women later on and could face society with confidence and faith.

This self-healing Doctor has now learnt the root-cause of stammering from his own experience and has invented the device and learnt the technique of how to deal with it. The cause and cure of stammering, as is learnt from the data of the Stammer Clinic, are not just the same as are found in the books on psycho-analysis and other authoritative literature. Here is a simple, straight, but hundred per cent effective method which has enabled many boys and girls, men and women to face the world and regain their normal speaking, thanks to the patience, almost paternal solicitude of the pioneering Stammer Specialist in India. Dr. Rami has now placed at the disposal of all stammerers, stutterers and everybody suffering from any speech disorder, the results of his own personal experiences and experiments and research.

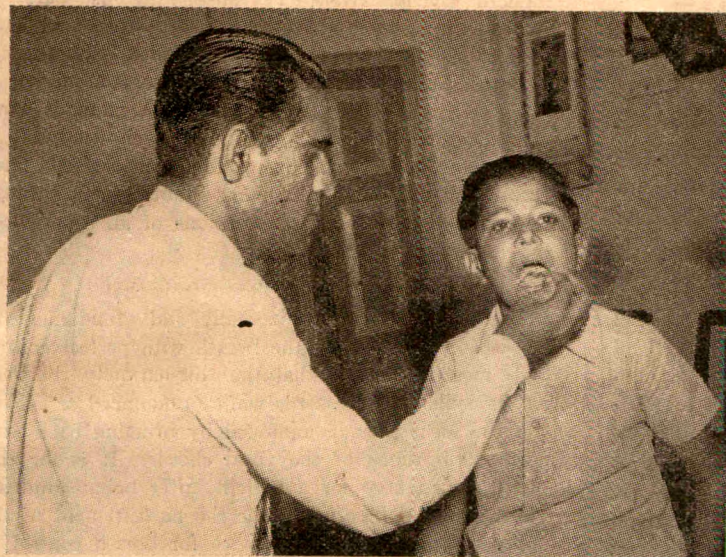
CAUSE OF STAMMERING

The records and data available at the Stammering Clinic of Dr. M. S. Rami at Ghatkopar, Bombay, go to prove that over ninety per cent of those

who stammer, stutter and in any way are afflicted with speech disorders are the victims of nervous shock and strain of the sympathetic nervous system. Many children who come to the clinic have been able to trace the genesis of their stammering to some fear,

cause stammering. Thus, for instance, a boy who utterly fails in a public performance and is ridiculed beyond the stage of forbearance may develop temporary stuttering. A girl who experiences a sudden shock at the physical symptoms of her coming of age may also develop some kind of stammer. But in all these cases it should be noted that psychological factors of fear, self-consciousness, etc., are only predisposing causes, while the main factor that actually causes stammering is psycho-physical, i.e., lack of coherence between thought and word.

Hence, it is that during the first week of treatment at the Stammer Clinic of Dr. Rami the pupils are forbidden to speak to anybody save their fellow-pupils undergoing the same course of treatment. During this week for about six hours a day or more, Dr. Rami is with the patients with prescribed charts and readers, so that the re-education of the vocal system may be made radical and thorough, by making the voice and the nervous system work in harmony. This

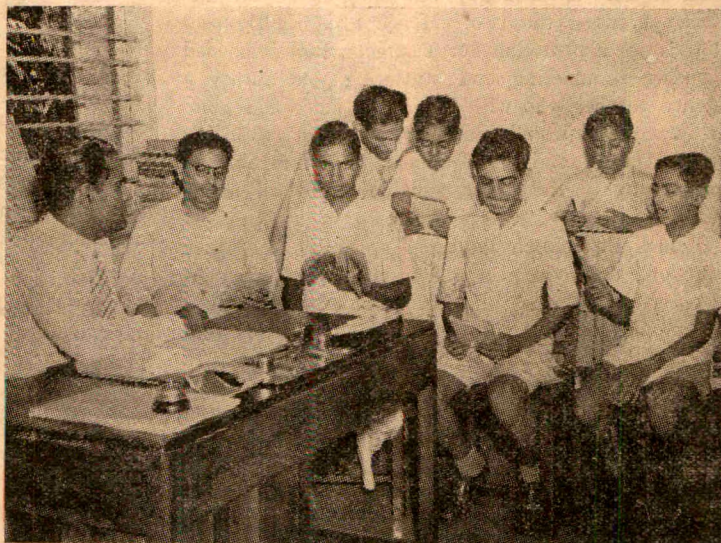


Dr. M. S. Rami applying the instrument to regulate the voice

shock or to some predisposing cause of nervous affection through heredity, mimicry or even through lack of co-ordination between their ideas and their mode of expression.

The thesis of those writers who ascribe the cause of stammering to some mysterious and mystifying causes, brain disorders or organic defects in the vocal system may now be rejected out of hand. The cause of stammering is today definitely known and in about ninety-five percent cases it is due to lack of co-ordination between the organs of respiration, voice and articulation, most often caused by some conscious or unconscious nervous shock. Timidity, bashfulness, over-self-consciousness and such psychological factors are predisposing causes. But stammering itself is directly due to extra speed in thought to which the vocal chords do not adequately respond. Hence the need for re-education of the vocal chords and the entire speech system so that a particular letter, syllable, word and then sentences may be pronounced within a particular given time and in a way most conducive to a restoration to normal speech.

Sudden fear or overwhelming novelty may also



Dr. M. S. Rami re-educating a group of stammerers

is attained through slow, patient, persevering efforts on the part of both the teacher and the pupils to learn afresh every vowel, and every consonant singly and in combination with words, in a strict rhythmic and measured manner so that the air passage, aided by the palate-fitter device, may become natural and free and the spoken words

and the thoughts within the mind may move harmoniously.

MECHANISM OF SPEECH

To understand fully the regulation of breath that is achieved during the first week or two at the Clinic, it is necessary to bear in mind the broadest outline of the mechanism of voice and speech in man. For stammering, as the Medical Dictionary defines it, is "the want of co-ordination between the muscles of respiration, voice and articulation."

Besides the muscles that are brought to work in normal speech, the windpipe, the larynx or voice box, vocal chords, palate, tongue, lips and throat are all co-operating in one way or another for natural speaking. Now the muscles of speech can be made not to relax or contract as is needed through nervousness, fear and other psychological factors. If any muscle or organ of the speech, through nervous disorder or any other cause fails to regulate breathing and the passage of air through the vocal chord there almost invariably faulty speech results.

The movements of the lips, jaw bones, palate and tongue must be such that when the air passes through the vocal chord to produce the given sound or speech there may result harmony and co-ordination between words and thoughts. In almost every case of stammering this co-ordination is lacking. Hence the purpose of re-education is to bring back the needed air for the needed words and remove the dis-harmony between the two. Hence it is rightly said that it is not a physician nor a surgeon that is needed for curing stammering and stuttering, but rather a master, a teacher who with infinite patience and practical experience would sit hours together with his distressed pupils and enable them to control breath corresponding to the letter, syllable and word to be pronounced.

Besides the bio-physiological apparatus for voice production, there is also the psychological element that enters into the art of speech. For example, inferiority complex and fear are most common factors that work for the perpetuation of stammering. It is a vicious circle and at some end it must be broken. It is for this that the cure of stammering is attempted on a dual front, physical breathing and psychical healing.

METHODS OF CURE

Besides the natural re-education of phonetics, the psychological handling of the case is also most important. Psychological treatment, however, is not the prolonged, costly, and often ineffective methods of modern psychoanalysis. Psycho-therapy is part of naturopathy and it essentially consists in the skill of the teacher to detect the hidden psycho-somatic causes that work behind and cause stammering in the given individual. Psychotherapeutic methods, however, do not altogether exclude psycho-analysis in those cases where some deep, hidden unconscious force is working and is not easily detectable except through the skilled queries and observations of an experienced psychoanalyst.

What is to be stressed however is that the cure of stammering essentially, basically and fundamentally consists in re-moulding the breath with perfect control and measurement so that the dis-harmony between letters, syllables and words while pronounced or spoken, and the ideas may be removed by bringing back the normal vibrations of the vocal chords. It is for this that the first step for a patient, after being admitted to Dr. Rami's clinic is to take the measurement of the upper palate and get the device for breath control to be fitted into his mouth. This mechanical device continues to be used until the cure is complete at the end of the course which may vary from one single week to six or ten weeks, according to the nature of the case.

For the entire Indian subcontinent there is at present only one Clinic based on strictly naturopathic and psychotherapeutic methods. The cures achieved at Dr. M. S. Rami's clinic are so thorough and quick that the stammerers themselves, not to speak of their relatives and friends, begin to attribute some sort of miraculous powers to the healer.

The experienced, self-made, creative, unassuming, friendly Dr. M. S. Rami and his clinics at Ghatkopar and Colaba, Bombay, are a veritable boon for all stammerers. Not a single case has returned without permanent and effective cure. Hundreds have been benefited by the clinic; their testimonies and the records at the clinic are eloquent proofs of the wonderful achievement of the Rami method.



AAGE JOERGENSEN—THE DANISH SCHOLAR AND PACIFIST

By P. K. BANERJEE, N.K.I. (Sweden)

THE 62-year-old Danish scholar, pacifist and humanitarian Mr. Aage Joergensen, who is in the pink of health and a picture of ceaseless activity, has had a wonderful chequered career. From his early boyhood, he showed a conspicuous aptitude for strenuous literary pursuits and he took to the teaching profession when he was only 18 years old.

Early in his youth he left his father-land for Russia and during his stay in Russia for a couple of years beginning from 1908, he came to have an unstinted admiration for the immortal writings of Tolstoy. He applied himself seriously to the study of the Russian language and his undisturbed stay in Russia for a couple of years, considerably helped his whole-hearted endeavours and sincere application in this direction to acquire a thorough mastery over the intricacies and complexities of the said language. During his stay in Russia, he came in contact with Tolstoy's daughter, Tatyana, and set himself to the task of translating two of Tolstoy's works into Danish, which he did so creditably.

During his subsequent sojourns in Russia, to which country he betook himself many a time and oft, he came in contact with all manner of Russian life and wrote books on Russia. His last book on Russia was written in 1943, while he was staying in the famine-stricken Caucasus.

His stay in Russia at that time when revolutionary changes were taking place there in the world of ideas about state-craft, made him unconsciously project his mental vision on a wished-for socialistic reconstruction of the World-States. But his rosy dreams of a genuinely socialistic structure of the states, received a rude shock in later years when he found that there had crept in a yawning chasm—separating the noble ideals of socialism from the tangible methods adopted for their attainment. He was now confirmed in his belief that a better human society and a happier world could only be created by man, if he could ever steer a middle course between Capitalism and Socialism. He cleared the attics of his mind of all the lumber of misconceptions, ill-founded enthusiasms and fond beliefs which had so long cluttered his thinking. Sadly disillusioned and badly cheated in his hopes of the ushering in of a new era in the world by the blossoming forth of World-Socialism, he bade a final good-bye to Socialism and with it he cut himself off from all politics and bent the energies of his mind to a deeper pursuit of the literatures.

His extensive travels and his varied experiences of men and things considerably softened his already tolerant attitude towards human life and the inmost

feelings of his heart urged him on to the road of pacifism, which now he thought could alone bring peace and happiness to mankind.

Henceforward, besides assiduously following the natural inclination of his mind for greater and greater penetration into the magic-land of literature, he threw himself heart and soul into all works of the Pacifists and the Humanitarians.



Mr. Aage Joergensen

He visited India for the first time in December 1949, in connection with a World Pacifists' Meeting which took place at Santiniketan and Gandhiji's Sevagram. He also took an active part in Hunger Relief Work in Russia and Germany.

Only some time ago, he was the Chairman of the Information Bureau of the Danish Aid Committee for India. Under the auspices of this Committee and with the permission of the Danish Ministry of Justice, collection of food-stuffs, medicines and money was started in Denmark for the famine-stricken areas of India. It proved to be a grand success and from contributions reaching from all strata of Danish life, a fund amounting to 100,000 Kroners could be raised for rendering help to the hunger-afflicted people of India.

He has been recently in India once again and in the midst of his multifarious activities on a very

wide front, he could make time to translate into Danish the sublime Gita and the Bhagabat. A perusal of certain parts of his translations show how wonderfully-faithful these are to the texts. But what is more, he has been able to bring out the real meaning underlying the texts and to get at the spirit of the whole thing.

At present he is in Calcutta with the object of furthering on a more extensive scale the already existing Indo-Danish spirit of fraternity and amity. With this object in view he has just founded an India-Scandinavia Society at P-23C Improvement Trust Road, Park Circus, Calcutta, of which he is the Vice-President. He has selected foreign-travelled Psychiatrist, Dr. Samiran Banerjee as its president and Sri P. K. Banerjee, the linguist and journalist as its Honorary Secretary.

According to Mr. Joergensen's idea, there should not only be greater exchange of thoughts and ideas between India, of which he is a great admirer, and

the Scandinavian countries, but also a mutual exchange of scholars and teachers among them. He is in charge of selecting deserving Indian alumni for being sent to Denmark for higher technical education. Besides this, Mr. Joergensen intends calling frequent meetings of this organisation for discussing matters not only pertaining to the general well-being of the institution, but also such subjects which are conducive to a better understanding of Indo-Danish relationship. This Society will have a reading room of its own, containing newspapers, magazines, periodicals and books of general and special interest to the readers, in the Scandinavian languages and all members will have free access to it.

Many Indian gentlemen, drawn from all walks of life, beginning with His Excellency, the Governor of West Bengal, to the humblest clerk, have already expressed their whole-hearted willingness to join this Society as its members.

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REFORM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

By S. K. BANERJI, M.A. (Lond.),

Lecturer, David Hare Training College, Calcutta

THE Secondary School Commission, entrusted with the task of devising "a sound and reasonably uniform system of secondary education suited to our needs and resources," will discuss the very many questions that fall within its scope under its terms of reference. The matter, therefore, is of supreme importance to all interested in education. The Commissioners' deliberations and finally their recommendations will have profound influence on the secondary system of education. Nay, action taken on their basis will influence education at both primary and university level. In this article the present writer will discuss some points which deserve mention.

The Commission is supposed to envisage a form of secondary education of a particular type or a variety of types within a basic framework of uniformity. This country lacks the American type of common (comprehensive) schools for all children alike as well as the British variety of Grammar—Technical High—Modern types of schools. The pattern here roughly resembles the English "modern" schools minus their practical courses. These schools cater for the greatest majority of the secondary school population.

Variety indeed is needed in order that children shall find within the educational system the kind of training needed for the development of their potentialities as well as for the acquisition of those skills

for adaptation to a society that is fast changing its character from more or less stable conditions. A particular form, however flexible, will not therefore meet the case. There is need for academic, scientific, and technical schools, art and craft schools, and schools with a domestic, agricultural or commercial bias. All these and many others, not mentioned here, will not make for uniformity.

A common code instead of a common basic framework requiring high standards in matters of equipment, staffing ratio, and premises in different types of schools is needed and this will ensure unity rather than uniformity in the educational system of the country. Variety will not be forthcoming without reference to private enterprise and a basis of partnership has to be found in order that the educational structure truly evolves as the joint product of state and private enterprise. The contribution of the latter, though one-sided, in the secondary sphere has been in this country quite significant.

Technical education for secondary school children is a new phenomenon here. In this matter we can follow profitably the example furnished by the Junior Technical Schools of England. From small beginnings their development and subsequent rise in status in the postwar years is a creditable achievement and an instance of what private enterprise can do. On account of their very good work the Spens

Committee in 1939 recommended these schools to come under the secondary school code and renamed Technical High Schools. If technical education is to grow in this country let it grow unassumingly, on an experimental basis.

In due course it will be an integral part of the whole system. On the other hand, if it is to come from above as a state-directed venture, a full-fledged model made to order will be the result, and produced at a terrific cost it will fritter away the money badly required for other educational needs.

Technical schools should not be allowed to degenerate into trade schools. The dichotomy between cultural and vocational subjects can be removed by teaching methods which develop historical prospective in the pupils. For example, in teaching technological subjects historical presentation of the evolution of 'artifacts' will give a broad outlook to the pupils. When such methods combine with a good course of general education these will have cultural implications transcending the limitations of narrow vocationalism.

While at the primary stages the "basic" pattern is slowly emerging, we have neither tackled the sociological problem inherent in this form nor have we removed from our mind our muddled conception about secondary education. Our middle and well-to-do classes do not send their children to the State primary schools. Where there are exclusive schools, these do for their purpose, where there are not, children after a few years' home education go to the high schools. Extension of franchise will duly create no doubt a "bulge" in the primary school population as 'compulsory areas' are widened but the problem will not be solved in the existing lines of cleavage in society. In the event the nation's children will go to the kind of schools their status in society determines; this will be a poor show indeed when we consider that other countries with a school system representing their social stratification are now narrowing down differences in the matter of inequities in that system. It may be noted that democracy in a nation cannot flourish unless it can be found in the nation's schools.

What is known as the High School in our country is in reality a post-primary school with a primary department at the bottom or, if you like, a primary school with a secondary department at the top. The Roy Choudhury Report of West Bengal suggests a demarcation at 11 but why in fairness at that particular age only and not at 12 or 13 is nowhere adequately explained. Hadowism has struck such deep roots into our thinking that it is taken for granted. That the form and content of secondary education are different from those of primary education is forgotten. The schools are administered under a Secondary Code and the nomenclature of the school is all right. But do they suffice?

The inter-relation between the primary and secondary education should not be lost sight of but each should have its separate existence and be independent one from another.

Development of primary education will anticipate developments in the secondary sphere. Matthew Arnold's oft-quoted remark "Organize your secondary education" was made in 1859 in connexion with the organisation of primary education in England. Unfortunately his caution went unheeded. The introduction of the "Revised Code" (1862), which followed, was supported by Robert Lowe's statement. "If it is not cheap, it shall be efficient, if it is not efficient, it shall be cheap." The key word in it was, of course, the term "cheap." However, at that time, besides primary education, the claims for the extension of secondary education in England could not be ignored any more. So there was a Royal Commission—the Schools Inquiry (Taunton) Commission of 1867—to look into the matter. It recommended three grades of schools. The first grade for children staying in school till the age of eighteen and upwards. The corresponding ages for the second and third grades were respectively sixteen and fourteen. While the endowed grammar school after certain necessary reforms was considered to be the model for the first grade, the Realschule of Germany was recommended for imitation by the second grade schools. The models for the third grade schools were the Sekundarschulen of Zurich and the Burgerschulen of Prussia—off-shoots of the primary schools like the *écoles primaires Supérieures* of France. While classical studies predominated in the first two, these were not regarded as essential for the third grade schools. Modernisation of the curriculum was sought to be effected by scientific courses and such studies as are included now-a-days within "English" subjects. A Central Authority for the administration of all forms of secondary education was also recommended. The Schools Inquiry Commission's recommendations, except in minor matters, went by default in subsequent legislation as the mood of the moment, best represented by the epigrammatic remark, to quote Robert Lowe again, "We must educate our masters", was not for the extension of secondary education. And this at the time of the passage of the second Reform Bill!

The latter half of the Nineteenth Century England saw a number of Royal Commissions on education. Its cumulative effect was not evident till well after the turn of the century. In India too it augurs well that we should have our educational commissions; these create a ferment in the educational atmosphere that must precede any developmental plans or their later implementations.

The question now is: should we have an organisation on the lines suggested by the Schools Inquiry (Taunton) Commission or should we follow the lines

of development as marked by tradition in modern India? The former with some modifications will give a three-tier system akin to the Grammar—Technical High—Modern types. The latest multilateral type, supposed to combine the virtues of the above types minus their defects, has many adherents who see in it a mechanism to remove social barriers.

The relation of the secondary education to the university has also to be defined afresh in order that they do not overlap each other. The Intermediate College, either separate or part of the Degree College, roughly represents the Sixth Form of the Grammar School of England and the Junior College (in a limited sense) of America. The latter emerged in the beginning of this century to remedy the defects and the inadequate standards of the secondary system. Our Intermediate College, if continued, except where it has already been abolished, can serve a useful purpose if oriented towards an expansion on the lines of the Junior College. Thereby much dislocation can be saved and an historical growth continued unchecked.

West Bengal's Roy Choudhury Report recommended

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an addition of one more class (Class XI) at the top to the secondary system. The logical outcome of it is the abolition of the intermediate and the prolongation of the Degree Course by one year. On paper it looks well and in theory it has the saving grace of precedence elsewhere but it will not work in practice easily.

Finally, while we are thinking in terms of educational reorganisation, we must bear in mind that we cannot transplant a system from outside. What happened or is happening in the U.S. or in Britain is a process of evolution well in line with the tradition of the country. In India, English education, over a century old, has followed certain well-defined lines. That is Education's basic framework. Within that pattern things must move unless a complete reorganisation of the fiscal policy of the country is envisaged. After all finance is the determining factor. Where in the name of goodness is money coming from? The Radhakrishnan Commission suggested a scheme of reorganisation in respect of educational finance. The State cannot implement it at the moment and that is the crux of the matter.

HISTORY OF WESTERN PHILOSOPHY

By PIERRE FALLON S. J.

THE first part of an extensive work on the history of Western philosophy* has appeared in Bengali a few days ago. A second volume is announced which will cover the Renaissance and modern period up to the present day.

The task undertaken by the author of this book is undoubtedly an important one. There exist very few Bengali books on the Philosophy of the West; many Bengali students of philosophy have, of course, acquired a serious knowledge of Western Philosophy which they studied in English, German or French works but, as long as we have not got a number of Bengali books on this subject, it will remain difficult, even for philosophy students, to correlate their knowledge, however solid and personal, of Western philosophy with their Bengali or Sanskrit philosophical traditions. I know many Bengali intellectuals who can speak with great accuracy and objectivity on the various schools and trends of Western thought; I know very few who can do the same in Bengali. We still lack a tried and recognized vocabulary to translate so many concepts foreign to our own philosophical traditions. Mr. T. C. Roy has done us all a very great service by translating hundreds of Western philosophical terms into Bengali and by trying to give a general introduction to, or exposition of, Western thought.

The first volume of the *History* is divided in two parts: 241 pages are consecrated to Greek thought, the remaining 66 pages to Christian thought from the earliest times till the Renaissance and Reformation. In the three chapters of the first part, the author successively examines the various schools of Greek Philosophy, starting with Thales, Pythagoras, Parmenides, Heraclitus and the other founders of the Greek tradition to come then to the great period of Hellenic culture with Socrates, Plato and Aristotle; in the third chapter, Stoics and Epicureans, Sceptics, Neo-Pythagoricians, Alexandrian Philosophy with Philo, Neo-Platonism with Plotinus and Proclus, are treated in order. Two appendices on the influence of Indian thought upon Greek philosophy and on the points of contact between Yajñavalkya and Plato end this first part. The second part deals successively with early Patristic thought, and with the medieval Scholastic philosophies. A few pages on the Renaissance and the Reformation, with short studies on Giordano Bruno, Jacob Boehme and Montaigne, end this first volume.

To appreciate rightly such a work we must insist

* *Paschatyia Darshaner Itihas—Pratham Khanda—Greek Darshan O Madhya Yuger Darshan*: By Tarak Chandra Roy. Metropolitan Printing and Publishing House. 1952. Pp. vi-312. Price Rs. 8.

that its purpose is not (if I understand correctly the intentions of its author) to give a new and original study of Greek and Christian thought, not even to correlate and compare Western thought with Indian thought (though something of this has been attempted in notes and appendices), but primarily to 'translate' into Bengali the numerous concepts and terms used by the various schools of Western philosophy, to help creating the vocabulary we require for further study and discussion, in Bengali, of Western thought. The way the author proceeded is very practical: at the bottom of each page foot-notes give the reader the English technical terms used, in their Bengali rendering, in the page text. Many of these translations are original ones for which we are grateful to the author: many, I believe, will be adopted by other scholars; some may be discussed and improved upon but the work of Mr. Roy will have made the work of future translators much easier. I shall venture only a few remarks regarding this pioneering effort at translation of Mr. Roy.

First regarding the transliteration of the Greek proper names: is it preferable to transliterate from the English, as the author generally did, or to render in Bengali the Greek names according to their original pronunciation? There seem to be advantages both ways; Bengali readers are already familiar with some of the more important names and these names have become current in their English forms. On the other hand, it would appear more scientific and desirable to transliterate straight from the Greek, the English having often massacred so many Greek names or transformed them beyond recognition.

Regarding the translation proper, more consistency might be desirable, as for instance for the word 'category' *padārtha* is used but, later, *prakara* is introduced (which I prefer). So also for the word 'necessity' and for some other words different renderings occur. The Prime Mover of Aristotle is *Adi Pravartaka* and, later, *Svāyam-chālita Chālaka*. I feel that some translations are too literal as, for instance, *visuddha upadana* for 'pure matter': 'pure' here does not mean, I think, *visuddha*. I do not think that 'Adhyatmavada' is a happy rendering of 'idealism,' at least if Plato's idealism is rightly understood and is not brought too close to the Upanishads. This brings me to a more important question, that of interpretation, which is raised at every step in this work of translation.

The author, though not attempting to write a comparative study of Eastern and Western thought, is forced to interpret Western thought in terms used by Eastern thinkers; there would be no translation without this. But there the difficulty lies. Take for instance the great and often discussed problem of establishing the relation, in Plato's system, between the Idea of the Good and God. Can we identify the two: God and the Good? There are many who

have defended the view, held by Mr. Roy, that the Idea of the Good was God. for Plato. Plato never said so; many other scholars, for instance E. Gilson in his excellent study 'God and Philosophy,' contend that, if the Good and God had been identical in Plato's mind, he would have said so himself. The author of the book under review, it would appear, interprets Plato in the light of Vedānta Philosophy and thus changes rather substantially the whole meaning of the system, while giving us a very reliable exposition of its main elements.

An Aristotelian would similarly object that Mr. Roy has interpreted the two concepts of 'matter' and 'form' in Aristotle's system in a manner foreign to the original system. In this, he has, to a large extent, followed Zeller, an authority no doubt; yet, it remains doubtful whether Aristotle can be refuted so easily.

Other points might be similarly discussed but it might be unfair to the author who, not presenting himself as a specialist, only wishes to make available to the Bengali-reading public a sufficient amount of information on Western thought; this he has himself gathered from well-known Western authors and, therefore, any discussion of the interpretations proposed by the author shall lead us to a discussion of the sources he has consulted.

Schwiegler (though one hundred years old) is still a useful guide; Durant and Alexander are helpful; Zeller is excellent. Mr. Roy, in the study of Greek Philosophy, has often consulted them and drawn excellent material from them; this is probably the reason why the first part of his book is so much better than the second. But, all through the book, Mr. Roy has depended heavily upon Bertrand Russell's *History of Western Philosophy*. His *Itihas* would have gained by remaining more independent from this very popular but little reliable work. Russell's *History* is a rather flippant work of popularisation, full of gossip and tales, rarely scholarly in spite of its occasional brilliancy. Professional philosophers and historians of Western Philosophy have nearly unanimously dismissed Russell's book as superficial and unreliable. It is a pity that Mr. Roy should have taken so much from an author with whom he has, in many other respects, so little in common.

This appears chiefly in the second part of the book when Christian philosophy is studied in a most summary manner. Russell himself had copied or summarised whole pages of Gibbon without taking the trouble of checking his references and affirmations. In the book of Mr. Roy, we find back both Russell and Gibbon who are trusted somewhat blindly by the author. This leads the author, in spite of his evident goodwill and sincerity, into many painful and, for a Christian reader, rather offensive errors. I cannot attempt to redress the many wrong statements I found in the second part of the book; I can only say, to be

fair to the author of the book I am reviewing, that I checked most statements I found objectionable and discovered that Russell or Gibbon (and, for a few, S. Radhakrishnan) were responsible, not Mr. Roy.

Boethius, a wonderful type of Christian Philosopher, thoroughly Greek in his culture, though all Christian in his faith, is said not to have been a real Christian and his religious books on the Trinity, for instance, are declared unauthentic. This was accepted, for a while, a hundred years ago; Russell has repeated it, though the point has been scientifically established and, more than 50 years ago, manuscripts have been discovered which establish beyond doubt the authenticity of Boethius' theological writings.

St. Cyril of Alexandria is made responsible for the murder of Hypatia, the Platonician lady-philosopher. Gibbon and Kingsley had made this legend popular; scholars have proved it baseless but Russell has given it place in his *History* alongside with many more 'stories' about the intolerance of Churchmen and the darkness of the Middle Ages.

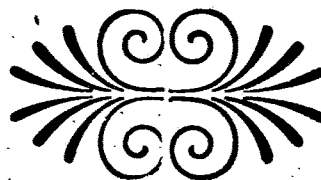
A chapter on Christian origins, taken from Gibbon by both Russell and Radhakrishnan, tells us much about Ebionites, Buddhist influences on the peoples around Judea, the Hellenic infiltrations in Johannine thought and theology, etc. All these points have been time and again discussed by scholars and historians; stories however live long.

There exist excellent books on the Medieval Philosophy. E. Gilson, for instance, is one of the best guides and several of his books have been translated into English. Curtis' *Short History of Western Philosophy in the Middle Ages* is a handy and reliable instrument of work. Other books could be mentioned but it is not the purpose of this review to establish a list of books for the student of medieval philosophy. Enough to repeat that Russell is definitely not a reliable guide and that Mr. Roy's own work has been marred by too much dependence on that rather erratic guide.

A most important question would remain, that of the relation between philosophy and religion. Both orthodox Hinduism and Christianity claim to be, in different manners, more than man-made-philosophies; this dependence of human thought upon divine revelation has never been felt like a slavery by the greatest

and most representative philosophers of either India or the West. A Sankara or a Thomas Aquinas, though both affirming the need of divine revelation, have not felt hampered or fettered in the pursuit of truth. Mr. Roy, following Russell's rationalistic lead rather than his own personal convictions as an orthodox Hindu, speaks of the 'slavery' in which medieval thought found itself before being freed at the time of the Renaissance. I think that the thought of an Aquinas was freer from human limitations and from all the fetters of current rationalism than that of the 'free man' Russell; similarly, a Sankara was freer from worldly prejudices and the weight of public opinion than many a modern Indian thinker who has rejected the authority of the Vedas. Mr. Roy himself though generally accepting Russell's views on the history of medieval philosophy, has a few words to say in defence of Aquinas on this very point.

To sum up, the book of Mr. Roy should be appreciated rightly by all Bengali students of philosophy. It gives them the vocabulary they need, at least a large amount of philosophical vocables, to pursue, in Bengali, their study of Western thought. It contains excellent chapters on the leading figures of Greek thought; Pythagoras, Parmenides, Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus and others are presented to us with much effort at objectivity. It is a less reliable guide as far as early Christian thought is concerned; yet, even there, it gives the important names and outlines with some information by way of summary introduction. If we found fault with many statements contained in the second part and some interpretations in the first, in fairness to the author, we must repeat that the fault is not his but that of the guides he has chosen: this choice was rather natural for a Bengali writer. Gibbon, whose *Decline and Fall* has been—and still is—so popular in Bengal is now discredited as an historian; his popularity lives on. Russell, whom no one ever took very seriously in European philosophical circles, has always been very popular in America and in India. Gilson, on the contrary, only begins to be known outside France; few other scholarly writers have produced whole surveys comparable to those of Gibbon or Russell, their monographs or researches are not often available in our Calcutta libraries, while popular books like Russell's are within easy reach of everyone.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But, reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

CENTENARY SOUVENIR (1851-1951) of the Government Museum, Madras, 1951. Edited with an Introduction by Dr. A. Aiyappan. Government Press, Madras. Numerous illustrations in the text, with XII full-page plates illustrating thirty-outstanding examples of ancient masterpieces of Art. Pp. lxxvi + 158. Price not stated.

"Among the Museums of India—the Madras Government Museum has a unique place, by the richness, variety, and range of its collections. It is a monument to the continuity of civilization in South India, a store-house of rich artistic and historic treasures, a shrine which gives inspiration to continued cultural activity." Very interesting reading is offered by the history of its hundred years' growth given by the Superintendent, with details of the activities of its earlier superintendents, some of them being distinguished names in the study of Indian Anthropology, Ethnology, and Art—Balfour, Mitchell, Bidie, Thurston, Bruce Foote, Henderson, Gravely—whose brilliant works have been ably continued by Dr. Aiyappan who inherits worthily heavy responsibilities bequeathed by a succession of learned curators. Bruce Foote's valuable contribution to Indian Prehistoric culture is very well known. But the recent development with an active educational programme with publications of monographs and picture post-cards was initiated by Gravely who had himself published several Art monographs in collaboration with Ramchandran and Sivarama Murti, Paramasivan and Srinivasan. This valuable educational role which turned a rich store-house into a dynamic teaching institution is a brilliant record, very highly eulogized in Markham's Report. Besides the history of the progress (Part II), the volume contains interesting reminiscences by Gravely, Sundara Raj and Chandrasekharan (Part III). Part IV gives interesting surveys of the different departments by departmental curators, the most interesting contributions being that of Srinivasan on Archaeology and Art, and Art in Madras Museum by J. H. Cousins. But the most brilliant essay is the "Problems of Indian History" by Sardar K. M. Panikkar which deserves the serious attention of our history-students. The Museum is known all over the world for its wonderful collection of Amaravati Sculpture, Southern Indian Bronzes (one of the richest in any part of the world) to which has been added masterpieces of stone sculpture of all the periods of Tamil Art-history. Two remarks by the Madras Prime Minister in his speech are very significant: "The descendants of the architects and sculptors who built the great temples of Tanjore and Kancheepuran and carved the immor-

tal sculptures of Mahabalipuram are languishing in our villages. The potentialities of these ancient community of *Sthapatis* are lying dormant. But there is evidence all round of re-awakened interest in the fine arts." The opening of the National Gallery of Art at the old Victoria Technical Institute by Pandit Nehru coincided with the Centenary celebrations and the Prime Minister's speech was punctuated by many happy remarks: "I do not know, but the fact remains that we are getting more and more shoddy and we take pride in the fact that we are getting shoddy. Therefore, it is desirable to collect articles of beauty." This should be a motto for all our public museums. We have no hesitation in saying that this volume should find place in every library in India, and read, chewed, and inwardly digested by all our Ministers of Education and Directors of Public Instruction. It would provide a new inspiration of renewed educational activities through our museums in Free India.

O. C. G.

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA COMMEMORATION VOLUME: Editors—N. Sivarama Sastry and G. Hanumantha Rao. Prof. M. Hiriyantha Commemoration Volume Committee, Mysore. 1952. Pp. 272. Price Rs. 15.

The late Professor M. Hiriyantha was, as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan writes in his short appreciative foreword, "one of the finely touched spirits of contemporary Indian thought" and a scholar who "spent a life-time in the study of Indian Sanskrit classics, especially the philosophical ones." This impression is heightened by a perusal of the short biographical sketch prefixed to this work which gives us a picture of a man whose high intellectual attainments and exemplary character carried him from the humble position of an office head clerk to the Sanskrit chair at the University of Mysore. It is therefore quite in the fitness of things that his pupils, friends and admirers should honour his memory (he passed away, alas before this work appeared in print) by the publication of the present volume.

The papers included in this work range over a wide variety of subjects in which Philosophy, naturally enough, takes the place of honour. In the branch of classical Sanskrit literature important contributions are made by S. K. De ("Jagannatha's Classification of *kavya*"), C. Kunahn Raja ("Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*") and P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri ("Some Riddles in the *Kumarasambhava*"), while two little known poets of the Mediaeval Age, namely, Ramachandra and Ghana-syama, are introduced to us in the papers of K. Madhava Krishna Sarma and A. N. Upadhye respectively. Textual criticism forms the subject-matter of the important papers of S. K. Belvalkar ("Two Mis-

handled Passages from the Bhagavadgita", V. Raghavan ("The Setubandha") and T. N. Sreekantaiya ("Unrecognised Stanzas of Asvaghosa"). Contributions to the literature of Arthashastra are made by M. V. Krishna Rao ("Guild and State in Kautilya's Arthashastra") and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri ("The Place of the Arthashastra in the Literature of Indian Polity"). In the latter and by far the more important paper the author emphatically accepts the genuineness of the tradition attributing the work to "the great Maurya Chancellor." He further singles out what he thinks to be three unique features of Kautilya's work which were probably borrowed from Achaemenian and Hellenistic models, namely, "the exaltation of the royal power, the elaboration of the bureaucracy and the provision of checks and controls over its activity." From the above he draws the conclusion that "the Mauryan Imperial system in all its aspects is a glorious parenthesis in the course of Indian history." These points are sufficiently important to merit critical examination in a separate place. Papers of general interest included in this volume are those of P. K. Gode (plausibly arguing in favour of the use of cloth for letter-writing in Harsha's time) and G. Hanumantha Rao (giving a good popular account of Hinduism).

Altogether this volume provides a rich and varied intellectual fare befitting the memory of a good man and a devoted scholar.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION: By H. N. Banerjee. With a Foreword by Dr. Radhabinod Pal. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1950. Pp. 173. Price: Paper cover Rs. 3, Board cover Rs. 3-8.

Books on the new Indian Constitution are coming out in any number written from different approaches and to serve the needs of different sections of the reading public. The one under review appears with modest pretensions "to place before the readers, simply and concisely, in a narrative form, a short analytical abstract of the Constitution of India" and professes to cater mainly to the needs of students preparing for University Examinations. A perusal of the twelve Chapters into which the book falls will convince any one that the author has not made any tall claim. The limited object he has set before himself has been fully served. We may even go further and say that although intended mainly for college students it may be profitably read by other sections of the public as well who may feel inquisitive to know—and their number, we hope, would be on the increase—how we are governed.

We fully endorse what Dr. Pal has observed in his Foreword to the book: "The value of a book like this can hardly be over-estimated, if we only remember that in Free India a primary task of education should be to arouse and to cultivate, in all the members of the body politic, a desire to understand what the national plan of Government is." From this consideration it is a good thing that the book has been very moderately priced so as to place the volume within the easy reach of a large section of public.

A. K. GHOSHAL

1-2. THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS IN THE FAR EAST. Parts I and II, Japan and China (1839-1951): By Dr. B. R. Chatterji, M.A., Principal, Meerut College, Meerut. Published by Jai Prakash Nath and Co., Meerut. Price Re. 1-8 and Rs. 2 respectively.

3. REVOLUTION IN CHINA: By Robert Guillain. Published by Hind. Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Price eight annas.

4. NEW JAPAN: By N. Ito. Edited by the Japan Peace Study Group, Tokyo. Price not mentioned.

The Far East is the cynosure of the world today and will play a vital part in the final show-down between the Eastern and the Western blocs. The Far East, we might go further to say, will decide the fate of the East-West conflict.

Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterji is one of our well-known historians. In the first brochure under review he gives a bird's-eye view of the Land of the Rising Sun from 1853 to 1945. Within the narrow compass of 79 pages the learned author has compressed a very readable account of how Japan was 'opened' in 1854, how she was modernised, how she became a world-power and how she burnt herself in a bold—maybe, fool-hardy—bid to liquidate Western—American, Dutch, English and French—imperialism from Eastern and South-Eastern Asia. The learned author points out further that it was the Japanese bid for supremacy and its initial success which paved the way for the emancipation of Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines and, last but not least, of India.

The brochure ends in an optimistic note—beneath the degradation of capitulation and the degeneration of alien occupation, the deathless spirit of Dai Nippon continues to live. "Beyond occupation stands Fujiyama immaculate."

The rise of the Chinese Communist Party and the fall of the Kuomintang have opened the flood-gates of interested press and platform propaganda, pro-Communist as well as anti-Communist. Truth has been sacrificed in the controversy. The layman with no 'ism', with no ideological axes to grind is confused. The second brochure in the above list is the companion volume of the first. The former tells in simple English everything a beginner in Modern Chinese history would like to know. A fuller account of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and of China's New Democratic experiment should, however, have been given.

While Nos. 1 and 2 represent an attempt to know and understand China and Japan from the scholar's point of view, Nos. 3-4 are definitely propagandist. *Revolution in China* by Robert Guillain has not a single good word for New China. Everything there is, in his opinion, absolutely rotten. Such a state, needless to say, cannot live even for a day. But has not New China during its short life given ample proof of its viability? M. Guillain should excuse us for telling a home-truth—his pamphlet is not worth the paper on which it is printed.

New Japan is a catalogue of what the U.S.A. occupation authorities have done in Japan from 1945 to 1951. It describes the American attempt to re-make Japan by a thorough overhaul and re-organisation of the economic, social and political life of the people. The author's reticence on the effects of the changes makes us suspicious that these have not been conducive to the national well-being. Why does not the author say anything of the man in the street's reaction to the Yankee brand of new order in his country? Disquieting reports of happenings there reach us from time to time. The local press gave out not many days ago that the maintenance of 200,000 babies of alien fathers by Japanese mothers is giving a headache to the Mikado's government. It seems, therefore, that all is not so quiet in the Land of the Rising Sun as interested persons and parties would have us believe, Mr. Ito not excluded.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF DIVIDED INDIA : By C. N. Vakil. Published by Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Kalkadevi Road, Bombay 2. Pp. 555. Price Rs. 16.

Shri C. N. Vakil, University Professor of Economics, and Director, School of Economics and Sociology of Bombay, has been an outstanding interpreter of economic facts in India. In the Introduction, he has mentioned the names of his helpers—S. A. Pandit, T. M. Desai, C. R. Cirvante and P. R. Brahmananda, all young Research Assistants, associated with the school—as doing the spade-work of this vast work, enabling Dr. Vakil to produce a volume that for many a day will continue to be consulted by enquirers into the economics of our continental country now divided into two nations and States breaking up a geographic and socio-economic unity.

The author utters the usual lamentations of such a cruel operation. But it being a political necessity, lamentations will not help us, the citizens of the two States, out of the morass. In 1918-19, Maynard Keynes had signalized his career as an economist by writing *The Consequences of the Versailles Treaty*. Babu Rajendra Prasad wrote *Divided India* to warn the Muslim League hot-heads of the danger of their two-nation theory. Both these books have proved true in their diagnosis of the evils and in the remedy—the supreme consideration that should have taught us, Indians and Britishers, wisdom in this matter. But Fate willed otherwise. And today “a truncated Pakistan” and “Hindustan” are faced with unthought-of consequences of the decision of June 3, 1947, announced on behalf of the British Government.

Dr. Vakil and his coadjutors have collected statistics from New Delhi and Karachi to help the world understand the mischief of that process of securing internal and international amity. It will be a source-book which no student of affairs, can fail to use always. The first edition of the book appeared in November, 1950. There was thus enough time to realize the full implications of the Partition of India. The December-March tension (1949-50) had almost driven the two States to open armed conflict which was eased a little by the Nehru-Liaquat Pact of April 8, 1950. The years 1947 to 1949 had evidently been forgotten when two “sovereign peoples” worked their will on the Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim minorities perpetrating acts worse than those of beasts. The consequences of this mad frenzy have been related in many a book but never with such wealth of information and care in handling it as we get in this book.

But for a return to normalcy in the economics of India, there is yet no sign. Not because we are ignorant of the harm being done, but because the two nations and States are psychologically far apart yet to do the generous and bold thing. The Kashmir “affair” proves this. And Anglo-American partisanship over it points to the seat of disease, as never before. India and Pakistan have become parties to the world’s rival Bloc’s politics. Thus no economic rationalism or wisdom can undo the evil. Even in 1947, the two Anglo-Saxon Powers—Britain and United States—had acted in concert in full realization of the consequences of an “India Divided.” And for about four years these two Powers have been watching the rake’s progress.

58th year!

PRABUDDHA BHARATA OR AWAKENED INDIA

January 1953 Number

58th year!

The *Prabuddha Bharata*, a monthly journal conducted by the monks of the Ramakrishna Mission, enters the fifty-eighth year of its publication from January, 1953. We are glad to inform our readers that the January number will be a special enlarged issue containing many beautiful illustrations. A choice collection of learned articles by distinguished writers will form a special feature of this issue.

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Some Positive Aspects of Advaita Vedanta—By Swami Gambhirananda.

Religion and Science—By Dr. Mohan Lal Sethi, D.Sc.

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ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

Therefore, in books like these, no constructive remedies are possible to be elaborated, and we do not get these here, in Dr. Vakil's book. The author, therefore, is found closing his volume with words that have a hopeless ring. He puts these on the lips of Indian Insurance Companies—"unsuitable working conditions in that country"—meaning Pakistan. These utter the innermost feelings of minorities in Pakistan.

All the same, patient readers will glean from many pages—53, 57, 78, 79, 120; 127-151; 294-295; 388-398—for instance, facts and figures that will explain Indian and Pakistani policies, very often divergent, for many more years. Their labour will repay them, whether they are constructively or destructively inclined.

The get-up of this volume is all that a reader can claim from the publisher and printer.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

MAN AND SOCIETY: By Ranajit Kumar Sen. Gupta Press, Calcutta 9. Price Re. 1-8.

It is an English rendering of the author's original work in Bengali entitled *Samaj-Darshan*. He has indicated the relation between man and society and pointed out how inordinate emphasis on 'individuality' has marred the peace of the world. "Man has a dual character." With indulgence, his 'lower self' tries to get the better of his 'higher self' and creates conflict, and misery all around. If he wants to see 'good' triumph over 'evil', he has got to control his base animal instincts. Not through the adoption of any external device, but only through man's spiritual regeneration can that triumph come.

The book contains four essays, viz., (1) Faculties of the Mind (2) On the Way to Life, (3) The Century Mind, (4) Social Observations. The ideas expressed may not be new, but one feels that the author has spoken from his heart and spoken in a lucid, fluent style.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

GANDHIAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT: By J. C. Kumarappa. Published by Vora and Co. Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Bombay 2. Pages 72. Price Re. 1-4.

It has been rightly said by the author that there is no such thing as principles of economics of Gandhiji. According to the author, two life principles governed all Gandhiji's economic, social, political and other considerations, viz., Truth and Non-violence. It is in the application of these criteria that the Gandhian Economic Thought has been built up.

Dr. Kumarappa is well-known as one of the trusted disciples of Gandhiji and has devoted his life to translate the ideas of his master in the matter of reorganisation or rather revitalisation of the village life and cottage industries. His presentation of the subject brings out clearly the Gandhian portrait of ideal human economy, however unreal it may appear to us in the present-day world. The men at the helm of affairs in this country are all tremendously influenced by Gandhian thought and it is not unoften that we witness two contradictory things being preached and advocated by our administrators. India, faced as she is by world economic and other forces on the one hand and by Gandhian idealism of spiritual nature on the other shall have to bring about a realistic compromise to march ahead as a progressive nation. The conception of a Welfare State as understood in West and the Gandhian welfare idea as regards humanity, has something in common, which requires to be understood and analysed and made proper use of in our new civic and economic set-up.

The author in six chapters unfolds Gandhian ideas of economy, and applies them to modern methods of production, distribution and exchange and also to trade methods and standard of living. Agrarian economy and rural reconstruction are tested from the Gandhian point of view and the author tries to show merits of the method. Even in industrial economy he prefers Gandhian method in spite of the progress of machinery and use of power all the world over. Finally, he analyses Socialism and Communism from the Gandhian point of view and expresses the view that the latter is superior to former two 'isms' as it is non-violent and free from any idea of regimentation. Gandhism stands for the best expression of human personality. We would commend this small book to every student of Gandhian literature as it throws clear light on some of the aspects of our rural economy which deserve early and satisfactory solution by the State in close and intelligent co-operation with them who are to be benefited.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE MEGHADUTA OF KALIDASA with the commentary of Bharata Mallika and extracts from other unpublished commentaries on the text: *Critically edited by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chowdhury. Published under Dr. K. N. Katju Series by the Prachya Vani Mandira, Calcutta, 1951. Royal Octavo. Pp. 1-50, 1-34, and 85-148. Price Rs. 8.*

Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* is an unparalleled piece of lyric in Sanskrit Poetry. Kalidasa's Muse is found to be at her best in this composition and her charms and elegance present a poetic coquetry which never fails to bewitch the hearts of the sensitive and the sensible of all ages and climes. As a result of this feature the foremost of scholars, whose devotion has been embodied in and has assumed the shape of various glosses and commentaries and translations in different parts of the world during different ages and through different languages, are enamoured of this masterpiece. Several of them are printed and re-printed, yet not a small number of them housed in the bibliographical treasure-houses have yet to see the light of the day. In Bengal itself, there are over a dozen of them, the publication of which is the need of the day. Dr. J. B. Chowdhury, a veteran Sanskrit scholar, has thrown the world of Sanskritists under a deep debt of obligation by bringing out the edition of the most popular lyric which is under review. The learned editor has evidently spared no pains to put forth a scientific edition starting from giving a critical apparatus and ending with Wilson's English version and the Bengali rendering of the poem. Bharata Mallika's commentary, which evinces an erudition of a high order on the part of the writer and great elegance of style, is a very useful addition to the expository material already available on the book. Besides this, the value of the edition as a reference book is enhanced by the editor's having given a select *vade mecum* of the comparative interpretations of the text from other commentaries hitherto unpublished. The geographical notes along with the select vocabulary with notes are a useful prefix to the text. The catalogue of variants and also of the verses said to be interpolated serves as a good index for the research scholar. The printing and get-up befits the learned edition. The value of such an edition cannot be too highly estimated.

SURENDRA NATH SHASTRI

BENGALI

BANGLAR PRABAD : Edited by Sushilkumar De. A. Mukherjee and Co. Ltd., 2 College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 20.

This is a volume of Bengali proverbs of about one thousand pages. This is unique in its kind, as there has been no such comprehensive compilation in print heretofore. The Bengali proverbs were first collected by the Christian Missionaries. It was the Rev. Morton who collected a considerable number of Bengali proverbs and got them published in *The Calcutta Christian Observer* in 1835. Since then these were being collected and published sometimes in magazines and sometimes in book-form. The Rev. Long also collected Bengali proverbs and got many proverbs of the foreign languages translated, and compiled them in three volumes. Many others later stepped in the field, but a comprehensive volume of the original Bengali proverbs and those adapted in the Bengali language was a desideratum. It has been left to an erudite scholar like Dr. Sushilkumar De to supply the want. The present volume testifies to his immense labour, patient enquiry and careful sifting. The arrangement of the proverbs in alphabetical order with suitable illustrations whenever necessary will help the reader to get at once to the proverb and meaning of the proverb he wants. The detailed index, given at the end, is also helpful. This serves the purpose of a dictionary without being such a one. The masterly introduction of the author shows the sound scholarship of the author. He has traced the history of the compilation of the Bengali proverbs during the last century. That the evolution of the language is intimately connected with its proverbs has also been clearly explained, with examples. The proverbs give a clue to the innate life-strings of a people. A people's culture at its various stages of evolution reflects itself more in the proverbs than in anything else. Discussion on the proverbs in their various aspects, as done by the author in the treatise, will enlighten the reader as regards the inner strength of the language as well as the character of the people. Students of the Bengali language and Bengal's culture will find ample food for thought and enquiry. About ten thousand proverbs have been collected by the author. We congratulate the author on the compilation and the publishers on their publication of such a useful volume.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

DEVAMATI : By Swami Uttamananda. Third Edition. To be had of "Uttamasram," Gazinagar, Po. Dumardaa, Hooghly. Price Rs. 3.

A drama in five Acts, depicting the glory of man's spiritual realisation. Pyarimohan's wife Devamati (Divine Mind) is an ideal lady, justifying her name by her noble character. Though philosophical in outlook and a bit didactic, the book is not devoid of dramatic interest. The author has not discarded human values. That the book has run three editions testifies to its popularity.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

SHUDRUN KI KHOJ : By B. R. Ambedkar. Amrit Book Company, Connaught Circus, New Delhi. Pp. 118. Price Rs. 3.

A Hindi rendering of the author's English work, *Who were the Shudras*, which created, when it appeared, such a flutter in the dovecotes of *savarnas* (members of the higher castes) and orthodox scholars. The learned doctor's researches into the subject of the origin of the Shudra caste reveal that the Shudras are descended from the Suryavamshi (Solar) dynasty, that at one time there were only three castes among the Aryans, namely, the Brahmin, the Kshatriya (of which the Shudras were a part) and the Vaishya; and that the Shudras were later degraded to the lowest position in society by the Brahmins in order to avenge themselves on the Shudra rulers, who tyrannized over them, and so on. The book is stamped with a keen, critical and dispassionate spirit of enquiry and is accordingly, a welcome as well as valuable contribution to our sociological literature. Its study is bound to help raise both the self-respect and status of the Shudras, for whom it is primarily intended.

PRACHYA MANAV VAIGNANIK : Edited by Dr. D. N. Mazumdar and Nareshchandra. Published by Bharat Book Company, Lal Bagh, Lucknow. Illustrated. Pp. 122. Price Rs. 4.

This is the organ of the Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society of Lucknow, which has been doing such splendid work since its inception in 1946. The Society is to be congratulated on its publication, for now it can share the results of its researches with a wider public. The present inaugural number deals with the cultural and poetic value of Folk-songs, Holi festival of the Tharu tribe, some problems of Reclamation of Criminal Tribes, social customs and manners of Jaunsar Babar and Development of our Culture. All the contributions have a patent ring of personal investigation, at once sustained and scholarly.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SABHA SHASTRA : Originally written in Marathi by the Hon'ble Shri N. V. Gadgil (Kaka Saheb), Minister for Power, Mines, Light, etc., and translated into Gujarati by A. G. Bhagwat of Baroda and published by C. C. Vora, Ahmedabad, 1948. Cloth-bound. Pp. 420. Price Rs. 9-5.

The very short Introduction of the Hon'ble the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Delhi, Shri Mavlankar sums up in a word the utility of this publication. There was no such book in Gujarati of the type of this book, which comprises everything worth knowing about the constitution and conduct of meetings, public and political, Standing Committees, Corporations and Legislatures. The subject is technical and complicated, and very few, even amongst those who take part in such meetings, are familiar with the requirements which law, tradition and convention have established in connection with their conduct. The publication of such a book is very opportune to say the least, at this juncture in the history of our country, when we have become independent and have to administer the affairs of the country on constitutional lines.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Gandhian View of Prayer

Prof. Amaresh Datta, writes in *Careers and Courses* :

THE idea of prayer in these our ungracious days has become a butt for a certain cynical disregard and a kind of intellectual scepticism. But this is no wonder. In a world where godlessness has been raised to the status of by no means a disreputable fashion, and where education frames a type of mind designed to be merely critical and unbelieving, any allegiance to divine power will naturally be looked upon with suspicion. Modern man congratulates himself on his acquisition of material power and his consequent ability to disown God. He has manufactured for himself an empirical philosophy based on a convenient logic: If God has not redeemed his scriptural promise to restore man to his lost paradise, why then should man forever play the parasite? It is time God might as well congratulate himself upon his deliverance from the responsibility for the most ungrateful and the self-killing of all his created objects.

MIRACLE IN A GODLESS WORLD

Yet all the miracles of the modern age are not scientific. A Gandhi is a divine miracle if ever there were any. It is God's triumph over blasphemous disbelief, and monstrous pessimism. Perhaps this is how God fulfils himself, not so much by destroying the villainous as by rousing the divine in man. It is not for nothing that Gandhiji tried all his life long to justify the God in man and his essential goodness.

One who is so highly God-intoxicated as Gandhiji was, will certainly see the guiding hand of God in every field of human endeavour. Even Politics, the most mundane of human activities has, to such a man, much to do with the grace of Divine Being. And since this religiousness is a way of life and not a matter of expediency, such a man will always defy all rigid classifications even if he chooses to work in a particular field. He can attain, through faith and intuition the rare ability to perceive the pervading unity haloing over the apparent diversities of life, to regard the differing parts related inseparably to the whole. If, therefore, a diplomat of the Churchillian brand is bound to be essentially comic when he swears by God, a Gandhi not doing so is likely to be equally ridiculous.

EXPERIMENT WITH TRUTH

When Gandhiji emerged in the political horizon of India he brought with him his own equipment, and his experiment with truth had been to an appreciable extent, fruitful. He had also realised how from his average and unpromising childhood he had grown into a power only by his will to be good and will to do good. He had now to adjust his policy to Indian circumstances, to put his experiments to a wider and a severer test. He was to deal with the teeming millions, the illiterate and the unfed, degraded by jealousy and intolerance. He had given them the weapons of non-co-operation and non-violence, but non-co-operation might lapse into violence and non-violence might degenerate into cowardice. So he must also teach them discipline, unity and tolerance and these besides, faith in their own destiny and faith in the blessing and approval of God, robust optimism

and unshaken belief so that his Excalibur of truth might be put to proper use by all and sundry. Hence he cast his lot with suffering humanity, with the oppressed and the trodden, the ignorant and the untouchables to whom he preached goodness and God and who needed such preaching most for they were the fighting elements of the country, the soul of the nation. The addressing of mammoth gatherings in big cities he gradually left for others to do. He would choose a sweepers' colony somewhere or make his temporary abode in some neglected unmapped village where the burden of his message would be: "*How long; how long can you escape goodness and God?*"

But he had also to be very careful all the while. His vast popularity among the masses might tempt one particularly if he is religious in his outlook to claim or to accept the role of the messenger of God, or a miracle maker. And such acceptance is bound to generate a kind of sectarianism or encourage doctrinarianism and even fanaticism. So Gandhiji was always scrupulously trying to escape the nimbus of divinity which haunted him all through his life and courageously declined, on many occasions, the honoured office of a miracle man. Those who believe that Gandhiji only exploited the religious propensity of the nation for a practical end, indirectly, perhaps unconsciously, lend support to the view that the world is either unwilling to welcome its great men or too willing to treat them shabbily and with suspicion. Gandhiji, being the most chosen son of God in this century has always preferred to remain His most obedient and faithful servant.

THE PRAYER—TORCH OF TRUTH

Gandhiji has been dubbed, with implied disregard for his views, too much of a dreamer, an uncompromising idealist, evidently because he only appealed to the nobler instincts of man, and refused to accept meanness, hatred etc. as the basic elements of life. The same charge still holds good against him even after the partial realisation of his national dream through his advocated means. This at least, in spite of the lingering charge, is an evidence of certain practicability of his methods even under existing circumstances and unfavourable conditions. The introduction of mass prayer by Gandhiji also forms an integral part of this constructive scheme, which taking the surroundings in view, is a veritable *coup de temps*. In the introduction of this novel method he has shown the same daring originality—and originality of application if not of method can never be denied to him even by his sworn enemy if he had any—which emboldened him to fight violence with non-violence, to light the torch of truth amidst closing and encircling gloom.

The mass prayer is thus among the essentials of the Gandhian Scheme of things. It is Gandhism because it is a class by itself—and also because it is designed to produce results which, judged by his sense of values, will lay the foundation of his visualized world of men.

In a country where temples and mosques stand surrounded by dirt and rubbish, it is so gratifying to note Gandhiji's scrupulous and fastidious attention to cleanliness, and not only is cleanliness next to godliness but a certain artistic sense of decorum, which Gandhiji so amply possessed and which he always wanted to impress

upon the masses, is an essential requisite of the worshipping mood. Again in the land where a Hindu gloats over the miseries of a Muslim, or a Muslim believes that he goes a step towards Heaven by killing a Hindu, or where a Sikh's *kripan* once out cannot go back to the sheath without drinking the blood of an enemy, it is a sight for gods to see people professing various religions, listening to recitations from different scriptures, nodding their heads in perfect unison, or harmoniously making time with clappings under the conjuring influence of a thin and frail human being lost in religious ecstasy. Or yet again in a country where a few people collected together give the impression of riotous mob, it is certainly heartening to note the ennobling silence and animated discipline in a Gandhian prayer meeting.

Then there is the after-prayer speech by Gandhiji himself, sometimes narrating the implications of a great political event, or sometimes explaining the inner significance of a song or a poem or quotation from the scripture, in fact a speech touching on all the various spheres of life. People only called him a politician but he remained consciously and unconsciously a humanitarian, for he did never assert the importance of one aspect of life at the cost of another.

THE SAME ROAD AND THE SAME GOAL

The aim of such prayer, therefore, on the very face of it cannot be merely religious. Its value is religious and political; moral and educative. To raise this vast sub-continent from the depth of its deadening degradation he exploited all possible good means—and for him means and ends should be equally good—and therefore, from all platforms and altars he reiterated the same message, obviously because he realized that repetition would go a great way in bringing home to the unaccustomed millions the meaning and the value of love and truth. The introduction of mass prayer is very much like the opening of a new front. Here in a mass congregation, he saw an epitome of the whole country, the swelling millions, of the ignorant and the illiterate—so ignorant that they did not know they were so—who needed training in tolerance, and discipline, political consciousness and moral integrity.

Other preachers of other ages and climes also held congregational prayers with social reform in view, though with the idea of religious expansion attached thereto, but they also claimed, each in his turn, to be a bearer of God's mandate, sent to this world with the exclusive purpose of setting up and propagating a particular religion. They, therefore, while refuting other religious views, which for their specific purpose they had to do, notwithstanding their professed catholicity, created and even encouraged religious antagonism, for they had to proceed through the process of elimination and not of acceptance.

Gandhiji not only did nothing of that kind but justified by a supreme example the profound significance of the platitude so often and so conveniently uttered by the interested reformers, that all religions are fundamentally the same, that various roads lead to the same goal. Intolerance, he felt, and rightly felt, was the most disintegrating factor in life, and of all human vices, must be the first to be eradicated—not merely by driving it away but substituting it by its opposite, and that tolerance must be taught in a larger context—in relation to its implications in individual, social and national life. Recitation from different scriptures, therefore, was supplemented by his synthesizing speech and ratified by the need of unity among men. In fact, to attend to Gandhian prayer meeting was to have much of liberal education, for there one finds, all of a sudden the walls are being pulled down, the pride and prejudices being washed away, and himself gradually transcending the limitations set up by his family, society and religion.

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In his later years Gandhiji did completely do away with the political platforms and chose to express his views only in prayer meetings; perhaps he felt that he could recruit a formidable army for truth and peace to fight down the growing strength of the monster of communalism only through understanding and an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust. Never was his integrity and devotion to truth put to a severer test and he accepted the challenge. It is, therefore, very significant that he met his death in his favourite shrine. Every hour of his life was dedicated to the service of humanity, he was now prepared to offer his death. And he saw it through—his life was the ransom, but for Gandhiji it was not a high price to pay.

Gandhiji always preferred to be in the rear and, farmerlike to cultivate the land, sow and plant; harvesting was for others to do more ambitious and spectacular in their aims and activities. Perhaps his tools may not be wielded by others with the same efficacy but while gathering a rich harvest, we must bow respectfully, to the mighty conjurer, the desperate alchemist who tried and succeeded considerably to turn a patch of barren land into a rich fertile soil.

The Crisis in Egypt

Gopinath writes in *The Indian Review* :

EGYPT having a population of about 20,000,000 is today witnessing far-reaching changes. On the 26th July, 1952 King Farouk of Egypt was forced to abdicate in favour of his seven month old son, Prince Ahmed Faud, in a bloodless coup d'etat staged by the Egyptian Army led by General Naguib Mohamed. Before the coup d'etat events had been moving very fast. For ever since the unilateral abrogation of the treaty of 1936, Egypt and Britain have been driven from one extreme to another. There is no doubt that Nahas Pasha's Government was fanning the passions of the multitude which ultimately ended in riot and incendiarism in Cairo on January 26th, 1952.

The political consequence of these events was the dismissal of the Wafd Government and the appointment of Ali Maher Pasha on January 28th, who was a former political adviser of king as Premier. The new Premier expressed his intention to pursue the two objectives of Egyptain nationalism, viz., the evacuation of the British forces from the Canal Zone and the unity of the Nile Valley. However, many difficulties arose and he resigned. A new Government was formed with Hilaly Pasha as Premier in the first week of March, 1952. He was a promising Premier. He moved impressively but his anti-corruption drive disturbed Wafd bigwigs. He revived tax evasion charges against top men in Wafd party. He started talks with the representatives of the Mahnbi of the Sudan about Egypt's claim to sovereignty over Sudan and also with Britain for settlement of their dispute over Sudan and British troops in the Canal Zone. King Farouk was anxious to keep Hilaly Pasha in power, but the anti-corruption drive affected the courts also which were jammed with tax evasion cases. Hilaly resigned. Sirry Pasha formed government on July 2nd. Hilaly Pasha came again to power on July 21. Col. Cherin Bey, brother-in-law of King Farouk, was in the Cabinet as the Minister of War. This was an evidence of the Palace-cum-Cabinet co-operation.

King Farouk, however, like the Bourbon Kings of France, had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Such a state of affairs could not continue for long. No Egyptian could tolerate this sort of affairs. Now was the time for the army to intervene. General Naguib Mohamed whose appointment as War-Minister was

opposed by King Farouk in former Premier Sirry Pasha Cabinet led the coup on July 23. The coup was a bloodless one and entirely successful. King Farouk was forced to abdicate and leave the country. Hilaly Pasha resigned on 23rd July, and Aly Maher Pasha was installed as Premier. General Naguib declared himself Commander-in-Chief of the army.

With the exit of King Farouk came to end a chapter of palace intrigue and a new race for power began. General Naguib was hailed by Nahas Pasha as the "Saviour of the Nation". On July 27, General Naguib declared that the military movement had nothing to do with politics. But when the army intervenes in politics it cannot keep itself half way. Though Aly Maher Pasha was installed yet General Naguib was the *de facto* Premier, and soon differences arose. On August 2, a Regency Council of three was made to rule Egypt in the name of the infant king Ahmed Faud II until he comes of age in 17 years. General Naguib, from the start showed that he was in earnest about the elimination of corruption from Egyptian public life. Next he made a bid for the Agrarian Reform: He demanded limitation of estates to a maximum of 200 acres. But Maher Pasha was against doing things hastily. He refused to rush through reforms, which he claimed were too far sweeping and likely to lead to economic collapse. The Political Parties were also delaying the purge demanded by the Premier.

The result was natural. General Naguib's new sweep followed less than seven weeks after the bloodless revolution against Ex-King Farouk on July 23. On September 7, General Naguib took complete control of the Government after the biggest mass arrests in Egypt's history. All the leading political leaders were arrested. After informing Aly Maher Pasha of his action he demanded immediate action to be taken regarding agrarian reform. Aly Maher



refused and resigned, when he learnt that apart, from himself and Mustata Nahas, General Naguib had stripped Egypt of all her top politicians.

General Naguib now became Premier and thus virtual dictator of Egypt. He announced on the 7th September a new sixteen-man Cabinet. The Egyptian Prime Minister, General Naguib and ex-King Farouk attacked each other in statements seeking to expose the injustice and tyrannies of each other's regime. General Naguib's statement, issued (on October 17) by the Intelligence Office of the General Headquarters of the Egyptian armed forces and broadcast by Cairo Radio, was the first direct personal attack by Naguib on the monarch he deposed. It was in reply to Farouk's version of the abdication published recently in European papers. Ex-King Farouk, from Santa Marinella (near Rome), made his rejoinder to Naguib, describing Naguib's statement as sounding "like a typical dictator's speech and on the good Kremlin pattern."

Retaining the title of the Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian armed forces, General Naguib also became War-Minister and Military Governor-General and personally took Egypt's social revolution into his own hands. On September 9, he laid the two foundation stones of his new regime—reform of the political parties and break up of big feudal estates. Under the new decree laws passed on September 9, 1 million acres will be expropriated. Land holdings will be limited to 200 acres per person. But the Waqfs and agricultural companies are excluded from the decrees. The Political Purge Law decreed that nobody, who has been guilty of abuse of power, receiving money from a foreign power or other crime, can be a member of a political party. The titles of Bey and Pasha have been abolished. Citizens will be formally addressed as "El Sayed" (Gentleman). Thus the new Premier took a momentous decision. Egyptian women have also been assured of Parliamentary rights.

Concerning the agrarian reforms, already good progress has been made. A bank has been established to give loans to agriculturists.

Coming to the political side, every party has, by now, registered itself according to the new law. The Wafd Party at first refused to carry the orders of Naguib's Cabinet. At first it purged itself of corrupt elements. It extended its support to the Agrarian Reforms. Then the Wafd Party was asked by the Government not to accept Mustafa Nahas as their leader. Under the new law the Minister of Interior could object to any name in the party list. The Wafd Party refused to accept the order that Nahas should cease to be their leader. According to them there could be "No Wafd without Nahas." Under the new law the names of founder members of a political party have to be approved by the Government. Nahas challenged the authorities to oust him

from the leadership of the powerful Wafdist Party. He declared "No power, Allah and the Egyptian people excepted, can oust me". He also declared that Wafd Party will not be registered till Soliman Haezi, Vice Premier and Minister of Interior is in power. The reason for the Government's refusal to permit him to be the leader was that he was not taken up as a clean man. However, the Wafd Party had to bow and it decided on October 6, 1952, to register under the new "Purge or dissolve Law" without its veteran leader Moustafa Nahas. Accordingly, it registered itself on October 6. It made Moustafa Nahas Honorary President of the Party for life. The registration of the Wafd Party under new law means that the Naguib Government has won one of the major political triumphs. The Wafd Party in its newly outlined policy has reiterated its adherence to the unity of the Nile Valley and its opposition to any form of common defence plan sponsored by the Western Powers. Naguib on the other hand had always shown moderation in his statements towards Western Powers. He foresees an era of co-operation with Britain and America.

General Naguib's Government is thus coming out successful in his agrarian and political reforms. He has cleared the army of all corrupt officers. All the ambassadors who were more or less suspected of serving King Farouk more and Egypt less have been recalled. Mr. Ismail Kamal, Egyptian Ambassador in India, declared on 10th October that the armies' liberation movement was a very secular movement. Britain and America are also not hostile to the new regime, rather they are looking at it with favourable eyes. British arms are arriving in Egypt to make Egyptian Army more efficient and highly armed. Britain, on October 10, made two concessions, one immediate advance to Egypt of 5 million sterling to meet her sterling crisis and second, the withdrawal of the British outposts at El Ferdan railway bridges across the Suez Canal. These gestures show that gradually Britain and Egypt are developing an era of Co-operation. It seems that the question of evacuation of the Canal Zone and also the unity of Nile Valley will also be solved in a friendly way. General Naguib has announced elections by next February, provided by that time the parties and the public bodies have re-organised themselves. Food prices have been heavily reduced. Dealers defying the new official food prices are being severely dealt with. Thus the aim of Egypt's military movement is the building of a sound Democratic life in Egypt. Time only will show the ultimate result. But it is sure, if General Naguib succeeds and remains in power for long to clear Egypt of corruption and complete Social Reforms, his name will go down in the annals of Egyptian history and he will become the Mostafa Kamal Pasha of Egypt.

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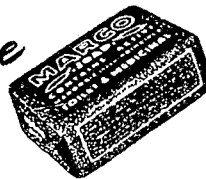
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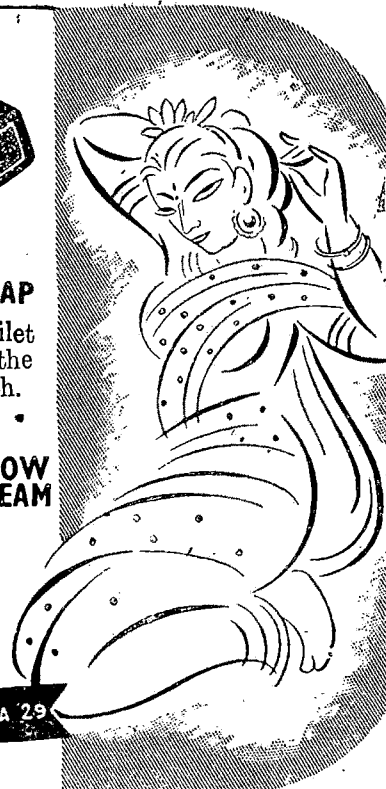
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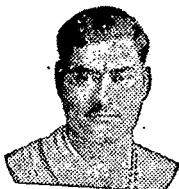
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Henri Dunant—Founder of the Red Cross

The following Lecture was delivered by Professor E. N. da C. Andrade in *The Royal Society of Arts*, London, on 8th May, 1952, to mark the anniversary of Henri Dunant's birth, as published in its *Journal*, June 1952 :

The Red Cross, that astonishing organization for the relief of human suffering, whose activities constitute the witness to the existence of true international philanthropy—dare I say true humanity—owes its origin largely to one man, Henri Dunant, who was born on 8th May, 1828, 124 years ago. He was an extraordinary man. Probably all reformers are extraordinary people. I wish I were sufficient of a historian on social matters to be able to analyze and set before you what are the qualities that make men and women able to introduce great reforms. We should have to consider very varied characters, Martin Luther and General Booth, Ignatius Loyola and William Wilberforce, John Wycliffe and Florence Nightingale. Perhaps it can be said that they all had an immense enthusiasm, a desire for adventure, a powerful persuasiveness, a keen sense of the spirit and requirements of the day and a certain mysticism. In any case, these qualities Dunant possessed to the full. It is also possible that many reformers possess their share of human weakness. Dunant had his defects and eccentricities, and very strange they were. I am going to try to give you a fair picture of the man, neither uncharitably insisting upon his failings, nor making of him a waxwork figure of smooth and unlikable perfection.

Henri Dunant was born in Geneva of well-to-do parents, his father being an established merchant of that city, belonging to the well-defined class of wealthy bourgeois which, in the strict social classification which then obtained, lay between the aristocrats and the workers. The youthful environment and the education of remarkable characters often afford a clue to their subsequent

history and furnish an explanation of strange doings which are hard to understand without this clue. This is certainly so with Dunant. He was brought up as a member of a very individual community, that of the citizens of Geneva, in an atmosphere where prosperity in trade and commerce and success in business were the marks of civic virtue. A God-fearing community, where the ten commandments were observed and the commandments of commerce respected, where life was bounded on one side by the Bible and on the other by the balance sheet, both of which demanded careful study. It is necessary to bear the character of this community in mind to understand the shock produced later on by Dunant's bankruptcy, an event which is not regarded so severely in our English community of to-day.

But another great influence was his youthful education. He sat at the feet of a very remarkable character, Pastor Gausson, who founded much of his teaching on his interpretation of the Book of Daniel the Prophet: in fact, he wrote a catechism, famous in its time, called *Danielle Prophete*, from which I pluck the following sentences: "I begin to-day the sacred book of Daniel. I demand your whole attention: I must see the expression of it on your faces: I must behold all your looks turned with reverence on him who speaks to you, for he brings to you the oracles of the living God." All history was interpreted in the light of the Book of Daniel and of the Apocalypse. Incidentally the Book of Daniel has influenced very famous men: Sir Isaac Newton devoted great attention to it over a period of years and his *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John* was published posthumously. In it much laborious scholarship was devoted to the identification of the little horn of the fourth beast. Gausson discussed Charlemagne and the great Napoleon in terms of the prophecies of Daniel: "*Aussi donc, chers enfants, vous voyez jusques en Bonaparte comment s'est accomplie de siecle en siecle la prophetie de Daniel.*" Why do I bring to your notice these curiosities? Because Dunant was infected with this prophetic mysticism and had a singular vision of Charlemagne's European empire being re-established under Napoleon III, to whom he had a peculiar devotion,

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which, as we shall see, in a way led to the foundation of the Red Cross. His youthful education coloured his whole life.

So much for the man of letters. A word now on the man of affairs. I have just said that he was director and president of the mills of Mons-Djemila, in Algeria, and that he wrote on the subject. In 1853 he went to Africa on business and the year after bought a small plot of land, under 20 acres, which somehow or other—I do not understand these things—developed into a company, the *Société anonyme des Moulins de Mons-Djemila*, with a capital of 500,000 fr.—£20,000, a decent sum in those days. To this a second 500,000 fr. was added later. Apparently Dunant's imagination had been fired with the notion of reviving the agricultural prosperity of the old Roman province, and he thought that there might be money in his dream. His mystic vision and his financial training were manifesting themselves. As to the history of this company, I am completely out of my depth, but it appears that Dunant in 1859 wanted a concession for the use of a waterfall. We have him, then, in the summer of 1859, a man of thirty-one, with commercial interests, literary and financial ambitions, visions of a united Europe and a revived Roman empire and a profound belief in Napoleon III. In particular, he wanted a concession for a waterfall, and the matter of concessions was, I gather, in the hands of the French Government. He was wont to represent himself as present at Solferino as a simple tourist, but as far as I can see from the careful and documented studies of M. Alexis Francois, professor at the University of Geneva, there is no doubt that he followed Napoleon III into Italy in the hopes of a favourable opportunity to present to him the book on the Holy Roman Empire, of which I have quoted the title-page, and to proffer his request for a concession. He took with him a magnificently bound copy of the book which, you will remember, was addressed to the Emperor in most laudatory terms, calling upon him to fulfil his destiny and revive the ancient glories of Charlemagne. I may say at once that no favourable opportunity of meeting the Emperor presented itself: after the battle, when he hoped to pursue this plan, the Emperor was in a state of profound dejection and would not see him.

The war, as you no doubt all know, was between the allies France and Sardinia, commanded by Napoleon III, and the Austrians under Francis Joseph, who died during the First World War and was a great public figure in my youth. It had been largely brought about by the Italian statesman Cavour, who dreamt of expelling the Austrians and forming a united Italy: he overcame Napoleon's doubts. The Franco-Sardinian army invaded Italy: the Austrians were defeated at Magenta and retreated to the region of Verona. Solferino is a small town just south of Lake Garda, some twenty miles west of Verona. Dunant arrived on the heights dominating the field of Solferino on 23rd June, 1859, and the battle started on the next morning; 300,000 men or more were engaged and for 15 hours the carnage was terrible. The Austrians,

who retreated across the Mincio, lost some 22,000 men the Allies 17,000. The battle was ended by a thunderstorm of tropical severity, with intense heat. Incidentally, the two Emperors met shortly afterwards at Villafranca and arranged for an armistice.

The Red Cross arose out of Dunant's distress, his anguish at the terrible condition of the wounded after Solferino. He went down to the battlefield as soon as the fighting was over and set about organizing what relief he could. Remember the inadequate medical services, the torrid heat, the flies, the lack of any clean water and the scarcity of even foul water. He describes the horror of the state of the wounded in his book *Un Souvenir de Solferino*, which first appeared in November, 1862. It tells how he organized a nucleus of volunteers, and improvised a hospital in a Church, Chiesa Maggiore into which 500 soldiers were crammed. Some of the improvised nurses were, he recounts, "*de belles gracieuses jeunes filles*," whose sweetness, with their eyes full of tears and of compassion, revived the courage and the morale of the sick. To the first volunteers other recruits were added, including English tourists. I will spare you the more harrowing passages of his recital, merely saying that after describing the amputation of a gangrenous leg, he adds, "In the next hospital chloroform was sometimes used." Towards the end he asks, "But why have I recounted all these scenes of pain and distress and perhaps aroused painful emotions in my readers?", and proceeds "perhaps I may answer this natural question by another question. Can we not find a way, in times of peace and tranquillity, to found aid societies ("*sociétés de secours*") with the object of having the wounded cared for in time of war, by zealous and devoted volunteers, properly qualified for such a task," and further "since new and terrible methods of destruction are invented daily, with a perseverance worthy of a better object, and since the inventors of these instruments of destruction are applauded and encouraged in most of the great European States, which are engaged in an armament race; and since finally the state of mind in Europe combines with many other symptoms to indicate the prospect of future wars, the avoidance of which, sooner or later, seems hardly possible; in view of all this, why could not advantage be taken of a time of relative calm and quiet to investigate and try to solve a question of such immense and world-wide importance, both from the humane and the Christian standpoint?"

Of the first edition of the *Souvenir de Solferino* 1,600 copies were printed, of which 600, some on special paper, were sent out to influential people carefully selected by Dunant—Royalties, ministers of state, and so on. The remaining thousand, furnished with a new title page, constituted a second edition, put on sale throughout Europe, but many copies of this edition also were apparently given away by Dunant. A third edition of 3,000 copies appeared a few months later. A curiosity is that a letter exists from a court functionary conveying Napoleon III's thanks for the *Souvenir* and the



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...me time. In the third edition of the *Revue* of Geneva appears, making part of its propaganda for establishing Geneva as the centre of international action for the relief of the wounded in war. The name of the President of the *Société*, M. Gustave Moynier, is printed on the last page of the book. It appears that Dunant himself wished the centre of organized succour for the wounded to be at Paris, but the vigorous action of his fellow citizens rather took matters out of his hands. A commission was set up to study the whole question of this care for the wounded; the original members were General Dufour, head of the Swiss army; Gustave Moynier; Henri Dunant; Dr. Louis Appia, and Dr. Theodore Maunoir. This committee ultimately became the *Comité International de la Croix-Rouge*. The fundamental principles of the Red Cross were laid down at an international meeting at Geneva in 1863. Dunant played an outstanding part in the ensuing arduous task of securing an international legal status for the work, including the recognition of the protecting symbol, the Red Cross, to guard wounded, those caring for them, and medical supplies, against attack. The Geneva Convention was the outcome of a diplomatic conference held in Geneva in August, 1864, three years after Solferino. Thus Dunant's presence on the battle-field, whither he had gone to get the Empire of Charlemagne re-established by Napoleon III, and to obtain a concession for the use of a waterfall in Algeria, in support of a doubtful company, led directly to the Geneva Convention under which as revised in 1906 and 1929, the work of the Red Cross is carried on to-day.

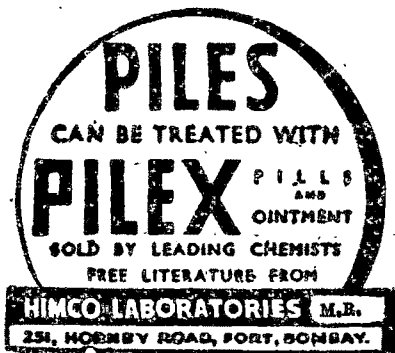
Some say that Dunant's efforts to get the Red Cross established caused him to neglect his business, including, presumably, the mills of Mons-Djemila, with the result that he became bankrupt in 1867. The biographical notice issued by the Nobel Prize Committee in 1901 (when Dunant shared the Peace Prize with Frederic Passy), which is a very responsible publication, says that Dunant lost his whole fortune in 1867 by unlucky speculations: "*par suite de spéculations malheureuses*". What is certain is that he did become bankrupt in 1867. I have already hinted at the gravity of the social stigma that attached to bankruptcy in Geneva. Dunant left Geneva, never to return.

He appeared in Paris, which he had originally planned as the centre of the Red Cross organization, and there devoted himself to the fostering through its early years of the French Red Cross. The Franco-Prussian War found him there. It was this war that really brought the British Red Cross into action for the first time.

The labours of Florence Nightingale, to whom Dunant refers with warm admiration in the *Souvenir de Solferino*, had paved the way for the British Red Cross but had, perhaps, been the cause that the need for such an organization had not been felt as keenly here as, but for it, it would have been. At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war the Crimean veteran Colonel Loyd-Lindsay, who was one of the pioneers of the volunteer movement, wrote a letter to *The Times* (22nd July, 1870) which led to the formation of the National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded; this developed into the Red Cross Aid Society. Incidentally Loyd-Lindsay, later Lord Wantage, himself subscribed £1,000, and Arthur Balfour also subscribed £1,000.

Dunant was in Paris all through the siege and the subsequent Commune. He was still a Swiss citizen, with Swiss papers and passport; in this capacity he acted as intermediary between the French and the Prussians, and later between the Communards and the French Government at Versailles. It was at this time that Dunant began to develop what may be called the welfare side of the Red Cross organization: comforts for wounded soldiers, education for the sick and wounded, the care of their children and such like. In this work he was assisted by a wealthy widow, Madame Kastner, who comes strangely enough into another part of the story, a part with which we are actively concerned to-day. She strongly supported a scheme of Dunant's for the care of prisoners of war, to promote which an international convention was to be called. However, by a turn of international politics the Czar of Russia, Alexander II, took the matter out of the hands of Dunant and his associates, and included it in the subject-matter of a grandiose international conference on the laws and usages of war. The Great Powers fell out and the Conference collapsed. The first Hague Conference did not take place, in fact, until 1899.

We turn now to the period of Dunant's eclipse. He was practically without means and appears in London, in Paris and in Stuttgart, working on, among other things, various schemes for international agreement and arbitration. In 1872, for instance, he was in England, where Napoleon III was living in exile, and again approached his hero—incidentally he had a third time forced upon him, at Paris in 1864, a copy of his book on the Holy Roman Empire. He tried to get the Emperor to be patron of his latest great scheme, the *Alliance Universelle de l'Ordre et de la Civilization*, but Napoleon courteously declined. He appears now as living in Pall Mall, now at Camberwell, now again in Switzerland. In 1874 Madame Kastner comes again into the story. She had a son who was a physicist and got into troubles of a nature which you can conjecture, for



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the cause was, apparently, one from which physicists to-day are exempt—he had too much money. His father had been a well-known musician and the young man had invented a musical instrument based upon the singing flame, which he called the Pyrophone. I will not detain you with a description, for you are shortly to see it in action, thanks to Dr. Sherwood Taylor, the Director of the Science Museum, and Dr. Follett. Suffice to say that it was a curious combination of tubes and gas flames. The anxious mother thought, apparently, that if her son could achieve fame in England with his instrument, it would distract him from the sources of his embarrassment and provide him with a harmless, if not lucrative, diversion. She knew that Dunant had exceptional powers of persuasion and diplomatic approach and promised him, in addition to a mother's thanks, the less precious but more tangible reward of 50,000 fr.—£2,000, a goodly sum in those days—if he brought her son and his Pyrophone into successful prominence. I will end your suspense at once by saying that he never got the money. Dunant, then, came to England again, once more with mixed motives—to advance his general ideals of international co-operation and to improve his finances, this time not with a fall of water but with a flare of flame.

He was most kindly received by Tyndall at the Royal Institution who, on 15th January, 1875, "introduced to his audience", as the *Morning Post* says, "the wonderful innovation of Mr. Frederic Kastner. This is an instrument to which the ingenious inventor has given the name of 'Pyrophone', indicative of the fact that musical sounds are produced by the approximation of flames arranged for that purpose in a series of glass tubes". At the end of the discourse Tyndall said, "I have here with me the sponsor of this instrument—the great Henri Dunant, the founder of the Red Cross." The following month Dunant himself lectured on the Pyrophone at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts in this very room. I cannot trace the subsequent history of the Pyrophone, but apparently it never had much success—why should it? It was an amusing curiosity, nothing more. Soon after Dunant left this country with none of his immediate aspirations satisfied.

After this he lived in comparative poverty and obscurity, mostly in Stuttgart, but occasionally visiting England. He practically disappeared from public life, so that it was widely supposed, even in his native city, that he was dead.

On a fine summer day in the year 1887 he entered the village of Helden, near Rorschach, on the south side of Lake Constance, a picturesque figure with a long white beard. He was followed down the village street by a few children, and turned into the Inn—the *Paradise*. He was unwell, suffering among other things from eczema of the right hand, and sent for the doctor, who also ran a kind of sanatorium outside the town. The doctor became interested in the old man, who was clearly a character, and found to his amazement that he was no less a person than Henri Dunant, whom he had supposed to be dead.

Dunant's income at this time was 3 Swiss francs a day. The doctor took him into his sanatorium, introduced him to many of his distinguished patients, and more or less looked after him for the rest of his life. It was at Heiden that Dunant spent the remainder of his days.

In 1895 a young journalist of St. Gall, named Baumberger, was on holiday in the district and heard of the strange old man of Heiden, then sixty-seven, but looking older. When he found out who he was he realized that here was a first-class scoop for his paper, the well-known journal *Ueber Land und Meer*. The young man overcame what we are told was Dunant's

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...nce to see strangers... reconcile with the rest of his life. In any case... from Dunant an excellent story and promptly... it, with results very gratifying to the journa... the journal and to the old man. Telegrams and... poured in on him from every direction and, what... even more acceptable, the Dowager Empress of... granted him a pension which kept him in... able comfort for the rest of his life. Once more... as back in public life. A few years later, at the... Hague Conference of 1899, he was in touch with... sters especially those of Czar Nicholas II, who had... ted the Conference, and actively engaged on his... plans for universal arbitration.. His advice was... d and he had the satisfaction of seeing some of his... els embodied in the clauses of the Convention... Alfred Nobel, who made a great fortune from ex... ves, had a secretary, daughter of an Austrian Field... shal, who was wholeheartedly interested in mitigat... the evils of war. When the... al prizes were planned she was in... tial in persuading Noble to include... or peace. She was a great admirer... Dunant, and possibly played a part... procuring for him the great dis... tion, which he shared with Frederic... assy, of being the recipient of the... rst Nobel Peace prize, awarded in... 901. It may interest you that the prize... or physics in that year went to... oentgen. This prize further improved... is financial position. In 1907 the old... an, now 79, had the gratification of... eing a convention regulating the... eatment of prisoners of war, which... e had so long advocated, embodied in... e Conventions agreed at the fourth... gague Conference of 1907. So we... ave the satisfaction of seeing Dunant... the end of his life with his finances... ssured and his ambitions satisfied. ... e died at Heiden in 1910 and, at... own wish, was buried without cere... y or publicity.

Well, it is a strange story, one more... stance of how it is a coming together... apparently trifling events that... fluences history. Blaise Pascal... pressed what I have in mind... mirably in one of his immortal... nsees: "If Cleopatra's nose had been... rter, the face of the earth would... ve been changed". If Dunant had... e bought twenty odd acres of land... Algeria, if Dunant had been to a... rent school, if Dunant had got had... tion of a reborn Charlemagne, if... nt had not had sufficient money... nt at his own expense an edition... book in impressive style, there... ave been no Red Cross, or, at... e, the birth of the Red Cross... have been much delayed. ... stances conspired, however, to... o Solferino on 24th June, 1859, ... aps the one man who had just... qualities required to raise from... se horrors the mighty and... evolent body which you, ladies... gentlemen, represent. All honour... enri Dunant.

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